

1585.

THE
DESCRIPTION
OF SCOTLAND,

Written at the first by Hector Boe-
tius in Latine, and afterward tran-
slated into the Scottish speech by
John Bellenden Archdeacon of
Murrey, and now final-
lie into English by
R. H.

Wherevpon is inferred the
historie of Scotland, conteining
the beginning, increase, proceeding,
continuance, acts, and gouernement of
the Scottish nation, from the originall
thereof unto the year 1571, gathe-
red and written in English by Ra-
phael Hollindhead: and conti-
nued from 1571, to
1585, by o-
thers.

*Cum priuilegio Regie
Majestatis.*



To the Right worshipfull Maister

Thomas Secford Esquire and Maister of the

Requests, William Harison wisteth all knowledge

of God, with dailie increase of his gifts at this

present, and in the world to come

life everlasting.



Having by your singular curtesie received great help in my description of the riuers & streames of Britaine, and by conference of my trauell with the platforms of those few shires of England which are by your infinite charges already finished (as the rest shall be in time by Gods helpe, for the inestimable benefit of such as inhabit this Iland) not a little polished those rough courses of diuers waters not exactly before time described by *Leland* our countrieman, or any ancient writer, I could not deuise any thing more agreeable with mine abilitie and your good nature (which greatly fauoureth any thing that is doone for a commoditie vnto many) than to shew some token of my thankfulness for these your manifold kindnesses, by the dedication of my simple translation of the description of Scotland at this time vnto your worship.

Indeed the trauell taken heerein is not great, because I tie not my translation vnto his letter, neither the treatise of it selfe such, as taketh vp any huge roome in the volume of this chronicle. But such as it is, and whatsoever it is, I yeeld it wholie vnto you, as a testimonie of my good will, which detesteth vterlie to receiue any benefit, though it be neuer so small, and not to be thankfull for it. Certes my vocation is such, as calleth me to a farre other kind of studie, so that I exercise these things onlie for recreation sake, & to saie the truth, it is much vnfitting for him that professeth Diuinitie, to applie his time any otherwise vnto contemplation of ciuill histories. And this is the cause wherfore I haue chosen rather, on-

A.ij.

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lie with the losse of three or foure daies to translate *Hector* out of the Scotish (a toong verie like vnto ours) than with more expense of time to deuise a new, or follow the Latine copie, which is far more large and copious. How excellentlie if you consider the art, *Boetius* hath penned it, and the rest of his historie in Latine, the skilfull are not ignorant: but how profitablie and compendiouslie *John Bellenden* archdeacon of Murrey his interpreter hath turned him from the Latine into the Scotish toong, there are verie few Englishmen that know, bicause we want the books.

Wherefore sith the learned read him in his owne stile, and his councitmen in their naturall language, why should not we borow his description, and read the same in English likewise, sith the knowledge therof may redound to the great benefit of so manie as read or heare the same? Accept therefore (right worshipfull) this my simple offer, and although I assure my selfe, your naturall inclination to be such, as that it will take nothing in ill part that is well meant toward you, how rudelie soeuer it be handled in the doing, yet I will not let to craue pardon for my presumption, in that I dare be so bold as to offer such a trifle to you, whom more weightie affaires doo daillie call from things of so small importance.

Almightie God keepe your worship from time to time in
his feare, and blesse you and my good ladie your wife
with such increase of his benefits, as may
most redound to his glorie,
& your own ad-
uantage.





The contents of the chapters contained
in this booke.

- 1 **O**f the bounds of Albion, with the sundrie commodities thereof, and of the great infirmities that fall vnto the people there for their intemperancie: and finallie of the religion vsed there in old time.
- 2 The description of the east, west, and middle borders of Scotland, with the most notable townes and flouds thereof.
- 3 The description of Gallowaie, Kile, Carricke, and Cunningham, with the notable townes, lakes, and riuers in the same.
- 4 The situation of Renfrew, Cliddefdale, Lennox, Lowmund, Argile, Loughquaber, Lorne and Kentire, with all the notable things contained in the same.
- 5 Of Rosse, Stranathorne, and Murrey land, with such lakes and riuers as are to be touched there.
- 6 Of Boone, Anze, Buquhane, Mar, Mernes, Fisse & Angus, with the lakes, flouds, abbeis, townes, and other notable commodities there to be seene and found.
- 7 Of Louthian, Striuelin, Menteith, Calidon wood, Bowgewall, Gareoth, with the notable cities, castels and flouds thereof.
- 8 Of the great plentie of hares, harts, and other wild beasts in Scotland, also of the strange nature of sundrie Scottish dogs, and of the nature of salmon.
- 9 Of sundrie kinds of muskles and cockles in Scotland, and pearles gotten in the same. Of vncouth and strange fish there to be seene, and of the nature of the herbe Citifus, commonlie called Hadder.
- 10 Of the Iles of Scotland, and such notable things as are to be found in them.
- 11 Of the nature of their Claikageese, and diuerse maner of their procreation, and of the Ile of Thule.
- 12 The description of Orkeney, and Shetland, with other sundrie small Iles, and of the maners and conditions of the people dwelling in the same.
- 13 Of the maners of the Scots in these daies, and their comparison with the behaviour of the old and such as liued long since within this Iland.
- 14 The description of an ancient Pict, and such as dwelled beyond the wall of Hadrian.
- 15 Of bishoprikes, vniuersities, and counties in Scotland.





The authors out of whome this historie of
Scotland hath beene gathered.

| | | |
|----------------------------------|---|--------------------------------------|
| Hector Boetius. | } | Wilhelmus Paruus, siue Neoburgensis. |
| Iohannes Ferrarius Pedemontanus. | | Albertus Crantz. |
| Iohannes Maior. | | Aeneas Syluius. |
| Iohannes Fourdon. | | Edward Hall. |
| Rogerus Houeden. | | Richard Grafton. |
| Richardus Southwell. | | John Stow: and others. |

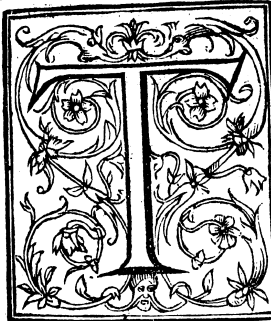




The description of Scotland, writ- ten at the first by *Hector Boetius* in Latine, and after- ward translated into the *Scotish speech* by *John Bellenden* archdeacon of Mur- rey, and now finallie into English by W. H.

The bounds of Albion with
the sundrie commodities thereof,
and of the great infirmities that
fall vnto the people there for
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lie of the religion vsed
there in old time.

The first Chapter.



The Ile of Al-
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whence it gathereth narrower and narrower, till it
come to the utter marches & last bounds of England
and Scotland. For betwixt the Iule of Gallowaie
that is on the west side ouer against the Irish seas,
and saint Ebbes head, that lieth vpon the Germane
ocean toward the east, are scarcelie 130 miles, and
thenceforth it groweth smaller and smaller till it
touch vpon the north seas, where it is not aboue thir-
tie miles, as I noted befoze in the description of
Britaine.

This Ile is replenished with people, horses, and
all other kind of cattell and coine in most abundant
maner, except it be in such places where as God of
his singular goodnesse hath otherwile indued the soile
with rich mines of gold, silver, tin, brasse, copper,
and quicksilver, which for the most part are so plenti-
full, that they suffice not onlie for the necessaries of
the whole Iland, but also of sundrie regions that are
situated round about it, if the inhabitants were skil-
full and painefull to deale withall accordinglie. But
the abundance of all other things requisite for the
vse of man, that is found generallie in our Iland,
maketh the people lesse carefull of these commodi-
ties, and more giuen to idlenesse. For beside the
great plentie of those things which heauen and earth

do minister, as grasse, coine and cattell, foules of
sundrie kinds, there is such store of fish in all parties
of our seas, especiallie towards the north, that the
same would suffice to feed and susteine all the people
of the Iland, if there were none other commodities
to be found within the same.

For the inhabitants of all countries that border
vpon vs, as France, Flanders, Zealand, Holland,
and a great part of Germanie (especiallie those which
lie nere vnto the coast) do saile hither with great
numbers of vessels daile to fish vpon our coasts, and
buy such as we haue already caught, not onlie for
their owne vse, but also for the Lenton prouision of
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side these common things. What shall I saie of our
woolles, which are in so high estimation in all lands,
because of their necessarie vses, and whereof a great
part is so fine and soft, that of it are made the costlie
scarlets, pliant gloues, and manie other grained
and delicate clothes, of which I thought good to make
this mention, because the report thereof is not yet
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Certes this I dare boldly affirme, that if the
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Therefore it is (as I thinke) that almighty God in
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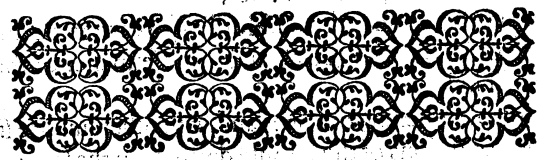


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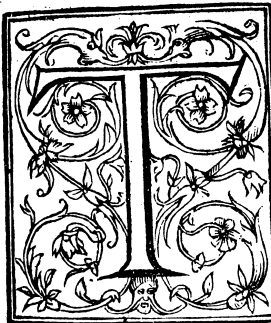
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ning and greedie desire of forreine things (whilest
they contemne or not regard their owne) that they
cannot restraine the immoderate vse of wine, and
excesse vsed in drinkeing of the same; insomuch that
we may see diuerse to be ouertaken and haunted, not
onely with sundrie kinds of grieuous maladies
common to vs and them of the maine, but also ma-
nie other which they haue not, neither be anie thing
at all acquainted with, as experience daillie tea-
cheth.

Some by long sicknesse and languishing graces
do grow into such defonnitie onely through exces-
siue feeding, and greedie abuse of wine, that if you
knew to them when they were children & yong men,
you shall hardlie remember them when they be old
and aged; and that which more is, in comparison of o-
ther that liue more soberlie, you will hardlie thinke
them to be bozne in the Ile, but rather suppose them
to be changelings and monsters, brought out of o-
ther countries to gaze and loke vpon: diuerse of
them through the continuall vse of wine are mole-
sted in their age, with pheneticall pangs and passi-
ons. Seldome also shall you see those that are giuen
much vnto wine and such wellfare, to become pa-
rents of manie children, sith their naturall moisture
and generatiue force is much abated, if not altoge-
ther extinguisht by such immoderate diet.

But to returne to our purpose, the Albanes or
Britains, as Caesar in his commentaries, and Ta-
citus in his annales do report, were very religious,
after the maner of religion vsed in old time. For in
those daies the priests of Britaine named Druides,
were expert both in naturall and morall philosophie,
and from thence came the first professors of that
sect and opinion into France. The principall seat of
their priests was in the Ile of Man, which was re-
puted at that season for the welspzing and fountaine
of all learning and knowledge, and after that their
priests were once conuerted to the catholike faith,
they perseuered in the same with great constancie,
without anie note of heresie.

The description of the east, west, and
middle borders of Scotland, with the
most notable townes and flouds
thereof.

The second Chapter.

The Picts had sometimes
the principall and most fer-
tile part of that countrie,
which now is vnder the regi-
ment of the Scots, and after
they had continued in the
same by the space of 1171
yeares, ioined in maner in
perpetuall league with the Scots, and mainteining
mutuallie the warres sometimes with the Britains
and Romans, and sometimes also sarring with their
Scottish neighbours, at the last they fell into extreme
hatred one of another, till it was brought to passe
by the diuine prouidence, that the said Picts were
ouerthrowne, their name extinguisht, and the king-
dome vnitid vnto that other of the Scots for ever-
more. After this time furthermore, although the
Scots haue bene verie oftentimes assailed with
most dangerous and terrible wars, and oftentimes
inuaied by enimies from diuers regions, yet such
bath bene the fauour of almighty God towards
them, that still they flourish and reteine their estate
innoluate.

Whatsoeuer we haue generallie spoken of Al-
bion, that is chieflie to be vnderstood of the Scots,
and farre greater, especiallie among the Scots, as
they call them in the high land, as people that haue
lesse to do with forreine merchants, and therefore
are lesse delicate, and not so much corrupted with
strange bloud and alliance. Hereby in like sort it
commeth to passe, that they are more hard of con-
stitution of bodie, to beare off the cold blasts, to
watch better, and abstaine long, wherunto also it ap-
peareth that they are bold, nimble, and the more
skillfull in the warres. As for their faith and promise,
they hold it with greatest constancie, as Hector hath
set downe. Towards the Almaine sea, I find, that
Scotland hath the Mers, sometime the most plenti-
ous region of the Isles for their march, which so long
as the said people did inhabit it, was called Deera,
or Dera; but after their expulsion, it was named
Mers, that is to say, the marches or limits of their
countrie. In procelle of time also the Scots exten-
ded their bounds euen vnto the Tweed, which now
diuideth Forthumberland from the Mers.

On the other side of the countrie towards the
west, sundrie small bournes descend from the Cher-
iot hills, and other mounteines lieng thereabout in-
to the Solue, diuiding Cumberland from Arrian-
dale, and so being brought into one chanel, they fall
together into the Irish ocean, & stand for the bounds
of Scotland vpon that halfe of the countrie. The
Cheriot hills are in like sort taken for the middle
marches of the region, which with certeine small
brookes that fall from the same, do separate both the
countries, whereby their limits are knowne. The
Mers hath vnder marches at severall places (whi-
ther it is extended) as sometime the Germane sea,
sometime east Louthlan, sometime the Tweed,
and sometime the Forth, and among manie strong
holds and castles, that stand vpon the borders, is the
towne and castell of Warwicke in time past called
Ordolucium, as the inhabitants are called Ordoluci
(if Hector be not deceived).

The Tweed springeth out from a meane head, and
after his augmentation with other small waters
that fall into the same, it descendeth with a large
course into the Almaine sea. Beyond the Tweed, to
the middle march vnder the Cheriot hills lieth Te-
nsdale, that is to say, the vale of Tiffe: beyond it
is Eskdale, or the vale of Eske, of a river so called
that runneth through the same: ouer against Eske-
dale on the other side lieth Cusdale, so named of the
riuer Cus that passeth thereby, and falleth into the
water of Annand: but Tif and Eske do run into
the Tweed: furthermore, on the west side ouer a-
gainst the Irish sea, lieth Annandale, wherunto the
Annand water giueth denomination, which mar-
cheth sometimes without the bounds of Piddeldale,
where all the thre riuers aforesaid, that is to say,
Cus, Annand and Sulway descend together in one
bottome into the Irish seas.

In Annandale is a loch or lake named Lochma-
ben, five miles in length and foure in bredth, not
onlie verie full of fish, but of such kind as few men
are acquainted with. Beside this lake also there is a
castell of the same name, builded of purpose to re-
streine the furious dealing of theues which do great
hurt in those quarters. For not onlie in Annandale,
but in all the dales or vales afoze rehearsed, are ma-
nie strong theues, which often spoile the countrie,
and exercise much cruell slaughter vpon such as in-
habit there, in anie troublous time. These robbers
(because the English do border vpon their drie mar-
ches, and are their perpetuall enimies) do often
make forceable rodes into the English bounds, for
their better maintenance and sustentation, or else
they

The description of Scotland.

9

they pilfer priuile from them, as men leading in the meane season a paye beggerlie and verie miserable life. In the time of peace also, they are so inuoyed to theft and rapine, that they cannot leaue off to steale at home: and notwithstanding that they be often verie sore handled thereto, yet they thinke it praiseworthy to molest their aduersarie, as they call the truer sort, whereby it cometh to passe, that manie rich and fertile places of Scotland lie wast and void of culture for feare of their inuasion.

Not far from the Sullwaie (a water where great plenty of fish is to be had) are manie quicke-sands, and those so perillous that no man may well go ouer the same, but with great difficultie and danger of his life. This vale of Annand was sometime called Ordouicia, and the people thereof Ordouices, whose ancient barbarousnesse is reported to be such, that in times past they refused not to kill and eate such prisoners as had yielded themselves vnto them. The verie women in like sort would sea their husbands, if at anie time they fled from the field, and returned to their houses, onelie to giue occasion vnto other men to stand to their tacklings at euerie such adventure. On the west borders and also toward the north lieth Fiddesdale, so called of the water of Fiddes. It beginneth with a verie narrow course, and increasing by order in the middle marches of Scotland, it finally restraineth it selfe againe, till it cometh at the sea, whither it runneth with a swift course, as the Scottish writers do report. In this vale standeth a towne named Dunrisse, wherein manie fine clothes speciallie whites are made, which are brought vp and caried into England, France, Flanders, and Germanie, where they are had in great price and estimation.

The description of Gallowaie, Kile, Carricke, and Cuningham, with the notable townes, lakes and riuers in the same.

The third Chapter.



Above Fiddesdale is Gallowaie (named sometimes Brigantia) the people whereof were in times past called Brigantes: this region is diuided by the water of Cree into two parts, whereof that which lieth nearest to Fiddesdale, is called nether Gallowaie, and the other that is about the Cree is named vpper Gallowaie. In nether Gallowaie is Kirkcubright, a rich towne and of a good trade in merchandize, and in vpper Gallowaie is Whitherne, in Latine *Candida Casa*, an abbete dedicated to saint Minian the bishop, and there lieth his carcase, which is honozed of the people with great superstition and errour. Above Whitherne is Wigton towne, and not far from thence is the great lake of Spilton, the one halfe whereof doth freeze by naturall congelation as other poles and plasches do; but the other is neuer sene to beare anie yce at all, which vnto me doth seeme to be a great wonder. In Gallowaie moreover are two other lakes, the Saller and the Pentramen, of equall length and breadth with the Lochminton; as for Gallowaie it selfe, it yelbeth out a great point, promontorie, or cape (which the Scots call a mule or nuke) into the Irish sea. The common sort name it the moles nuke, and by the rounding of it selfe, it maketh two great lakes, named Kean and Lois, except I be deceiued,

one of these lakes or poles is 30, and the other 16, miles of length, and both full of oysters, herkings, congers, cockles, and other like kinds of fish.

Some are of the opinion that Brigantia was the same region of Britaine that is now called Wales, wherein the Britains inhabited manie yeares after their expulsion out of Britaine. But this opinion is false, with the Romans write that span the Island lieth ouer against Brigantium and midwaie betwene the same and Ireland: for albe it that the bates or bates are now twome wider & further distant ech from other by the washing and working of the sea, yet the same latitude & elevation of the pole that Ptolome ascribed to the Brigantes, agreeth well to the height of the pole ouer Gallowaie, which is verie far from Wales, sithens the Ile of span lieth also 30 miles from thence, and in the sight of Gallowaie. In like sort by the testimonie of sundrie authours both Irish and Spanish (we affirme that out of Brigantium a citie in Spaine, now named Compostella) there came a new companie of people into Ireland called Spaniards, and out of Ireland another crew of the same nation with king Fergus into Albion, and in remembrance of the citie Brigance, wherein they inhabited whilst they were in Spaine, they called themselves Brigantes. To this opinion in like sort Cornelius Tacitus doth seeme to lean, who saith, that the Brigantes descended from the Spaniards, which in his time dwelled in the uttermost parts of Britaine, including vnder that name all the Ile of Albion. These regions afore rehearsed, that is to say, Annandale, Fiddesdale, and Gallowaie, beside fine woods and store of cattell, doth also abound with all kinds of graine, wheate onelie excepted.

Above Gallowaie is Carricke, sometime a portion of the region of the Silures, of whose name it is not yet certeinlie knowne, whether it was deriued from the famous citie Carricke, whose ruines do yet remaine, or not. Silurie is diuided into three parts, to wit, Carricke, Kile, and Cuningham. In the first, as I said, was Carricke the noble citie: and in this countie are manie strong castels, both by naturall situation and policie of man: herein also are faire kine and oxen, whose flesh is delicat and verie tender to be eaten, the fallow moreover of their wombs is so moist and sapie that it neuer waxeth hard, but relenteth of the stone accord, and becommeth like vnto oile. Beyond Carricke is Kile, so called of Coile king of Britaine, sometime flaine in the said region, and therein is a stone, not much about 12 miles from the towne of Air, full 30 foot high, and three elms of breadth, called the deafe stone, not without cause: for when a man is on the one side thereof, he shall not heare what is said or done on the other, though there be neuer so great noise made, no not if a canon should be discharged of set purpose; which to me doth seeme impossible, neuertheless the further a man standeth from the same, the better shall he heare, whatsoener the noise be. Next to Kile is Cuningham the third part of Silurie, whose inhabitants in time past were most noisome to the Romans. In Kile is a pole named Downe, from whence the riuier Downe doth runne through the middell of that region into the Irish sea. In Cuningham likewise is a lake called Carnoth, equall in quantitie vnto the Downe, and no lesse famous for the abundance of fish that is daillie found therein; and not farre from the same is the towne called Largs, where Alexander the third king of Scotland of that name, sometime overcame the Danes and Norwegians, whereby it grew to be famous, and of more reputation among vs.

Reade in the Latine Hector. 12 foot in hight 30 foot in length, and three elms thicke.

The

The description of Scotland.

The situation of Renfrew, Clidestdale, Lennox, Lowmound, Argile, Louchquhaber, Lorne, and Kentire, with all the notable things contained in the same.

The fourth Chapter.

The water of Clide runneth north Lennox on the north side from the baronie of Renfrew, and it ariseth out of the same hill in Calidow wood, from whence the Armand falleth, and goeth with a long course into the Irish sea; some call this riuer Gluda, and Cluda; but Tacitus nameth it Glota. Not far also from the fountaines of Clide, ariseth the water of Forth, that runneth on the contrarie side into the Germane ocean. In like sort after the water of Clide hath run for a season toward the north, it gathereth some what inward, till it come to the mountaine of Cranzeben, & from thence holdeth on with a swift course, till it fall (as I said) into the Irish seas. The countrie where it runneth is named Clidestdale. Betwixt Clide and Lennox lieth the baronie of Renfrew, wherein are two poles named Dubhinsouth and Lepboth, of which the first is 12 miles in compasse, the other 20, and both verie rich and plentifull of fish. But in Lennox, that lieth next about Renfrew toward the ocean (called by Ptolomie Helgonia) is a great mere or lake that hight Lochmond, of 24 miles in length, and eight in breadth, and within this thin or pole are 30 Islands, well replenished with churches and dwelling houses.

And in the same also are three things worthy consideration, whereof the first is, that the pleasant and verie delicat fishes there bred do want fins. The second is, that the water will often swell with huge waues though no wind be stirring, and that in such wise that the best mariners in the countrie dare not adventure to saile thereon. There is also a verie fruitfull and commodious Ile therein, verie necessarie for the pasturage of cattell, which fleteth hither and thither as the wind bloweth. This lake is situat at the foot of the hill called Cranzeben, which were sometime the marches or limits betwixt the Scots and Brits, and are extended from Lochlowmound to the mouth of De. Certes the Brits had no part of the countrie beyond the Cranzeben, nor toward the Irish seas, for this region was inhabited by the Scots. Eight miles from Lochlowmond is the castell of Dumbritteine named sometime Alclud, and here the water of Leuen falleth into the Clide.

Beyond Lochlowmound is Argile, an hillie countrie and full of crags and mounteins, therein also are two lakes, Lochfine & Lochquho, that diuide the region into three parts, that in the middelt being called Inapdale. In Lochfine is moze plentie of hering than in anie part of the coast that compasseth the Island, but in Lochquho are such kinds of fish to be vsualle had, as are commonlie bred in fresh waters. There are moreover in Argile two castles, Glenunquhart and Enconell, & in it are 12 Isles, whose chiefe commoditie resteth rather in pasturage for cattell, than abundance of graine. In Argile furthermore are manie rich mines full of mettall, but the people there haue no skill to find and trie out the same. The constant report also goeth there, how there is a stone

of such nature, that if it be hidden in straw for a certeine season, it will kindle of it selfe, and consume the straw to ashes. There are seuen other lakes in Argile, whereof some are thirtie miles in length and breadth, and other lesse.

It was told me once by Doncan Campbell a noble knight, that out of Garroll, one of the poles of Argile, there came a terrible beast, in the yeare of Grace 1510, which was of the bignesse of a grethound, and looked like a gander, and issuing out of the water earlie in the morning about midsummer time, did verie easilie and without anie visible force or streiming of himselfe ouerthrow huge oaks with his taile, & thereunto killed three men out-right that hunted him with three strokes of his said taile, the rest of them sauing themselves in trees thereabouts, whilst the foresaid monster returned to the water. Those that are giuen to the obseruations of rare and vncouth sights, beleue that this beast is neuer sene but against some great trouble & mischief to come vpon the realme of Scotland. For it hath bene described also before that time, although not verie often. Lorne abutteth vpon Argile, which was once a part of Argile, and reacheth out into the Irish sea, in manner of a cape or tong, full firtie miles. This point also was called Nouantia, but now it is named Kintire (that is to saie) the head of Lorne, whose uttermost part is not full 16 miles from Ireland. Some authors affirme, that both Argile and Cantire, were called Nouantia in old time, sith Ptolomie maketh no mention of Argile in his cosmographie. In this Lorne is great abundance of barlie, which the Scots call beir. Beyond Lorne is Louchquhaber, heretofore a portion of Purcey land, verie rich in mines of iron and lead, and no lesse beneficiall to the countrie in all kinds of cattell.

There are likewise manie woods, manie lakes, and manie riuers, but two of them are most notable for the plentie of samons, and other delicate fish, as well of the salt as fresh water, which be there taken, and almost without anie trauell; neither is there anie where else in all the Ile such store. The one of these is named Lochtie, & the other Spanze, but vpon what occasion these names were giuen to them I find as yet no certaintie. The Lochtie riseth not above eight miles from Lochness, and falleth beneath the same into the Germane ocean, and beside it, there is a rockie crag, running out at length into the sea, named Hardnomorth. In the mouth of Lochtie likewise was sometime a rich towne named Inuerlochtie, whither the merchants of France & Spaine did make their dailie resort, till at the last it was so defaced by the warres of the Danes, that it neuer was able since the said time to recover hir ymistimate renowne. But whether the negligence of the due repaire of this towne, proceedeth of the sloth of our people, or hatred that some enuious persons do beare to cities and walled townes in our countrie, as yet it is vncertaine. Beyond Lochtie is the castell of Dunstaffage, in time past named Euonium: beyond Dunstaffage also is the mouth of the water of Spanze, where it falleth (as I heare) into the Germane ocean.

The discourse of Ros, Stranaerne, & Murrey land, with the lakes, riuers, and notable townes in them.

The fift Chapter.

Beyond the water of Spanze lieth Ros, sometime called Lugia, a verie narrow region (God it wote) but running out in great length through the middelt

of the Island, being environed on both sides with the ocean. That portion thereof which lieth nearest to the Irish seas, is verie difficult for such as trauell by the cuntry, by reason of the high mounteins, which maketh the cuntry moze apt for wild beasts than mankind to inhabit: neuertheless warping moze settill on that part which stretcheth toward the German sea, it yieldeth it selfe to culture, and rendyeth some graine. In pasture also it is not altogether vnprofitable, sith there is good grasse and verie vatable for their heards: for the ballies there, being watered with sundrie pleasant streames, do yeld a sweet and verie sauorie grasse, where with all sorts of cattell are verie much delighted. In Kos are sundrie lakes, but Lochbun is the greatest. There are also manie fresh riuers, fraught with excellent fish, and finally a notable fish or safe haue called Cromart, whereunto diuers in time of necessitie do resort, to auoid the danger of shipwacke, that otherwise would assuredly annoy them. The Scottish men call it Heill of Shipmen. In this region mozeouer is the towne called Athane, where the bones of Dutho an holy man (as they say) do rest, & are had in greater estimation among the superstitious sort (as sometime ouer the whole Island) than the holie gospell of God and merits of his sonne, whereby we are onelie saued. Two ancient houses are likewise maintained in one vale of the Kos, whose formes resemble so manie belles, but to what end as yet I do not find. Pert vnto the said Kos lieth the Stranauerne, as the uttermost region of Scotland, the coasts whereof abutting for a while vpon the Deucalidon sea, do afterward turne againe toward the Almain seas, hauing partly the Deucalidon coast, and partly Cathness by on the north side, Southerland on the east, Rossa on the south, and Deucalidon againe vpon the west. There are thre great crags or points lieng on the bittermost side of Stranauerne, that is to saie, the Pote, Potobun (the greatest of the thre) and Dotunibie, which because they shoot farre off into the sea, do make two great firths and lakes, each of them being severallie distinguished from other.

Pert vnto Cathness lieth Southerland, a profitable region both for graine and all kinds of provision; but chiefe for the nourishment of bestiall, whereunto it chiefele inclineth, as do the other two last before rehearsed. On the further side also of this lieth Spurrey land, sometime called Vararis, although the marches thereof are changed from that they were of old. For whereas in time past all the region lieng betwene Spate and Fesse to the Ireland sea, was named Spurrey, now it is knowne to be quite beyond the water of Spate & Ballocke, & reacheth on vntill it come to the Irish sea. Betwixt Kos and Spurrey land, is a great bay, and likewise a descent of sundrie wafters: for therein fall the Fesse, Garden, Findorne, Loo and Spate, whereof this latter runneth with so fierce & violent a stream, that the force of the sea at the signe driving to enter into the same, is put back, & may not resist the invincible fall, and beates backe the water that descendeth into the ocean. The Fesse issueth out of a lake of the same name (which is not passing 8 miles from the said plash, from whence the Lochtie runneth) & thence goeth into the Irish seas: and this propertie it hath, that neither the stream, neither the lake it selfe will yeld to be frozen in the verie depe of winter. Such also is the force thereof, that if anie yce or anie frozen substance be cast therein; it will by and by relent and dissolve againe to water, whereby it becommeth verie profitable for such cattell as are benumbed with cold. In the mouth of the Fesse, standeth a towne called Inverness, where sometime was great abundance of herring taken, but now they be

gone by the secret working of God. The common people put the fault in the rich & men of higher calling, who enuieing the commoditie of the poore inhabitants, will often seme to bereue them of this emolument, by force and slaughter. Whereupon (as they say) it cometh to passe, that the increase of fishes decayeth, and verie small store is taken there by manie yeares after such iniurie offered.

But to proceed: beside Lochness, which is 24 miles of length, and foure in breadth, by reason of the great woods there standing, is great store of sauage beasts, as harts, wild horses, roes, and such like. There are likewise martins, beuers, foxes & wezels, whose skins and cates are sold vnto strangers at huge and excellent prices. In Spurrey land also is not a lonelie great plenty of wheat, barlie, otes, and such like graine, beside nuts and apples, but likewise of all kinds of fish, and especiallie of salmon. The people thereof in like sort do vse a strange maner of fishing: for they make a long wele of twicker, narrow necked, and wide mouthed, with such cunning, that when the tide cometh, the fish that themselves into the same, and forthwith are so inclosed that whillett the tide lasteth he cannot get out, nor after the water is gone escape the hands of the fishers. In this region mozeouer is a lake named Spiney, wherein is exceeding plenty of swans.

The cause of their increase in this place is ascribed to a certeine herbe, which groweth there in great abundance, and whose seed is verie pleasant vnto the said foule in the eating, wherefore they call it Swangirs: and hereunto such is the nature of the same, that where it is once sowne or planted, it will neuer be destroyed, as may be proued by experience. For albeit that this lake be five miles in length, and was sometime within the remembrance of man verie well stozed with salmon and other fish, yet after that this herbe began to multiplie vpon the same, it became so shallow, that one may now wade through the greatest part thereof, by meanes whereof all the great fishes there be vtterlie consumed. In this position furthermore, is the church of Pette, where the bones of little John remaine in great estimation. Certes his carcase hath bene 14 foot long, his members well proportioned according to his stature, and not fullie six yeeres before this booke was written (by Boetius) he saw his haunch bone, which seemed so great as the whole thigh of a man, and he did thrust his arme into the hollownes thereof, whereby it appeareth what mightie people grew vp in our region before they were overcome with gluttonie and excess. In this quarter finally is the towne called Elgin, not farre from the mouth of Spate, and therein is a cathedrall church furnished with canons: there are thereto sundrie rich and verie wealthie abbeies in Spurrey, as Killos of the order of the Cister, and Blunefordie of the Cluniaks.

This was no Scot but an Englishman, fled into Ireland, and then into Scotland

Of Boene, Anze, Buchquhane, Mar, Mernis, Fisse, and Angus, with the lakes, foulds, abbeies, townes, and other notable things contained in the same.

The sixth Chapter.

NExt vnto the Spurrey lieth Boene, and Anze, two fertill and plentifull regions, which extend their bounds euen vnto the seas. They are both verie notable indowed with vatable pastures, and by reason thereof are verie full of

The description of Scotland.

of cattell, they yeld moreouer excellent corne, and by meanes of their large woods and forrests not without great store of wild beasts of sundrie kinds and natures. There also vnto the Douerne water, which is a riuer maruellouslie stoked with fish, standeth a towne named Bamse, and vnder these two regions aforesaid lieth Buchquhane, a verie bataile soile for all kinds of cattell, but especiallie of sheepe, whose wolle excedeth that of the like beaſt of all other countries thereabouts for whitenesse and finenesse. The riuers that are in this countrie do in like maner abound with samons, so that there is no one of them void of this commoditie, except the Kattra onellie, wherein it is not heard that anie hath bene ſane: herein also standeth the castell of Slanis, in which the high constable of Scotland dwelleth, and nere vnto the same is a marvellous caue: for the water that dropeth into the same, in a short pceſſe of time becometh an hard white stone, and except they had bene off remoued heretofore, the caue it selfe had bene filled vp with the same manie yeeres agoe.

This region is void of rats, and such is the nature thereof, that if anie be brought thither from other places, they are found to die immediatlie: so smallie it is most marvellous of all, that as otes do grow there in manie places of themselves without culture and tillage; so if a man come thither of set purpose to mow downe the same, he shall find nothing els but emptie huls and straw: but if he chance vpon the sudden and without pmeditation of the thing to cut downe ante (a matter impossible in my mind) he shall find them so good and full as ante are elsewhere, to be gathered and led home: Certes it appeareth hereby, that this is nothing else but an illusion, wherewith the wicked ſeeds do captiuate and blind the senses of the superstitious sort; for that it should be so by nature, it is a thing altogether impossible. Next vnto this lieth the great region of Spar, which is verie plentiful of cattell, and extendeth 60 miles in length, from the Almaine seas to Hazenoch. In this is the citie of Aberdeen, wherein is a bishops see, and noble vniuersitie, sometime founded by William Elphinston bishop there. This citie lieth betwixt two rich riuers, the Done and the De, wherein is the greatest store of samons that is to be found againe within the compass of Albion, and likewise the greatest and longest if you respect their quantitie.

Next vnto Spar, we haue Pernis toward the sea, a verie fat soile, full of pasture, and abundantlie replenished with euerie sort of cattell. In this portion standeth Duninoth the marshall of Scotland's house, and likewise the towne of Fordon, in which the bones of Palladius do rest, who is taken generally for the apostle of our nation: The water of Clack is bound vnto this region, which is otherwise called Fortheske, a verie dangerous channell, and wherein mighte haue perished for default of a bridge, as they haue attempted to passe and repasse ouer the same. Angus bordereth vpon the Pernis, it was sometime part of Forresſia, and now watered with three notable riuers, as the Fortheske already mentioned, and maruellouslie replenished with samons, likewise the Southeske; and finally the Tais, the noblest water in all Scotland, and remembred by the Romane writers vnder the name of Tan.

In Angus also is an high mountaine or promontorie called the Red braes, which lieth out far off into the Almaine seas. The Tais also stretcheth farre beyond the mounteins of Cranzen out of Loch Tais, which is a pole of 24 miles of length, and 10 of breadth, wherein are not onellie diuers Ilands, with castels in them, but the water of the lake it selfe (being most

fine and subtil) is notable replenished with great store of fish, and therefore verie commodious for such as dwell about it. It stretcheth into the Almaine sea beside Dundee, a towne called in old time Alecum, wherein I was borne, and in which the people trauell verie painfullie about weaving and making of cloth. There are in Angus also manie other cities and rich abbeies, as Spountros, Wyechin, and Forſaite, beside so manie castels as lieth not in me to number. This likewise is not to be passed ouer with silence, that whereas Forſaite was in times past a notable citie, strengthened with two roiall castels, as the ruines do yet declare, now it is brought vnto little more than a countrie village, replenished with simple cotages. Spanie lakes & poles are also in Angus, and those well fraught with fish. There is also in this countrie one place called the vale of Clack, whose sheepe haue such white, fine, and excellent wolle, as the like vnto it is hardlie to be found againe within the whole Iland.

After we be ouer the Tais, we come vnto Fife, sometime a part of Otoline. In this region groweth all maner of graine so plentifullie as elsewhere in anie part of Albion; and where no corne is, there is no lesse foison of cattell. There are blacke stones also digged out of the ground, which are verie good for firing, and such is their intolerable heat, when they are kindled, that they resoluē and melt iron, and therefore are verie profitable for smiths, and such artificers as deale with other mettals; neither are they found anie where else (that I do know of) but betwene the Tais and the Tine within the whole Iland. Salt is likewise made within this region in great quantitie of sea water, which they boile according to their manner. There are furthermore sundrie citides in the same, of which St. Andrews is the chiefe, wherein is both the see of an archbishop and a famous vniuersitie. There are moreover sundrie lakes, as Loch Tayre and Loch Leven, and in this later are diuers Iles, and in one of them also the church of St. Andrew, a Scottish saint, of no small name and reputation.

Fife is bounded of Lothian by the river of Forth that runneth a large & broad riuell into the ocean seas. Certes it is a water verie plentifully indowed with rockes, shells, mussels, scales, pellocks, merestrowne, whales, and great folion of white fish: and among manie other fles that are to be found in this Forth, that of spais is of greatest name, because Adriaſtich plaſtelotes were killed in the same. In the middest of this fle springeth up a towne of fresh and cleare water, vnto an high rocke, which is not a little to be maruailed at, considering the quantitie and situation of the fle. Beside this also is a wonderfull erag, rising within the sea, where vnto is so strait and narrow a passage, that no man shall hardlie come vnto it by a siluer bote, and thence to bot at one place. This rocke (called the Abak-castell) is maruailed at, and therein are manie tales of verie profitable for defense. Made vnto this by great laboꝝ and industrie of man.

Certes, there is nothing in this rocke that is not full of admiration and wonder: wherein also is great store of land geese (not unlike to those which Phine calleth water eagles, or as we saie) sea herons, and nother also but in Almaine and this rocke. At their first coming they are in the spring of the yeare they gather such great plenty of ducks and drakes together for the building of their nests, that the same do satiate the keeper of the castell, for the verie maintenance of his fetoall, without anie other provision. These fowles do feed their young with the most delicate fish that they can come by. For though they haue already preyed vpon anie one, and haue

it fast in their beake or talons, yet if they happen as they flie toward the land to espie a better, they let the first fall againe into the sea, and pursue the later with great and eager swiftnesse, untill they take hold thereof.

Sometimes their prete is taken from them by the keepers of the castell, as also their sticks from time to time for the aforesaid vse; but they making small or rather no resistance, doe turne againe forthwith, for more wood or fish (as their losse requireth) not ceasing till they haue builded their nests with the one, and nourished up their young with the other; so that what by the timber of their nests, the beguiling them of their prete, and stealing afoale of their young, they bring yerele no small commoditie vnto the owner of the castell. Within the bowels of these gales there is a kind of grease to be had of singular force in medicine, and healing likewise the skin from their bodies with the fat, they make an oile verie profitable for the gout and manie other diseases in the branches and groines of mankind. In this crag moze, there groweth an hearbe verie pleasant and delicious for salads, but if it be taken by any planted elsewhere, it either groweth not at all, or utterlie giueth ouer the vertues wherewith it was earth indured.

There was sometime a stone found here in this rocke much like to a water sponge or pumice, hollow on the one side, and of such a nature, that if anie salt water had bene poured thereinto, and suffered to run through, it would forthwith lose the naturall saltnesse, and become fresh and verie pleasant vnto the mouth and tast. We heare in these daies that this stone is to be seene in Fast castell, whither it was brought after it had passed manie hands for the trial of this matter. In this fifth also is the Ile Almon, wherein is an abbey. There are likewise diuers other Islands, and those are verie full of conies; and in the said fifth are sundrie fishes oftentimes seene of monstrous shape, with cowles hanging ouer their heads like vnto monks, and in the rest resembling the bodie of man. They shew themselves likewise aboue the water to the nauill, howbeit they neuer appeare but against some great pestilence of men, or murren of cattell; wherefore their onelie sight doth breed great terror vnto the Scottish nation, who are verie great obseruers of vncouth signes & tokens.

The description of Louthian, Striueling, Menteth, Calidon wood, Bougewall, Gareoth, with the notable cities, castles, and flouds thereof.

The seventh Chapter.



In the south of the fourth lieth Louthian, so called of Lothe or Loth, one of the kings of the Picts, it was sometime named Pictland; but now it is parcell of the Scottish kingdome, & therefore for bountie of soile is not inferiour to anie region of Scotland. In Louthian are manie abbeies, castles and townes, as Haddington, Dunbar, Forthberwic and Leith; but Edinburgh passeth them all, as well in policie of regiment as in forme of building and wisdome, and riches of the inhabitants: therein also is the castell of Spaldens, remembered by the most renowned authors, & also the kings chiefe palace, the which tré-

pleth the renoume of the foresaid citie. Not farre from thence moreouer is a certeine oillie spring, which riseth out of the ground in such abundance, that the moze is caried from thence, the moze is re-frozed: and the people are persuaded hereof, that it is verie medicinable against all cankers and skalls.

Not farre from the mouth of Forth is the castell of Dunbar, which by naturall situation and industrie of man, is now become one of the chiefe holds in Albion. It was sometime the principall house appertaining to the earles of March: and there hard by is a towne of the same name, wherein is a rich abbey or colledge of canons founded by those earles. Pert vnto Louthian lieth Spers, whereof I haue spoken already, but we will now go by higher into the land. Pert vnto Spers therefore lieth Leuldale, and aboue it is Tweedale: next vnto Tweedale is Dunsdale, Malcoppdale, Douglassdale, and Cliddisdale, and all these are such names as the riuers haue that run along their bottoms. The principall towne of Cliddisdale is Glasco the archbishops see, wherein is a notable church erected in the honor of saint Gorgon, and builded with great magnificence. In Glasco also is a noble vniuersitie, where the liberall arts and sciences are verie resoundie taught.

In this region moreouer is a verie rich mine of gold, and another of azure, the commoditie of which later is reaped with small trauell. There are sometimes found diuers pretious stones also, as rubies and diamonds. Certes this mine was disclosed in the time of James the fourth, who would no doubt haue brought it to full perfection, if he had longer liued, whereas now little profit redoundeth thereby to the commonwealth, because it is either vterlie neglected, or not very much regarded. South of Glasco lieth Spenteth, and Striueling shire, bordering vpon Argile and Lennox. In Striueling shire is the towne of Striueling, and aboue it is the castell of Striueling, which was sometime called the dolorous mountaine. At this towne also began the great Calidon wood, which ran through Spenteth and Stratherne, to Atholl and Lochquhaber, as Ptolome writeth in his first table.

In this wood were sometime white buis with thacht heares and curled manes like fierce lions, otherwise they were like vnto the same, neuertheless so wild and sauage, that they would neuer be made familiar, nor tast of any hearbe or grasse that mans hand had once touched, after manie daies. Being taken also by the industrie of man (which was very hard to do) they would refuse all sustentance, & starue themselves to death. Alas as any did inuade them, they would rush vpon him with great violence, and beare him to the earth; as for dogs, nets, or any kind of weapon they feared not, neither cared for any manner of engine.

It is said that Robert Bruce after his coronation did hunt one of these buis in the foresaid wood, being accompanied but with a small traine, in which boiage he escaped narrowly with his life. For after the beast felt himselfe sore wounded by the hunters, he rushed vpon the king, who hauing now no weapon left in his hand therewith to defend himselfe, he had suerlie perished if rescue had not come: howbeit in this distresse one came running vnto him, who ouerthrew the bull by plaine force, and held him down till the hunters came that killed him outright. For this valiant act also the king indued the aforesaid partie with great possessions, and his linage is to this daie called of the Turnebuis, because he ouerturned the beast, and saved the kings life, by such great prowesse and manhood. Certes the flesh of these beasts were reputed in old time as a most de-

The description of Scotland.

licate food, and onlie meate for the nobilitie, notwithstanding that it be verie full of finetous and gristles, whereat some delicat feeders do often take offense. In times past also they were bred in many places of the Calidon, but now they be all consumed by the gluttonie of the inhabitants, so that none of them are left, but onlie in Comerland.

On the east side of Henteith lieth Stratherne, & bordereth also upon Fife. Through the vallies likewise of this region runneth the water of Crn, that falleth into Tay. This is moreover worthy to be noted, that not foure miles from the confluence of Crn and Tay, there is a stone of small quantitie, and yet of great wonder, for in what place soever it be laid, it will not be removed from thence by manuell practice, art, or engine, & yet one man may so move it as an hundred. On the other side of Tay beyond Angus and Cotway lieth Strimerne, a region plentifullie indued both with grasse and corne. Not farre from Strimerne is Athole, wherein are manie noble vallies and riuers full of fish, as pikes, lamperns, &c. The soile there also is so bountifull, that it yeldeth corne in maner without any tillage. There is likewise therein a towne called Lud, whose felde are so plentiful, that (if they be well tilled and dressed) they will yeld great store of barlie without any sowing of seed. Holweith, as this is in that part of the region often verified, so in other there is a contrarious disposition to be found in the earth; which turneth wheat some into good and perfect rie, the like whereof I heare to be not far from Luke, & in the countries thereabouts.

West of Buchquhane and Borne lieth Bostgewell and Carcoth, very plentifull soiles both for grasse and corne. In Carcoth also is an hill called Doundoe, that is to saie, the golden mountaine: for the sheepe that feed thereon are yelkies, and their teeth of the same hew, resembling burnished gold. Their flesh moreover is red as it were tinged with saffron, and so is their wooll much after the same manner. There is furthermore in the same region, an heape of stones lieng together in maner of a crotorn which yeld a sound when one of them is stricken as if it were a bell. Some are of the opinion, that one idoll temple or other stood heretofore in that place, while the Scottish nation was addicted to the worshipping of diuels. Many other regions are in Scotland, as Wadalbane, Strabazun, and Wabzenoth, with diuers small territories and fouds, howbeit they are not so notable as those which we haue already touched, and therefore I thinke it but follie to deale any further with them.

Of the great plentie of hares, red deer, and other wilde beasts in Scotland, of the strange properties of sundrie Scottish dogs, and of the nature of samon.

The eight Chapter.

Having made this speciall description of the realme of Scotland, now will I touch such things as concerne the same in generall. First of all therefore in the fields and wild places of the country there is great plentie of hares, red deer, fallow deer, roes, wild hollies, wolues and fores. These hollies are not gotten but by great light and policie: for in the winter season the inhabitants

turne certeine tame hollies & mares among them, wherewith they grow in the end to be so familiar, that afterward they go with them to and fro, and finally home into their masters yards, where they be taken and some broken to their hands. The wolues are most fierce and noisome to the sheeps and flocks in all parts of Scotland, saving in one parcell of Angus, called Glenmoy dale, where these beasts do no manner of hurt unto the domestical cattell, but prey onlie upon the wild.

For as much as these generallie in all Scotland, but chiefly in the mounteins, where they be verie hardlie hunted, howbeit art hath devised a meanes to prevent their malice, and to preserve their pultrie. Certes there is almost no house that doth not by certeine daies cherish by a young fox, which the Scots do call a Todde; and then killing the same, they mince the flesh thereof amongst such meat, as they give unto their fowles and other little bestiall, by this means so many fowles and cattell as eat hereof are preserved from danger of the fox, almost by this moneths after, so that they may wander whither they will, without the foyes as it were winding or smelling the flesh of their fellows yet in their crops will in no wise meddle with them, but escape; and knowe such a one, although it were among an hundred of other.

In Scotland also are dogs of marvelous condition; for beside the common nature and universall properties of dogs of all other countries, there are three sorts with us, which are not found else where in any quarter of the world. The first is an hound of great swiftnesse, hardinesse, and strength, fierce and cruel upon all wilde beasts, and eger against thieves that offer their masters any violence. The second is a rache or hound verie exquisite in following the foot, (which we call azawing) whether it be of man or beast, yea he will pursue any manner of foule, and find out whatsoeuer fish is cast up, or lurcheth among the rocks, by that excellent sense of smelling wherewith he is indued. The third sort is no greater than that of raches, in colour for the most part red, with blacke spots, or else blacke and full of red marks. These are so skilfull that they will pursue a thiefe, or these stolen goods in most precise manner, and finding the trespasser, with great assurance they will make a raise upon him. If it be so that he have taken the water for his safeguard, he thinketh not to follow him, and entering and issuing at the same places where the partie went in and out, he neuer ceaseth to range till he haue nosed his soting, & be come to the place wherein the thiefe is shyvoded. The dogs of this kind are called sleuthhounds. Certes this report would seeme meere incredible, except it were bailie had in experience upon the borders of England and Scotland, where pillage is good purchase in differentlie on both sides. There is a law also among the borderers in time of peace, that whose denieth entrance or fate of a sleuthhound in pursuit made after fellows and stolen goods, shall be holden as accessory unto the theft, or taken for the selfe thiefe.

Of fowles, such (I meane) as live by prey, there are sundrie sorts in Scotland, as eagles, falcons, goshawkes, sparrowhawkes, martins, and such like: but of water fowles there is so great store, that the report thereof may seeme to exceed all credit. There are other kinds of birds also in this countie, the like of which is nowhere else to be found, as the capercaille or wild hollie greater in bodie than the rauen, and living onlie by the rinds and barks of the pine trees. We haue in like manner manie more cocks and hens, the which abstaining from corne, do feed upon mought else, but the leanes of Cyprius, which the Scots do commonlie call paddar. These

These two are verie delicate in eating. The third sort is reddish blacke of colour, in quantitie comparable to the pheasant, and no lesse delicious in taste and savor at the table, our countrie men call them wild cocks, and their chiefe sustenance is by wheat.

Beside these, we haue also another soule in Pers more strange and vncouth than all these afore mentioned, called a gusard, fullie so great as a swan, but in colour of feathers and tast of flesh, little differing from a partridge, hotbeit these birds are not verie common, neither to be seene in all places, such also is their qualitie, that if they perceiue their eggs to haue bene touched in their absence by mans hand (which lie commonlie on the bare earth) they forsake those nests, and laie in other places. All other our foules are common to vs and other nations. Samon is more plentifull in Scotland than in anie other region of the world, and because the nature of this fish is strange, I will set downe so much as I know hereof at this present time as followeth.

The samon in harvest time cometh by into the small riuers, where the water is most shallow, and there the male and female rubbing their wombe one against another, they shed their spawne, which forthwith they couer with sand and grauell and so depart away. From henceforth they are gant and slender, and in appearance so leane that they appeare nought else but skin and bone, and therefore worthilie said to be growne out of life and season. It is said also that if they touch anie of their full fellows, during the time of this their leanness, the same fish which they touched will likewise become leane, whereby it cometh to passe, that a samon is oft seene to be fat on the one side of the chine, and leane on the other. But to proceed, the aforesaid spawne and milt being hidden in the sand (as you haue heard) in the next spring doth yeld great number of little frye, but so nesh and tender for a long time, that till they come to be so great as a mans finger (if you catch anie of them) you shall perceiue them to melt, and their substance to dissolue and fade euen as it were gellie, as yf laid forth against the sun. From henceforth they go to the sea, where within the space of 20 daies they grow to a marvellous greatnesse, and then returning againe toward the place of their generation, they shew a notable spectacle not vniuersally to be considered.

Certes in Scotland there are manie linnies or poles, which being in some places among the rocks verie shallow aboue, are yet deepe beneath, with the fall of the water, and thereto the samon not able to pearse through the channell, either for swiftnesse of the course, or depth of the descent of such water as cometh against him, he goeth so nere vnto the side of the rocke or dam, if I may so call it, as he may, and there aduventureth to leape ouer and vp into the lin, if he leape well at the first he obtaiue his desire, if not, he assaileth the second or third time, till he returne now vnto his countrie: a great fish able to swim against the streame, that before was a little bod, and maugre his resistance, carried with the violent course of the water into the maine ocean. Such as assay often to leape, and cannot get ouer, do byrse themselves and become meafelled: others that happen to fall vpon drye land, a thing often seene, are taken by the people (that watch their times) in caldons of hot water, which they set vpon the shallowe dyke plots with fire vnder them, in hope to catch the fattest, & such as by reason of their weight do offnest leape thort. Certes the tast of these is reputed to be most delicate, and therefore their price is commonlie greater than of the rest. It is inhibited in Scotland to take any samon from the 8 of September, vntill the 15 of Nouember. Finally there is no man that

knoweth readilie whereon this fish liueth, for neuer was anie thing yet found in their bellies, other than a thicke slimie humor.

Of the sundrie kinds of muskles and cockles in Scotland, and of pearles gotten in the same: of the vncouth and strange fish there to be seene, and of the nature of the herbe Citilus, commonly called Hadder.

The ninth Chapter.

Here it reffecth that I shew the nature of muskles and cockles, wherof we haue manie and sundrie kinds among vs: of these also some are small, and yet if they be eaten fresh, are not without a naturall delicacie in tast. Others are greater and not unlike in forme and quantitie to those that haue the purple: and albeit that they are bitterlie void therof, yet is their meat and substance right pleasant in the eating. There are of another sort which are longer and greater than either of these, called horse muskles, to be had in Dee and Done, and in these are the pearles ingendered. Certes they loue to be resident in the deepest and clearest waters that are void of mud and filth, and such is their estimation among the deintiest kinds of food, that they were not vniuersally called of old time, widowes lustres. Their shelles also is as it were wrought euen from the verie tops, and thereto full of spots, where in (as in yeld of gaine) they farre exceed all other. These earlie in the morning, in the gentle, cleare, and calme aire, lift vp their upper shelles and mouthes a little aboue the water, and there receiue of the fine and pleasant breath of dew of heauen, & after wards according to the measure and quantitie of this vitall force receiued, they first conceiue, then swell, and finally produce the pearle.

They are so sensible and quicke of hearing, that although you standing on the brate or banke aboue them, do speake neuer so softly, or thout neuer so small a stone into the water, yet they will descie you, and settle againe to the bottome, without returne for that time. Doubtlesse they haue as it were a naturall carefulnesse of their owne commoditie, as not ignorant, how great estimation we mortall men make of the same amongst vs, and therefore so soone as the fishermen do catch them, they bind their shelles together, for otherwise they would open and shed their pearles of purpose, for which they know themselves to be pursued. Their manner of apprehension is this, first foure or five persons go into the riuer together, by vnto the shoulders, and there stand in a compasse one by another with poles in their hands whereby they rest more sauerly, with they fix them in the ground, and staie with one hand vpon them: then casting their eyes downe to the bottome of the water, they espie where they lie by their shining and clearenesse, and with their toes take them vp (for the depth of the water will not suffer them to stape for them) & giue them to such as stand next them.

The pearls that are so gotten in Scotland, are not of small value, they are verie orient & bright, light and round, and sometimes of the quantitie of the naille of ones little finger, as I haue had and seene by mine owne experience. Almost such another muskle found on the coast of Spaine, the shels wherof are gathered by such as go in pilgrimage to saint James, and brought into Scotland, but they are without

Cardane describeth this, lib 7. de Subtilitate.

without pearls, because they live in salt water, which is an enemy to the margarite: but Cardane also denieth it. In all the sea coasts also of Scotland are cockles and muskles of the same forme, but without this commoditie. Many uncouth and strange shapcs of fish likewise are scene there, whereof some are armed with shels, some with hard scales, and divers round as a ball skinned like an pidgeon or hedghog, having but one cundit both for purgation of their excrements, and reception of their sustenance. To these curie kind of fish that is in Scotland, it were but a vaine trauell, with the same are knowne almost in euerie region.

In like sort we haue such plentie of fish vpon our severall coasts, that although millions and infinite numbers of them be taken on the one daie, yet on the next their losse will be so supplied with new store, that nothing shall be missing by reason of the yesterfang: so bountifull is God in these his benefits vnto vs. Furthermore, there is another gift bestowed vpon vs by the singular prouidence of God. For the greater dearth & penurie of flesh and corne is scene in Scotland, the greater store of fish is taken vpon our shores. In like sort, in the deserts and wild places of this realme, there groweth an herbe of it selfe called Hadder or Hather verie delicat, as Columella lib. 9. cap. 4. saith, for goats & all kind of cattell to feed vpon, and likewise for diuers foules, but bees especially. This herbe in June yeldeth a purple floure. Sweet as honie, whereof the Brits in time past did make a pleasant drinke, and verie wholesome for the bodie: but forsomuch as the manner of making hereof is perished in the hauecke made of the Brits, when the Scots subdued their countrie, it lieth not in me to set downe the order of it, neither shewed they euer the learning hereof to any but to their owne nation. Finally there is no part of Scotland so barren and vnprofitable, but it produceth either iron or some other kind of mettall, as may be proued easilie throughout all the Isles that are annexed to the same.

Galen lib. 7. de Antidosis facit etiam quod Citrus is no herb but a shrub, and so doth Plinie lib. 12. cap. 3. lib. 13. cap. 24. lib. 16. chap. 38. And Columella in the end of his 5. booke, where he accompteth it among trees.

Of the Isles of Scotland, and such notable things as are to be found in them.

The tenth Chapter.

BEing fallen at the last in to mention of our Isles, I will addresse my selfe to describe the same, in manner and forme as followeth. In the Irish sea, betwixt Ireland and Scotland are foure and thre Isles, whereof some are thirtie miles long, diuers twelue, and others more or lesse. These are called by some writers Eubonia, and by other Hebrides. But the principall of them all is that of Man, which lieth ouer against Galloway, & was sometime the principall seat of the Druides, as Cornelius Tacitus, Caesar in his commentaries, and other Roman writers do testifie at large. North from the Isle of Man lieth Arran, or therwise named Bortha after B. Bhandons time, who dwelled there in a little cottage, which (as all other the like were in those daies) was called Bortha. From Arran we go to Hellat and Rotheray, which later is so named of the Scot, which brought the Scots first out of Ireland into Britaine. Not far from this Isle is Ailsay, where there is such store of soland geese as they said before to be in Bas. Beyond Ailsay lie manie other distinguished by their se-

uerall names, but full of mines, as of iron, tin, lead, & sundrie other mettals. But the most notable Isle belonging to Scotland is Fla, that lieth beyond the promontorie of Poutant cliffe (in Scetis, the tongue of Lorne) within sight of Lochquahay. Certes it is a rich parcell, thirtie miles in length, and full of corne and mettall, if the people were cunning to find and trim the same.

Not farre from thence is Cumbra, and Gula, which lie so large as Fla, both for length and breadth. In Gula is a faire spring two miles from the sea, from whence runneth a little brooke or strippet, whereof you shall read more in the description of Britaine, lib. 1. cap. 8. Nere vnto this is Jona, otherwise called Columkil, in which is an abbey, wherein the kings of Scotland were commonlie buried from the time of Fergus the second, vnto Malcolm Cammo, who created the monasterie of Dunfermlin, where since that time the most part of our kings haue bene of custome interred. Passing forward toward the northnorthwest seas, ouer against Kesse is an Isle named Lewis, 60 miles in length, in this Isle is but one fish riuer, & it is said that if a woman waide through the same at the spring of the yere, there shall no famon be scene there for a twelue month after, whereas otherwise that fish is knowne to abound there in verie great plentie. Beyond Lewis lie the Skay and the Rona, in the later whereof, it is incredible to saie what of scale, of pellocke and porpasse is to be scene, which are nothing abashed at the sight of any man. The last and uttermost Isle is named Hirta, where the eleuation of the pole is 63 degrees, and since the latitude of Man, is but 57.

I conclude, that from the Isle of Man the first Isle of Albion, to Hirta the last Isle hereof are 377 miles, after 62 miles and an halfe to each degree, as Ptolomie hath set downe. It is named Hirta, which in Irish soundeth so much as a Sheepe in English, for herein that kind of cattell aboundeth, each one being greater than any bucke, their homes longer and thicker than of the bugle, and thereto they haue side tailed that reach vnto the earth. It is enuironed on euerie part with rockie or rockie crags, whereby few vessels may land there but at one place, where the working of the sea is oftentimes so terrible & rough, that no man dare aduenture thither without danger of his life. They that go thither therefore, do watch their times when the sea is calme and still. In the moneth of June also, a priest commeth vnto them out of Lewis, and ministrereth the sacrament of baptism to all the childzen that haue bene borne there since that moneth in the yere precedent: which being done, and a certeine number of masses said, he receiuerth tithes of all their commodities, and then returneth home againe.

In the Isle of Lewis are two churches or chapels, whereof one is dedicated to saint Peter, another to saint Clement. The same is, that so some as the fire goeth out in this Isle, the man that is holden of most cleane and innocent life, goeth to the altar with great solemnitie, and there laith a wispe of straw, which being done they fall all to praier, in the midst whereof fire commeth downe from heauen and kindleth or setteth the same on fire. Beyond this is yet another Isle, but void of people and all other liuing creatures, sauing a certeine kind of beasts like vnto sheepe, whose nature and forme I haue already touched in the description of Britaine, and therefore omit it here for brief and breuitie sake. Betwixt these Isles also is a right dangerous passage, with the sea by working of opposite streames hath ingendred a gulf, which sometimes taketh in an incomprehensible deale of water, and sometimes casteth it forth againe, by means whereof many ships that

that by rage of wind and weather are enforced to come that waie, are either swallowed by by the waues, or throtne against the rocks to their utter danger and ruine. The greatest rage of this confluence is at a place called Cozebucke, where it will either sinke, or at the least wile draw any ship unto it, though it be a full mile distant from the same.

Of the nature of the Claik geese,
and sundrie maners of their pro-
creation, and of the Ile
of Thule.

The eleuenth Chapter.

Now it is come to hand that I intreat of those geese which are ingendred by the sea, whose procreation hath hitherto been thought to haue bene made vpon trees. But the opinion is false, and yet with their generation is strange indeed, I haue not a little trauelled, and with no small diligence endeavourd to search out the truth hereof, whereby I learne that their ingendure is rather to be referred to the sea, than any thing els, if my coniecture be oughts: for although that they are in sundrie wise produced, yet I find the same to be performed continually in the sea, and not elswhere, as shall appere hereafter. All trees cast into that element in procelle of time become woormeaten, and in the holes thereof are the said woormes to be found, though verie little and small (in comparison to that they be afterward) to be perceived at the first. In the beginning, these woormes do shew their heads and feet, and last of all their plumes & wings. Finally when they are come to the iust measure and quantitie of geese, they lie in the aire as other fowles do.

This was notablie proved in the yeare of Grace 1490, in sight of many people, beside the castell of Pedego, whither the bodie of a great tree was brought by working of the sea. This tree being taken, it was carried to the lord of the Isle, who soon after caused it to be slit in sunder with a saw: which being done, it is incredible to see, what a multitude of woormes came out of their holes. Of these also some appeared as if they had bene but new shapen, others had head, feet and wings, but no feathers; the rest were formed into perfect fowles. At last when the people had gazed thereon by the space of an whole daie, they carried it to saint Andrews church beside Leith, where the said blocke remains still to be seene. Within two yeeres after there hapned such another tree to come into the fieth of Tay beside Dundee; woormeaten and full of young geese after the same manner: the third was come in the haven of Leith beside Edinburgh, and also within a few yeeres, in like sort a ship named the Christopher, after the bodie lian three yeeres at anchor in one of these Isles, was brought to Leith, where because his timber was found to be rotten he was taken in sunder, and in his holes were found infinite holes as if they had bene eaten with woormes, or bored with a wimble, and each one of them filled with such creatures as I haue said before.

Where if any man will alledge that the Christopher was builded of such timber as lie in the Isles, and that all trees and trunks there growing, are of such nature as in their corruption do turne into these fowles, I will disprove his assertion by one notable example the trees before mine eyes. After A-

lexander Galloway parson of Kirkell, was sent by in these Isles, & giving his mind with attentive diligence to search out a full resolution with vs of these obscure and hidden matters, it hapned on a time that he took by a branch of Alga, called in Scottish, Seat-angle, which hanged full of muskle shels from the root euen to the verie top. Being also desirous to see what was in them, he grew to be more astonished than before: for when he had opened one or two of them, he saw no fish but a foule perfectlie shapen, fullie answering to the capacite of the shell.

Finally, knowing that I was verie inquisitive of these and the like rare nouelties, he came basillie with the said hearbe & shewed it unto me, who found no lesse by experience than I before reported. By these and many other reasons and examples I cannot beleaue that these Claiks (or Barnacles as I call them) are produced either by the qualities of the trees or the roots thereof, but onelie by the nature of the sea, which is the verie cause and productrix of so manie wonderfull creatures. Furthermore, because the rude and ignorant people saw oftentimes the fruits that fell from trees, which stood neuer in the sea, conuerted within short time into geese, they beleaued that these geese grew vpon trees, hanging by their nebs as apples and other fruit do by their stalks, but their opinion is vterlie to be rejected. For so some as these apples or fruit fall from the tree into the sea, they grow first to be woormeaten, and in procelle of time to be conuerted into geese.

Thus haue I spoken sufficientlie of the Isles of the Orkneys adiacent unto the realme of Scotland, and therewithall would shut up my discourse of the same, were it not that I haue somewhat to say also of Thule, not unknowne unto the Romans, as may appere by Tacitus, who telleth how the Romane nauie by the commandement of Agricola, was sent to view the coasts of the whole Island of Britaine, and at their returne reported how they had seene the Thule, with other Islands lieng about the same. Ptoleme witnesseth that the Ile of Thule is one of the Shetland Isles, which lie nere unto Norway, and beyond the Orkneys; but this cannot be proved so by late experience: for Thule is manie miles distant from Shetland. Some say that Thule is the same which we call Island: other wisse that it is the last Ile of the ocean sea, and so is Island, which lieth in the cold frostie sea, beyond the Arctike circle toward the north pole. The people of Island because no come groweth among them, live onelie by fish, which they drie and powder so small as meale doth come backe from the mill, afterward they mixe it with water, and worke it up for bread.

Of the description of Orkeney, and
Shetland, with sundrie other small Isles,
and of the maners and conditions of the
people dwelling in the same.

The twelue Chapter.

Beyond the Isles of Scotland lie those of Orkeney, partlie toward the north west, and partlie toward the Almain seas. The principall Ile of these is called Orkeney, wherein is a bishopsee, and two strong castles. In these groweth no wheat, they are in like sort hold of wood, howbeit all other graine groweth there verie plentifullie, they be without all venomous beasts also, neither can such as are brought thither live anie while.

while, more than in Ireland, which susteineth no creature that is aduersarie to mankind.ouer and besides this, there are no frogs: as for eies they are seldome found and to be seene in the Orkades. Having thus fallen into the mention of Ireland, I thinke it good among diuers other rare gifts of nature, to remember one thing that I haue proued by experience to be done there (although the tractation of Ireland and hir commodities apperteine not to this place) which farre passeth all that euer I haue read in booke.

Certes there is a loch, lin, or pole there, nere vnto the which by manie miles, there groweth neither herbe nor tree; howbeit such is the qualitie of this water, that if a stake be pitched in the same, the nature thereof doth within one yeres space alter and change exceedinglie, for that part thereof which standeth in the ground is conuerted into hard stone, the same that is inuironed with water turneth into tough iron, onelie that portion which is aboue the said element retaining hir former wooddie substance, whereby it is often seene how in one and the same bodie, three distinct substances are found, that is to say, stone, iron, and wood, which farre exceedeth all credit. But to returne againe to our Orkades, whereof things of little or no lesse importance are to be reherfed, for sith there is great abundance of barley thereof they make the strongest ale that is to be found in Albion, and thereto knowne, that they are the greatest drinkers of anie men in the world; yet was there neuer drunken or man disguised with drink seene there, neither anie foole, or person otherwise bereft of his wits through frensie or madness. There is herevnto small vse of physicke: for mankind liueth there most commonlie vnto extreme age in sound and perfect health, whose bodies also are of strong constitution and verie white of colour.

The ewes that are to be found in these Ilands haue for the most part two or three lambs a peece at euerie eaning, and therewithall they haue in this countrie such plentie of foules both wild and tame, as the like number againe is not to be found in Britaine. Their horses are little greater than the French asses, but in their labour they exceed all other. What should I speake of the plentie of fish there to be had, which passeth all credit: among which there is one sort greater than anie horse, of a marvellous and incredible sluggish desire to sleepe. This fish when they prouideth to sleepe, fasteneth hir huge teeth vpon some crag that lieth aboue the water, and then slumbreth or falleth into a most sound rest, which the seafaring men espiong, they forthwith cast anchor, and then letting downe their ship-boats, they conueie themselves to the fish, and bore a great hole through hir taile, wherevnto they put one end of a cable, and so make it sure; the other end is fastened to a great anchor, which is let fall of purpose into the sea, and this is their enterpryse attempted yer long to be achieved. For after this wound, it is not long per the fish awaketh, who feeling himselfe to be hurt, leapeeth at once into the sea, thinking to hide and shroud hir in the deepes: but being staid by the weight of the anchor, and endeavouring in vaine to breake the cable, she labourerth to beheinmentlie, that at the last she windeth hir selfe out of hir skin (for the which she is commonlie taken) and sone after also turneth vp hir bellicke, yielding herselfe vnto the waues, and hir bodie to the martiners, who make an excellent oile of hir greafe, and passing strong cables of hir hide or skin. Certes such is the force of rope made of the skin of this fish, that they will hold at a plunge no lesse than the Spanish sparto. Herein also they exceed the same, in that they will continue verie long without fretting asunder.

An hundred miles beyond the Orkades are the

Shetland Iles, whose chiefe commodities stand onelie by fish which is dried in the sun. There are brought also into Scotland out of these Ilands great store of shepes selles, ore hides, gotes skirnes, and calves of martirnes dried in the sunne. And in the same maner the merchants of Holland, Zealand and Germanie, fetch them yerelely by barter and exchange for other common and necessarie wares, with the people of that nation, who for maners and conditions resemble much the Orkanois. The same in like sort that is said of the Orkanois, concerning drunkennes and frensie, is verified on them, as is also their length of life, although not in so rare maner: sith these in stead of strong ale, content themselves with water, and verie slender diet. Beyond the Shetlands there are diuerse other Ilands of like condition, but without corne and all maner of flesh to feed vpon. These drie their fish in the sunne, and when they are through drie, they grind them to small powder, which they worke vp with water into loaves, and so vse the same in lieu of other bread. Their firing consisteth of the bones of such fishes as they take, and yet they content themselves in such maner with this their poore kind of liuelode, that they thinke their estate most happie in respect of such as inhabit in the maine.

Certes there is no quarrelling amongst these for wealth or gaine, but each one prouideth such store of fish in summer which he taketh himselfe, as shall find his familie, or keepe his house in winter. They are bold of all ambitious mood, and neuer troubled with ciuill or foren warres, as men that demie firme peace and quietnesse, with mutual lone and amitie, to be the chiefe felicitie to be sought for in this life, and to remaine herein, each one to his power both theto his whole indoument. This finaltie is to be added vnto their commendation, that they are simple, plaine, bold of craft, and all maner of serpentine subtiltie, which endeth commonlie with most chiefe, and reigneth in the maine. Dace in the peece there commeth a priest vnto them from Aikney, (of which diocesse they are) who ministrerth vnto them the sacrament of baptisme, and after a certein time (having taken vp in the meane time his tithes in fish, which is their sole increase, and verie true paid) he returneth home againe the same way that he came.

If anie gifts of nature are to be numbered as parcels of wooddie riches and reuoluing, they are not without these also: for the people of these Iles are lustie, faste, strong of bodie, and high of stature, so that nature hath not failed to indue them with these things, and that in most excellent maner. What should I say of their health, which is and may be preferred aboue all treasure, as they well know that are oppressed with long and grievous infirmities: For here among these men, you shall verie seldome heare of sickness, so fast and anie until extreme age come that killeth them altogether, and this is that exceeding behest naturallie appointed vnto their carcases. As for their quietnesse of mind, it is alwaies such as is constant, vnderstandable, and the returne comparable with any riches or huge masse of wooddie treasure.

Here vnto furthermore, if it be true riches (as it is in deed) for eche one not to covet other mens goods, but to content himselfe with that which is his owne, and not to stand in need of any thing, can anie man be found in any other region more rich and fortunate than the Shetland men and their Ilands. I thinke, if these be the true honors, and reuerend desires which the obedient sonne with great amicitie and bold of all diffidence, dasheth vnto his good parents, and therewithall the best of his own marvellous

lie resolute and delite themselves: And that these are also not wanting in these regions, can we ill say that these men do lacke anie thing, or shall we not rather asseme with great assurance, that they rather stand in need of nothing that anie mortall man can lustie with or desire?

But if there be anie man that will accuse me of vntruth in the recitall of these things, as one that lieth lowd and by authoritie of a people dwelling far off, for so much as I my selfe was neuer in those lands, he shall vnderstand that I learned all these things of the reuerend father Edward bishop of the Orkades, with whom one of these Islanders dwelled, who not onelie made a like rehearfall of these things with his owne mouth, but also verified the same in his owne person, for his height far passed the common stature of men, thereto he was excellentie well featured in his lims, so white of skin ouer all, that he might contend in beantie with anie ladie of the Land, and finalle so white and strong of bodie, that no man in all those quarters durst run or wrestle with him. Hereby also we may see, how far they are deceiued which iudge them to be barbarous, and miserable creatures, that inhabit far from the tropike lines, for there are no people more happie than those that dwell in these quarters, as I haue proued already.

Furthermore, among the rocks and crags of these Isles groweth the delectable amber, called *E-lestrum*, *Chrysolestrum*, or (as Dioscorides saith) *Pterygophoran*, indued with so belement an attractive force, that being chased it draweth straw, flor, and other like light matter vnto it. This gum is ingendred of the sea froth, which is thowen vp by continuall repercussion of crags and rocks against the sea walls, and through perpetuall working of the waues groweth in time to become tough as glue, till it fall at the last from the rocks againe into the sea. Such as haue often viewed and marked the generation of this gum, whilst it hangeth on the rocks, asseme it to be like a froth and bubble of water without all masse hardness, because that as yet it is not sufficientie hardened by the working of the element. Sometimes the Scatangle is found inuironed also withall, because it is driven hither and thither by the working of the waues, and so long as it floats to and fro in this manner, so long is it apt to cleare to anie thing that it toucheth.

Two yeares before I wrote this booke, there came a great lump of amber into Buchquhane, in quantitie so big as anie horse, which the heardmen that kept their cattell nere hand caught up, & not knowing in deed what it was, they caried it home, and threw a portion thereof into the fire: finalle, perceiving a sweet and delectable sauour to proceed from the same, they ran by & by to the priest of the towne where they dwelled, telling him how they had found a peece of stufte which would serue verie well in stead of frankincense, wherewith to perfume his saints or rather Idols in the church. These men supposed that Sir John had bene more cunning than themselves, but contrarie to their expectation, it fell out that he was no lesse vnskillfull & void of knowledge than they; and therefore refusing the whole lump, he took but a small portion thereof, and returned the rest vnto them, whereby it came to little profit and lesse gaine among the common sort, who suffered it to perish by reason of their vnskillfulnesse. Certes when they brake it in peeces, it resembled in color vnto the purest gold, & shined as if it had bene the late flame of a candle. Wherein also the proverbe was proued true, that the sow recks not of balie. But to come as I vnderstand of the matter, I used such diligence, that one portion thereof was brought to

me at Aberdeen. And thus much of the *Hebrides*, *Orkades*, and *Shetland* Isles subiect vnto the Scottish regimēt.

I might (no doubt) haue made rehearfall of diuers other strange things touching the nothing in this behalfe: but I haue made choise onelie of the most rare and excellent, and so would finish this description, were it not that one thing hath staied me right pleasant to be remembred, as an vncouth & strange incident, wherof maister James Ogilbie ambassadour from James our king (among other) vnto the king of France, hath certified me, and wherof he had experience of late, at such time as he was constrained by tempest of weather to get to land in Norwaye. Thus standeth the case, being thus (as I said) vpon the shore of Norwaye, he and his companie saw a kind of people ranging vp & downe in the mountains there, much like vnto those which diuers pictures giue forth for wild men, hearte and vgly to behold. In the end being aduertised that they were sauage and wild beasts; yet neuerthelesse deable enemies to mankind: they vnderstood therevnto, that although in the day time they abhorred and feared the sight of man, yet in the night they would by great companies invade the small villages & countrie townes, killing and sleaing so manie as they found, or where no dogs were kept to put by their rage and furie.

Certes such is their nature, that they stand in great feare of dogs, at whose barking and sight they flee and run away with no small hast and terror, wherfore the inhabitants are enforced to cherishe great numbers of the said beasts, thereby to keepe off those wild men that otherwile would annoy them. They are moreover of such strength, that sometimes they pull vp young trees by the roots to fight withall among themselves. The ambassadours seeing these vncouth creatures, were not a little astonished, and therefore to be sure from all inuasion, procured a strong garrd to watch all night about them, with great fires to giue light ouer all that quarter, till on the morrow that they toke the sea, and so departed thence. Finalle, the Norwegians shewed them, that there was another people not far off, which liued all the summer time in the sea like fish, & fed of such as they did catch, but in the winter half (because the water is cold) they preyed vpon such wild beasts as fed on the mountains, which coming downe from the snowe hills to graze in the vallies, they killed with darts and weapons, and caried vnto their cates. In this exercise also they tie little boards to their feet, which beate them vp from sinking into the snow, and so with a traffe in their hands they make the better shift to cline vp and come downe from the crags & mountains, whereof in that region there is verie great plenitie and abundance.

Of the maners of the Scots in these daies, and their comparison with the behauiour of the old, and such as liued long since with them.

The xij. Chapter

As much as I haue heard of the maners of the Scots in these daies, and their comparison with the behauiour of the old, and such as liued long since with them, I haue thought good to set downe, to the end it may be knowne how far our nation in these daies are different in their maners and behauiour.

The description of Scotland.

behaviour from those of our forefathers, and hereunto although I assure my selfe already that the revealing of these things will procure unto me the hatred of sundrie worthy or renowned personages (of which few will yield to heare their doings touched or their errors reproued) yet because I owe such duetie and service unto those that haue made this request unto me, and least I should seeme ingrate not to hearken unto them in this behalfe; I haue condescended to the performance of their desires, and so much the rather, for that they alledge how it will be verie profitable unto all the readers, but especially such as are not immoderately given over unto their owne affections, nor so wholly drowned in their owne sensuality and pleasures, but upon consideration of wholesome admonition will be verie willing to leaue whatsoever offendeth in them.

First of all therefore, I will declare what vices haue bene among our elders both in time of warre and peace, and by what wisdom and industrie they haue preuailed so long time against such and so many mightie aduersaries, as first the Britains, then the Saxons, next of all the Danes which haue entered into this Island with huge armies to spoile and subdue the same. Furthermore, I will set downe with so much breuitie as I can, both the falling by little and little from the frugality and customs of their forefathers, their vertue and force also began in like order to decaye. And finally how in these daies either by the clemencie of our neighbours, or by their delicate negligence rather than by our owne prowllesse, we liue in securitie, and thereby as it were overwhelmed and wapped by in all auarice and excellence, whereinto our want of exercise and martiall prowllesse doth maruellouslie impell vs.

Certes I beleue that by this meanes such as are of the more courageous sort (& yet retaining a sauour of the temperancie of their elders) will reioice to heare their manhood & great prowllesse commended in this wise, as others of the contrarie sort (in seruile maner addicted to gather goods, and spend their times in idle excellence and riot) seeing their errors iustlie reprehended, and the dishonour gotten thereby openly reuealed, will the rather adreffe themselves to reformation of their estate, thereby to recover the ancient renowne of their forefathers, in answering to their prowllesse, than proue a reproch unto their successors, through their lewd behaviours neuer to be forgiven. This I protest before all men, that whatsoever I shall speake of the euill manners of our times, I do not meane it unto all, but those onely whome blind selfe-love, couetousnes, intemperancie, excellence and abuse of all Gods good gifts haue so touched, that they deserue much more to be reprehended than I will vouchsafe to attempt in this my latewarde treatise. Therefore if anie may shall thinke himselfe to be rubbed on the gall by me, I counsell him that he conceale not his infirmities, by seeking reuenge on other men, but rather endeavour to procure the remedie in first acknowledging his misdeeds, which is the one and better halfe of his cure.

Our elders although they were right vertuous both in warre abroad, and at home in peace, were yet neuertheless in conuersation & behaviour verie temperat, which is the fountaine & originall of all vertues. In these they were competent, in meate and drinke sober, and contented with such food as was ready at hand and prepared with little cost. Their bread consisted of such stuff as grew most readily on the ground, without all manner of sifting and bolting, whereby to please the palate; but baked up as it came from the mill with out anie such curiositie, which is a great abasing of the force thereof unto

our daile nourishment. The first whereon they chiefly fed, was either such as they got by hunting, wherein they tooke great delight, and which increased not a little their strength and nimblenesse, or else such tame catell as they bred up at home, whereof beefe was accounted the principall, as it is yet in our daies, though after an other maner and far discrepant from the vse and custome of other countries. The stirk or young beastes ungilded, we either kill young for beale, or geld, to the end that they may serue afterwarde for tillage in earing up of the ground, but the cotwalfes and heifers are neuer killed till they be with calfe, for then are they fattest and most delicious to the mouth. The common meat of our elders was fish, howbeit not onlie so much for the plentie thereof, as for that our lands laie often wast and vntilled, because of the great warres which they commonlie had in hand. They brake also their fast earlie in the morning, with some slender repast, and so continued without anie other diet untill supper time, in which they had but one dish, whereby it came to passe, that their stomachs were neuer overcharged, nor their bones desirous of rest through the fullnesse of their bellies. At such time as they determined of set purpose to be merie, they used a kind of Aquavite void of all spice, and onlie consisting of such herbes & roots as grew in their owne gardens, otherwise their common drinke was ale: but in time of warre, when they were enforced to lie in campe, they contented themselves with water as rediest for their turnes. Each souldier also had so much meale as might serue him for a daie which he made up in cakes, and baked on the coles, as the Romans sometimes used to do, and the emperor Caracalla himselfe (as Herodian hath remembred.) Seldome did they eate anie flesh in their tents, except they got it from their aduersaries; such as they had likewise was eaten halfe raw, because they supposed the iuice thereof so used to nourish verie abundantly. But fish was much more plentifull amongst them, especially when they wanted their vsuall pries, or could not attaine vnto them.

They brought furthermore from their houses to the field with them, a vessell of butter, cheefe, meale, milke, and vineger tempered together as a shot against extreme hunger, on which they would feed and sucke out the moisture, when other provision could not be gotten. In like maner, whensoever they had entred into league and amitie with their enemies, they would not liue in such securitie, that thereby they would suffer their bodies & forces to degenerat, but they did keepe themselves in their former activitie and nimblenesse of lims, either with continuall hunting (a game greatly esteemed amongst our ancestors) or with running from the hilles unto the vallies, or from the vallies unto the hilles, or with wrestling, and such kinds of pastimes whereby they were neuer idle. Their heads were alwaies shaven after the maner of the ancient Spaniards, with a little tuft of heare onlie left on their foreparts, and neuer covered, except when they were troubled with sickness, by which means it came to passe, that few of our nation in old time was faine to be bald and hearelesse. They went also barefooted, or if they had anie shoes, they dipped them first in the water per they did put them on, especially in winter when sharpest weather they used it selfe, to the end that the soles of their feet which were well hardened in summer with heat and in winter with cold might be more strong and able to susteine great labour and daile travel.

Their apparrell was not made for beautie and pompe, but as should seme best to couer their bodies, and

and serue their appointed vices, their hosen were shapen also of linnen or woollen, which neuer came higher than their knees, their breeches were for the most part of hennye, clothes also they had for winter made of coarse wooll, but in the summer time they ware of the finest that could be gotten. They slept moreouer either vpon the bare floze or pallets of straw, teaching their children euen from their infancy to eschew ease, and praise the like hardnesse; and sith it was a cause of suspicion of the mothers fidelitie toward hir husband, to seeke a strange nurse for hir children (although hir milke failed) each woman would take intolerable paines to bring vp and nourish hir owne children. They thought them furthermore not to be kinde fostered, except they were so well nourished after their birth with the milke of their breasts, as they were before they were borne with the blood of their owne bellies, nay they feared least they should degenerat and grow out of kind, except they gaue them sucke themselves, and eschewed strange milke, therefore in labour and painfulnesse they were equall, & neither ser regarded the heat in summer or cold in winter, but travelled barefooted, and in time of warres the men had their cariages and victuals trusted behind them on their horses, or else vpon their owne shoulders without refusal of anie labour intained vnto them by their captains.

If it hapened them at anie time to be vanquished, they fled with such speed to the mounteins, that no horse might ouertake them, and verie oft escaped. The violence that was done to anie one of them, was reputed common to all, & such was their deadly fude conceiued in these cases, that vntill they had requited the like with more extremitie, they would neuer be quiet no; let go their displeasure. The noblest and most courageous gentleman would sonnest desire to be placed in the fore ward, where his valourage of seruice & manhood should readiest be scene, and such was the friendship of the nobilitie amongst themselves, that whilst they contended which of them should be most faithfull and friendly to other, they would oft fall out, and quarell one with another. Sometimes it hapened that their captiue was beset with extreme perill, or peraduenture some other of the nobilitie, in which cases they that were of his band would suddenly rush in through the thickest of their enemies vnto him, and deliuer him, or else if they could not so do, they would altogether lose their liues with him, thinking it a perpetuall note of reproch to ouerlive their leader.

The graues and sepulchers of our noble men had commonlie so manie obelisks and spires pitched about them, as the deceased had killed enemies before time in the field. If anie soldier had bene found in the field without his hilt and tinder box, or had walked or gone vp and downe with his sword at his side, and not naked in his hand, he was terrible scourged; but he that sold or moigaged his weapon, was forthwith cut from his company, and banished as an exile; he that fled or went from the battell without leaue of his capitaine, was slaine wheresoever he was met afterward, without anie iudgement or sentence, and all his goods confiscated to the prince. Their light armout in those daies consisted of the lance, the bow, the long sword which hanged at the side of the owner, and thereto a backler, but afterward heavier armour came into generall v sage.

In these daies also the women of our countrie were of no lesse courage than the men, for all stout maidens & wiues (if they were not with child) marched as well in the field as did the men, and so some

as the armie did set forthward, they slue the first liuing creature that they found, in whose blood they not onelie bathed their swords, but also tasted thereof with their mouthes, with no lesse religion and assurance conceiued, than if they had already bene sure of some notable and fortunate victorie. When they saw their owne blood run from them in the sight, they feared neuer a whit astonished with the matter, but rather doubling their courages, with more egerneesse they assailed their enemies. This also is to be noted of them, that they neuer sought anie victorie by treason, falshood, or sleight, as thinking it a great reproch to win the field any otherwise than by merite manhood, prowess and plaine dealing.

When they went forth vnto the wars, each one went with the king of his owne cost (except the hired souldiours) which custome is yet in vse. If any were troubled with the falling euill, or leprosie, or fallen frantike, or otherwise was out of his wits, they were diligentlie sought out: and least those diseases should passe further by infectious generation vnto their issue & posteritie, they gelded the men. But the women were secluded to some odd place far off from the companie of men, where if the afterward hapened to be gotten with child, both she and the infant were run through with the lance. Gluttons and raueners, drunkards, and egregious deuourers of victuals were punished also by death, first being permitted to deuoure so much as they listed, and then drowned in one fresh riuer or other.

Furthermore, as iustice in time of war was commonlie giuen to perke, so in daies of peace our countrymen that offended, were oft seuerelie punished and with inconuenient rigor. For they well considered that after their people should returne & come home againe from the warres, they would be giuen to so many enormities, that the same their excellie should haplie be restrained but by extreme seueritie: such also was their nature, that so long as they knew themselves guiltie of any offense committed against the estate or commonwealth, their first attempt was to set discord amongst the peres and princes of the realme, neuertheless when they are gentlie intreated, and with courteous moderation, they are found to be verie tractable and pliant vnto reason: in private bargains & contracts they are so willing to giue euerie man his own, that they will yeeld the more. And so farre is it growne into a custome euen in these our daies, that except there be some surplage about the bare covenant, they will breake off and not go forwards with the bargain.

They vied at the first the rites and maners of the Egyptians from whence they came, and in all their private affaires they vied not to write with common letters, as other nations did; but rather with cyphers and figures of creatures made in maner of letters, as their cyphers vpon their towines and sepulchers remaining amongst vs do hitherto declare. Nevertheless in our times this hieroglyphicall maner of writing (I wot not by what means) is perfected and lost, and yet they haue certein letters proper vnto themselves, which were sometime in common vse: but among such as retaine the ancient speech, they haue their aspirations, diphongs, and pronunciation better than any other. The common sort are not in vse withall, but onlie they which inhabit in the higher part of the countrie, and sith they haue their language more eloquent and apt than others, they are called poets, they make also poets withyng at solemnitie and honour, being borne out thereby by the authoritie of the prince. Besides the skill also of many other arts and sciences, whose rules and methods are

The description of Scotland.

are turned into the said language, are given by tradition from their elders, they chafie excell in physique, wherein they go far beyond manie other, who learning of them the natures and qualities of such beards as grow in those quarters, doe heale all manner of diseases euen by their onelie application.

Certes there is no region in the whole world so barren & vnfruitfull, through distance from the sun, but by the prouidence of God all manner of necessaries for the sustentation of mankind dwelling there are to be had therein, if the inhabitants were such as had any skill how to vse the same in order. Fewer thelesse our elders, which dwelled continuallie vpon the marches of England, learned the Saxon tong through continuall trade of merchandize and hazard of the wars long since, whereby it came to passe that we neglected our owne language, & our owne manners, and thereto both our ancient order in writing and speaking is bitterlie left among vs, that inhabit nere vnto them; whereas contrariwise those that dwell in the mounteins reteine still their ancient speech and letters, and almost all their old rites, wherunto in time past their forefathers haue bene accustomed. One thing hereof also may euidentlie be seene (for an example) in their boats which they call carrocks, for being made of oliers and couered with bull hides, they vse to passe and repasse with them ouer their riuers and waters in catching of samons, and when they haue done, they beare them on their backs vnto that place sooner it pleasech them.

But we will now leaue the manners of our ancient friends, and intreat of our later countrymen. In proceesse of time therefore, and chafie about the pates of Malcolme Canmore, our manners began greatly to change and alter. For when our neighbors the Britons began, after they were subdued by the Romans, to warre idle and slothfull, and therebyen ouer out of their countrie into Wales by their enemies the Saxons, we began to haue alliance (by proximity of the Romans) with Englishmen, speciallie after the subuersion of the Picts, and through our daile trades and conuersation with them, to learne also their manners, and therewithall their language, as I haue said already. Whereby shortly after it came also to passe, that the temperance and vertue of our ancestors grew to be fudged with the of small estimation amongst vs, notwithstanding that a certeine idle desire of our former renowne did still remaine within vs.

Furthermore as men not walking in the right path, we began to follow also the vaine shadow of the Germane honor and titles of nobilitie, and boasting of the same after the English manner, it fell out per long, that whereas he in times past was accounted onlie honorable, which excelled other men not in riches and possessions, but in prowesse and manhood, now he would be taken most glorious that went laden with most titles, wherof it came to passe, that some were named dukes, some earles, some lords, some barons, in which vaine puffes they fired all their felicitie. Before time the noble men of Scotland were of one condition, & called by the name of Thanes, so much in Latine as *Quætores regis*, gatherers of the kings duties, in English: and this denomination was giuen vnto them after their desert and merit.

But how far we in these present daies are swayed from the vertues and temperance of our elders, I beleue there is no man so eloquent, nor indued with such vterance, as that he is able sufficientlie to expresse. For whereas they gaue their minds to dooghtinesse, we applie our selues to drunkennes: they had plentie with sufficiencie, we haue moderate excell with superfluitie: they were temperate,

we effeminate: and so is the case now altered with vs, that he which can deuoure and drinke most, is the noblest man and most honest companion, and there to hath no pære if he can once find the vaine, though with his great trauell to puruey himselfe of the plentifullest number of new fine and delicate dishes, and best prouoke his stomach to receiue the greatest quantitie of them, though he neuer make due digestion of it.

Being thus drownded in our delicate gluttonie, it is a world to see, how we stuffe our selues both daie and night, neuer ceasing to ingorge & potize in, till our bellies be so full that we must needs depart. Certes it is not supposed meet that we should now content our selues with breakfast and supper onlie, as our elders haue done before vs, nor inough that we haue added our dinner vnto their aforesaid meales, but we must haue thereto our beuerages and rare suppers, so that small time is spared wherein to occupie our selues in any goodlie exercise, with almost the whole daie and night doo scarcelie suffice for the filling of our panches. We haue also our merchants, whose charge is not to looke out, and bring home such things as necessarilie pertaine to the maintenance of our liues, but vnto the furniture of our kitchen, and these search all the secret corners of our forests for venison, of the aire for foules, and of the sea for fish, for wine also they trauell not only into France, whose wines doe now grow into contempt, but also into Spaine, Italie and Græce: nay Affrike is not void of our factors, no nor Asia, and onelie for fine and delicate wines if they might be had for monie.

In like sort they gad ouer all the world for sweet and pleasant spices, and drugs (prouokers vnto all lust and licentiousnesse of behauiour) as men that aduenture their otiose liues to bring home posson and destruction vnto their countrymen, as if the mind were not already sufficientlie breest of his image of the fleshlie, but must yet more be clogged and ouerladen with such a franked case, therewithall to be extinguished outright, which already dwelleth or is buried rather in such an vglie sepulchre. The bodie likewise being oppressed with such a heape of superfluous food, although otherwise it be indued with an excellent nature, cannot be able to execute his office, nor keepe him selfe by right, but must needs yeeld as overcome, and to be torne in peeces and rent with sundrie maladies.

Hereof also it cometh to passe, that our countrymen travelling into the colder regions are now a daies contrarie to their former usage taken sometime with feuers, whereby their inward parts doe burne and parch as it were with continuall fier, the onelie cause wherof we may ascribe vnto those hot spices and drugs which are brought vnto vs from the hot countries. Others of them are so swollen and grovne full of humors, that they are often taken suddenly, and die of vehement apoplexies, and although here and there one or two recover for a little while, yet are they but dead people, reuiving againe, leading the rest of their liues like shadows, and walking about as if they were buried already.

Our youth also following these vnhappy steps of their parents, giue themselves wholly to lust and licentiousnesse, hauing all vertue and knowledge in contempt, and eschewing the same as a pestilence and subuersion of their pleasures, wherunto they applie themselves as vnto the most excellent trade. But sithens they are now inured, and as it were haunted with these vices, when time doth come of seruice, and that our countrie shall stand in need of manhood, these will become so effeminate, that they must now ride on horsebacke as clad in beautes armor, for on foot they cannot go by reason of their fatness,

ness which choiceth by their vitall forces, neither be able to performe anie thing at all in comparison of the soueraigne manhood and prowesse of their elders. So some also as they returne home, because their possessions are not otherwise able to nourish them by in pleasure and pampering of their manes, they must fall to couetous and greedy practices, thereby to enrich themselves, or else proue strong thieues, or finally solvers of dissention and discorde among the noble men, thereby to praeie some commoditie.

Certes these and other vices following them necessarilie, proceede generallie from none other fountaine than voluptuous life and intemperancie, the which if we would restraine, there is no region vnder the sunne that would proue more wholsome, lesse subiect to pestilence, nor more commodious and profitable for the sustentation of hir people. Certes I despaire not of the redress of these things, but still hope that in short time these corrupt manners of my countreimen will be turned into better frame. We are not yet become impudent, neither altogether haue cast off our shamefastnesse, sith that in a great manie some remainder of our ancient sobernesse and manhood doth yet appeare, and thereto newnesse of life with feruent deuotion increase euerie day, through the working of the zeale of our christian religion in vs.

This also will I adde, without offense vnto other nations, that there was neuer people more stedfast to my knowledg in the christian faith, nor more constant in their faithfull promises, than the Scots haue bene since their first beginning: and for a conclusion I will say more, not onelie for their praise, but also in exhorting them vnto perseuerance, that as our people now liuing doe passe their ancestozs in sumptuous and curious attire, so they are more neat and fine in their houses, better giuen to learning, and much more magnificent in building and decking of their churches. God grant them also to returne to their former frugalitie, and that with speed, Amen.

Whitherto haue I translated Hector's description of Scotland out of the Scottis into the English tong, being not a little assted therein by the Latine, from whence sometime the translator swarueh not a little, as I haue done also from him, now and then following the Latine, and now and then gathering such sense out of both, as most did stand with my purposed breuitie. Now will I set downe the description of an ancient Pic, as I haue gathered it out of Herodian and other, and then I will giue ouer not onelie to write more at this present, but for euere hereafter of anie historிக்கal matters, sith I see that this honest kind of recreation is denied me, and all time spent about the same in these daies utterly condemned, as vaine and sauouring of negligence, and heathenish impietie.

The description of an ancient Pic.

The 14 Chapter.

The Pic (saith Herodian) hath generallie no vse in apparel, holbeit the nobler sort of them doe wrap their heads and wombs in hops of iron, which they take for great vaunerie, esteeming this kind of attire, in such as weare the same, to be a token of wealth and riches, and so great an ornament, as if they had worne gold or any costlie iewels. Beside this, and the shauing of their nether lip, they painted ouer their bodies with the images of all kinds of beasts, so that he was the gaisest man that had his skin most disguised in this maner.

Certes none of them regarded to increas anie apparel, because they esteemed it a great glorie to haue these paintings sene. In warres they were bold, and desirous to shed blood, contenting themselves (in stead of other armes) with a short lance, and narrow target or buckler, their swords were tied to their naked sides with a thong, and as for iacke, shirt of male, or helmet, they made no regard of them, because they would trouble them in swimming, or otherwise at a pinch, when they should be compelled to wade.

Dion wysing generallie of the whole countrie, diuideth it with Herodian into the Calidons & Preats, saing that the said countrie is verie sauage, their cities void of walles, and fields without townes: they liue moreover (saith he) by hunting and praeie, and oftentimes with the fruit of their trees: and albeit that they haue exceeding plentie of fish, yet they eat not of it. They liue naked in tents, and without shooes on their feet, their wines are common, and children generallie looked vnto: they haue moreover a populous regiment, and are verie readie to scale: they fight in wagons, and haue little light and swift horses, which run also verie swifflie, & stand at their feet with like steadfastnesse. In the nether end of their lances they haue hollow bullets of brasse, in each is a little peece or two of iron, which ratteth when they shake it, and maketh a strange noise where manie of them are together. They haue also narrow daggers, but cheslie they can susteine hunger and colde best of all men, and likewise soze labour: and if it happen them to hunger and haue no meat at hand, they will sit in the marshes by the chins by manie daies together. In the woods they fed on roots or barks of trees, and they haue a kind of meat among them, whereof if they take but so much as a beane, they neither hunger nor thirst in a long time after. And thus much of the Preats (which were the nearest vs) and the Calidons that dwelled beyond the wall, and both in their prouince called Maxima Cesariensis, whereof let this suffice.

The number of bishops in Scotland.

The xv Chapter.

| | | | |
|----|---|-------------|--------------------------|
| 50 | T he archbishop of S. Andrews | Albante. | Viscounties. |
| | Dydwes | Earledomes. | Berthke alias north Ber- |
| | Glasco | Cathnes | wike |
| | Dunfalden | Sotherland | Korbozob |
| | Dunblanen | Kolke | Selkirke |
| | Aberden | Porraue | Twedale |
| | Brechen | Buchquhan | Dunfrise |
| | Porraue | Carriach | Pididale |
| | Kos | Carmozan | Wigton |
| 60 | Whitherne | Har | Are |
| | Cathnes | Permis | Lanarke |
| | Argadie | Angus | Dumbritten |
| | Dykenie | Coluzi | Sterueling |
| | Ymor one of the fies which are exempt and pertaine vnto the pope. | Fiffe | Louthian |
| | Vniuersities. | Sparche | Clakmanan |
| | S. Andrews | Athole | Kimos |
| | Aberden | Stratherne | Fiffe |
| | Glasco. | Spenteth | Perth |
| | Dukedomes. | Leuenor | Angus |
| | Kothlap | Wigton | Permis |
| | | Duglasse | Aberden |
| | | Carrihe | Wamph |
| | | Crarford | Fozes |
| | | Annandale | Inuernes. |
| | | Durmonth | FINIS. |
| | | Huntley. | |

1585

THE
Historie of Scotland,
containing the beginning, in-
crease, proceedings, continuance,
acts and gouernement of the Scottish
nation, from the originall thereof
vnto the yeere 1571, gathered and
written in English by Raphael
Hollinshead: and continued
from 1571, to 1585, by
others:

With a table of the principall
particularities herein
conteined.

M. Pal. in Ari.

Historia placeant nostrates ac
peregrinae.

*Cum priuilegio Regia
Maestatis.*



To the Right Honorable the Lord
Robert Dudley, Earle of Leicester, Baron
of Denbigh, Knight of the most noble order
of the Garter, Maister of the Queenes
Maiesties horffe, and one of
hir Highnesse priuie
Councell.



I may seeme (Right Honorable) a great presumption in mee, to haue taken in hand the collection of this Scottish historie, and other of diuers regions, considering so many sufficient men as liue in these daies, farre more able to performe the same. But where at the motion of a speciall friend, I undertooke to deale therein, more vpon trust of his promised aid than of mine owne abilitie, it pleased GOD to call

him to his mercie before the worke could be fullie brought to an end: but yet to answer the expectation of his friends, and trust which he had committed to them and me in this behalfe, I haue doone my good will to accomplish part of that, which in his life time was intended, although not to my wished desire, by reason of such wants as had beene supplied if he had liued to haue scene it published himselfe.

It resteth (right noble Earle) that it may please your Honor to accept my dooings in good part, to whom I offer this parcell of my trauels in this historie of Scotland, in regard of the honor due to your noble father, for his incomparable valure well knowne and approoued, as well within that realme as else-where in seruice of two kings of most famous memorie, Henrie the eight & Edward the sixt, founding so greatlie to his renowme, as the same cannot passe in silence, whilst any remembrance of those two most peerelesse princes shall remaine in written histories. I therefore most humblie beseech your Honor, to beare with my boldnesse in presenting

C.ij.

ting you with so meane a gift, proceeding from one, although unknownen to your Lordship, yet not without experience of your bountifull goodnesse extended towards those, to whome I reckon my selfe most beholden. As what is he within this realme almost of anie degree, which findeth not himselfe bounden to your Honor, either in his owne causes or his friends? For such is your inclination to pleasure all men, as the same may seeme a peculiar vertue planted in your noble heart, moving you so much to delight therein, as no time is thought by your Honor better spent, than that which you employ in dooing good to others.

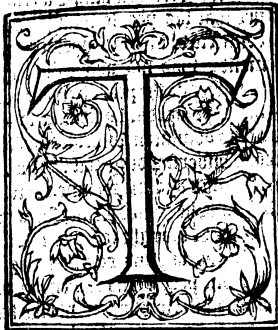
But least I should enter into so large a discourse, as might be framed of this and other your excellent vertues (a matter far exceeding my simple knowledge) I will ceasse to speake further thereof, sith the same is spread ouer all, as well this as other regions: for no where doo want great numbers of such as haue abundantlie tasted of your exceeding courtesies. In making you owner therefore of this abstract of the Scotish histories, I most humbly beseech your Honor, if anie thing be amisse, to impute the same to the imperfection and defect of better instructions, and with your benigne and favorable interpretation to haue me therein excused. Such as it is, I addresse it to your good Lordship with so dutifull a mind as may be imagined, beseeching God to preferue your Honor with plentifull increase of wisdom, vertue, and all wishfull prosperitie.

Your Honors most humble to be
commanded *Raphaell Hollinsbed.*





THE HISTORIE OF Scotland.



The Scottish men, according to the manner of other nations, esteeming it a glorie to fetch their beginning of great ancientie, say that their originall descent came fro the Grekes and Aegyptians; for there was (as

the old Scottish historiographers haue left writing) a certaine noble man among the Grekes, named Cathelus, the sonne of Cecrops, who builded the citie of Athens: or as some other would, he was the sonne of Argus Pealus, the fourth king of the Argiues. This Cathelus plaieng in his youth manie wild and unrulie parts in the countrie of Macedonia and Achata, was diuers times sharplie rebuked by his father and other of his friends: so that in fine disdaining their correction and vnhonorable admonitions, he was banished by his father: after which he got together a number of strong and lustie yong men, such as had vsed the like trade of lining, and with them fled ouer into Aegypt; and comming thither in the 33 yeare of Pharaos Dnus as then king of that countrie, was receiued of him in most glapfome wise, for that his seruice (as was thought) might stand in great stead in those warres, which the Aegyptians held at that time with the Aethiopsians that had invaded the realme of Aegypt, euen vnto Memphis. This Cathelus, to be short, went forth with his bands against the same Aethiopsians, vnder Moses the capteine generall of the armie, chosen thereto by diuine oracle (as Iosephus writeth) which Moses obtained the victorie, and conquered Saba by force being the chiefest and principall citie which stood in the Ile Speroe.

For such tokens of valiancie and worthie prowesse as Cathelus shewed, both in this countrie, and in other places, he grew also into such estimation with Pharaos, that he gaue him his daughter in mariage. But Moses was rather enuid than honored for his doing, because the Aegyptians doubted least the Israelites should increase to such a puissant multitude, that in the end they might vnrpe and challenge the gouernance of the whole realme, and bring it by rebelling into their owne hands: wherefore diuers informations were made to the king against him, so that when he once perceiued himselfe to be in danger of the lawe, and looked for no mercie at their hands, he fled from thence out of the countrie, & gat

him into the land of Adian. Vnto Cathelus and his people there was giuen a citie called Thebes [Aegyptiaca] being taken from the Israelites. Here you must vnderstand, that Pharaos daughter which Cathelus thus married, was called Scotia, of whose such as came of the posteritie of that nation were afterwards, and are at this present day called scoti, that is to say Scottishmen, and the land where they inhabit scotia, that is to say, Scotland.

Cathelus thus being advanced by such honorable marriage, liued all the daies of his father in late Pharaos Dnus, in great honor. But after his deceasse, and in the third generation, an other king named Pharaos Cheneres succeeded in his throne, who oppressed the people of Israel then abiding in Aegypt, with more bondage than euer his father or grandfather had done before him. Neither was there hope of anie redresse, till Moses returned by Gods appointment from amongst the Adianites (where he had remained in exile) into Aegypt, and there declared vnto this Pharaos, Gods commandement, touching the deliuerance of his people.

But forsomuch as his words were regarded, neither with the king, nor with his subjects, that land was plagued in most horrible manner, and moreover it was signified vnto such as sought to know what was meant by way of oracles, that sooner and more grievous plagues should after follow, if remedie were not found the sooner. Cathelus therefore being certified hereof, and giuing credit to the oracles aforesaid, determined out of hand to forsake the countrie, and take him a new place of abode in some other parties of the world. Wherefore he caused a number of ships to be rigged, and all necessarie purueiance to be provided, and when the same was once ready, and all things set in order, he took with him his wife and children, and a great multitude of people both Grekes and Aegyptians, whom he imbarked in those ships, and hoisting vp sailes, departed out of the mouth of the riuer Nilus, in the yeare of the worlds creation 2453, when he had dwelled in Aegypt 39 yeares and more. Being thus departed, after some trouble in the voyage, they arrived first on the coasts of Punidia, which is one of the regions of Affrike, now called Barbarie: but being put backe from thence by the stout resistance of the inhabitants, they took the seas againe, and landed in a part of Spaine, which long after was called Lusitania.

There be that haue written how it should be cleped post Cathelus of this Cathelus, and certaine yeares after Lusitania, and estones againe in a manner to haue got the former name, being somewhat corruptly called Boztungale. But who is able in a matter of such ancientie to auouch anie thing for truth?

C. li.

Cathelus

The citie of Thebes was giuen vnto Cathelus.

Scotia daughter to Pharaos.

The credit of this historie of Cathelus we leane to the authors. Israel oppressed.

Moses came out of Adian into Aegypt.

Moses not regarded.

Cathelus leaving Aegypt, sought other countries.

Cathelus departing was, Anno mundi, 2453. W. H. 3643. H. B. He was repelled from Barbarie.

He landed in Boztungale.

The inhabit-
ants resist
Cathelus.

A communi-
cation.
Cathelus
buildeth the
cittie Brigantia.

A communi-
cation.
Cathelus
buildeth the
cittie Brigantia.

Cathelus left
Dionage,
and went into
Galitia.
He builded a
cittie called
Brigantia,
and now
Cadiopollella.

Cathelus.

He maketh
lawes and or-
dinances.

The Span-
iards fight
with the
Scots in-
fortunatlie.

A peace con-
cluded.

Cathelus mi-
nistred iustice
A description
of the seat.

Cathelus with his companie being thus come to land, sought abroad in the countrie for victuals, and such other necessarie things as they wanted (for their long being on the seas had waisted all their puruiance): whose arrivall being once knowne in the countrie, the people assembled together, and fiercely encountering with the strangers, after sharpe and cruell fight, in the end the Spaniards were put to the worst and chased out of the field. This victorie put Cathelus and his folks in hope of god successe to have there a place for them to inhabit in, and so to end their long wandering in strange and uncer- teine places. And to the intent they might bring their purpose the more easilie to passe, they found means by way of communication to ioine in friend- ship with the Spaniards, and obtaining of them a plot where they might build a place for to inhabit in; shortly after they began the foundation of a cittie nere to the banks of the river called of ancient time Pandus, and afterwards Brachara.

It chanced after this, that the Spaniards percei- ving these strangers to increase further in puissance than, as they thought, stood well with their securitie) sought diuerse occasions to fall at debate with them, and to make warres upon them: but when they understood that Cathelus was as ready to defend, as they were to invade, they offered to sell to a commu- nication, & persuaded with Cathelus, that it should be best for him and his people, for the avoiding of va- riance, to renouue vnto the northside of Spaine, li- eing vpon the coasts of the Cantabrian seas, now called Galitia (where he should find much void ground, by reason of the small number of inhabi- tants) adding that if they would so do, they would aid them to the bittermost against all such as should attempt to disquiet their inuaders in anie maner of wise. This offer Cathelus gladly accepted, and causing publike sacrifice to be celebrated in honor of the gods, he departed with all his people into Gal- tia, and there concluding a league with the inhabi- tants, builded a cittie which he named Brigantia, but after it was named Iouium, and now Com- postella.

Here Cathelus being intituled by the name of A king, deuised and ordeined lawes for his peo- ple to liue by, that the cittie might not onelie be fen- ced with strong walles, but also with good and hol- some statutes and ordinances, the chiefest fortifica- tions that may be for all cities and countries. And be- cause he would not onelie haue his said people to liue vnder one law, but also to be knowne and cal- led by one name, he gaue commandement that they should be all called Scottishmen (as before is said) of his wife Scota. In continuance of time, this na- tion grew to a wonderfull multitude, so that the Spaniards doubting the worst, determined to fore- see remedie in time, and hereupon purposing utter- lie to destroye them, got them againe to armour, and with their whole puissance comming vpon the Sco- tishmen gaue them a foze battell, though in the end they were put to flight, the victorie remaining with the Scottishmen, albeit not without great blood- shed on either part, as the Scottish historie saith. At length a necessarie peace was agræd vpon be- twixt both parties, the conditions whereof were these: that aswell Scottishmen as Spaniards should liue after their owne lawes, and neither of them to inuade other.

Cathelus hauing peace thus with his neighbors, sat vpon his marble stone in Brigantia, where he gaue lawes, and ministred iustice vnto his people, thereby to mainteine them in wealth and quietnesse. This stone was in fashion like a seat or chaire, ha- uing such a fatal destinie, as the Scots say, follow-

ing it, that whersoever it should be found, there should the Scottishmen reigne and haue the supreme gouernance. Whereof it came to passe, that first in Spaine, after in Ireland, and then in Scotland, the kings which ruled ouer the Scottishmen, receiued the crowne sitting vpon that stone, vntill the time of Robert the first king of Scotland. The inscription al- so of the stone, though ingrauen long time after, as should appeare, was this:

*Si fallat fatum, Scoti quocumq; locatum
Imminent lapidem, regnare tenentur ibidem.*

Which may be thus translated:

Except old sawes doo faile,
and wifards wits be blind,
The Scots in place must reigne,
where they this stone shall find.

But to returne where I left touching Cathelus.

When he perceiued that his people multiplied in such wise, as the countrie which was appointed him by the last agreement, was not able to susteine them, he was loth to breake the peace which he had established with the Spaniards, by seeking to in- large the bounds of his dominion with breach of co- uenant: and therefore vnderstanding that there was an Island lieng north ouer against Spaine, wherein were but few inhabitants, he caused all such thips as he was able to make, to be brought together into an haven nere vnto Brigantia, and commanding a great armie of his owne people and subiects to be assembled, he appointed his two sonnes whome he had by his wife Scota, the one named Iberus, and the other Himereus, to conuete them ouer into that Island, which afterwards they named Hibernia, after Iberus, but now it is commonlie called Ireland.

At their first arrivall there, they came into the ha- uen of Dundalke, where getting on land, they first incamped themselves nere the shore, and then sent forth certeine of their folks to search if they could learne what people inhabited in the countrie, by whome at their returne, and by such as they had hap- pened vpon and brought with them, they understood how there was no great number of inhabitants in that Ile, and that they which dwelled there were ve- rie simple, such I meane as liued onelie by milke and herbs, with other the like things as the earth by nature brought forth of hir owne accord, without mans helpe or vse of anie tillage. Whereupon Iber with his brother Himereus, went not about with force, but by gentlenesse to win those people, min- ding to ioine them in friendship so with their Sco- tishmen, that both the people might be made as one. Neither was this hard to be done, sithens the inha- bitants (perceiuing the Scottishmen not to go a- bout to harme them) came flocking in whole about them, submitting themselves into their hands with gladnesse.

When things were once set here in a stay, and that orders were giuen how the land should be conuerted vnto tillage, and manured for the bet- ter bringing forth of such things as serue for mans sustenance, Iber (leaving his brother in charge with the gouernance of all those which were appoin- ted to abide there in Ireland) with the most part of the thips and residue of the companie, sailed backe into Spaine, where finding his father Cathelus dead, he succeeded in his place of gouernement, to the great reioysing of all the people there.

This Iber was a man of great courage, and more giuen to the wars than his father before him, so that where his father contenting himselfe with the bounds and limits of the countrie assigned him by composition, sought no further (as is said) to enlarge the

Galitia not
sufficiently
and the
Scots.

The Scots
saie new
leas.

The Scots
arise in Ire-
land.

Irishmen
by milke and
herbes.

Irishmen are
gentle in
treated.

Hiber.

Iber retur-
ned into
Spaine.

Iber succe-
ded his father
Cathelus.

the same: Hiber ceased not to conquer cities and to towns nere adjoining to the borders of his subiects, by reason whereof his fame spred ouer all those parties: and in the end constrained his enemies to take for peace, which he willingly granted: so that a league being concluded betwixt the Scots and Spaniards, the same took such good successe, that within certaine yeeres after, both the nations, what by mariage and other contracts, which they exercised together, became one. The succession also of kings continued after Hiber's decesse in his posteritie a long season; amongst the which, Metellus, Hermoneus, Ptolemeus, Vibertus, and Simon Brechus were of most worthy fame, as is recorded by such as haue written the histories of that nation more at large.

It is the meane while that these things were thus aduising in Spaine, Himecus being left, as is before remembered, in Ireland, to haue the gouernance there, ruled both the people of Scottishmen, and the former inhabitants, with as much indifferencie as was possible: yet could he not ioine them so in one; but that after his decesse either of them would haue severall rulers of their owne nation to gouerne them: by reason whereof, falling estones at discorde amongst themselves, there ensued sharpe and cruell warres betwixt them, which being ended sometime by truce (when both parties hapilie were throughlie wearied) they renewed notwithstanding their malicious strife againe, so long as they had once recovered their decayed strengths, so that the one seeking the others destruction, they continued in great discorietnes for a long time. These Scottishmen being thus troubled in Ireland, finally adressed an ambassage vnto Metellus, who as then reigned amongst the Scottish men in Spaine, requirring him of aid and succor against their enemies, who went about with tow and nasse to expell all the Scottish nation out of Ireland, which they were like enough to byzing to passe, if in time there were not speedie remedie through his aid provided for the contrarie.

Metellus hearing these newes, as a man moued with a naturall zeale toward all the Scottish linage, gaue eare to their request, supposing it should be his part to defend his kinfolke from all wrong and injuries: immediately therefore he sent his three sons, Hermoneus, Ptolemeus, and Vibertus, with a chosen power of warriours ouer into Ireland, where vanquishing the enemies with fierce and cruell battles, they set the Scottishmen in sure and quiet possession of all their lands and liuings. This done Ptolemeus and Vibertus remained there to rule and inhabit the countrie. But Hermoneus, who was the eldest brother, returned backe againe to Spaine, there to succed his father when time should serue thereto.

After this the Scottish estate continued many yeeres in good quiet in Ireland, the people still increasing in wealth and puissance, till prosperitie the mother of contention, stirred by grudge and parcialities amongst them, which shortly would haue decayed the force of the Scottish nation, if the ancient lords had not provided redresse in time, which was to perswade the people to haue a king of their owne, who being partaker with none of them in their factions, might haue the absolute gouernance of the whole, so that by common consent they sent into Spaine for one Simon Brech, whose name was right famous amongst them in that season, both as well for that he was lineallie descended of the blood royal, as also for that he had shewed many proofes of his noble valiance in sundrie affaires and businesse. This Simon being glad of these tidings, sailed quickly into Ireland, and brought thither with

him amongst other princelie Jewels and regall monuments, the fatal stone of marble, wherein he caused himselfe to be crowned, in token of his full possession and establishment ouer that kingdom.

What reigned ouer the Scots in Ireland, who began his reigne there, in the yere from the creation of the world 3270, which time by maister Harlons account is after the flood 1616; from the first building of Rome 55, after the entrie of Brutus into Britaine 870, and before the incarnation of our sauour 697. And hauing ruled his subiects with great iustice by the space of fortie yeeres or thereabout, he died, after whose decesse succeded Fandusius, who had issue Chion, and he begat Glauus, which Glauus begat Postatilus, the father of Rothsay: all of them reigned successiuelie ouer the Scottishmen in Ireland, as in the description of that land more plainelie may appere.

This Rothsay (perceiuing the Scottish nation increased to a greater multitude in Ireland than the countrie was well able to susteine) transported ouer certaine numbers of them into the Isles ancientlie called Ebonides, afterwards Hebrides, but now by the Scots, the Iwerterne Isles, because they lie on the west halfe of Scotland: and there they placed them to inhabit. He named also that Ile which he first began to possesse Rothsay, after his owne name. Which translation of these Scottishmen into those Isles was 133 yeeres after the coronation of Brechus.

This Rothsay had not bene long in those Isles, but that hearing of his fathers decesse, he returned into Ireland to succed in his place. Where the Scottishmen perceiuing the fertilitie of the Isles, and how the same serued well for the breeding of cattall, became desirous to inhabit there, that they went ouer thither daile in great numbers, with their wives, children, and whole families, so that within a short time they multiplied in such wise, that the Isles were not large enough to find them sustenance, by reason whereof diuers companies of them got them ouer into the maine land of the north part of this our Britaine, called as then Albion, where they first inhabited a waste and desert portion thereof, lieng toward the west, ouer against the foreremembred Isles, by them alreadie inhabited, Anno 3383. That part where they first began to settle themselves, they named Argathella, after the name of their first captain and guide Cathelus, but the inhabitants at this day call it Arguile.

At their first coming, because they perceiued they could not liue without lawes and ciuill gouernment, they seuered themselves into tribes, or as it were into hundreds, or wapentakes, euerie of the same hauing a speciall gouernor to see their lawes ministered, and iustice maintained: which gouernors were had in such reuerence, that they were as much afraid to sweare by the name of any one of them, as they were by the gods. In this state they continued many a yere, increasing in procelle of time vnto a mightie nation, and liued in good rest without trouble of warres or inuasion made vpon them by any forenemie. In this meane time also, the Picts, which were a certaine people of Germanie, as most writers doe agree, came and set foot also in another part of Britaine, which now is comprehended likewise within Scotland.

Some saie that they came forth of the hether part of Scythia, and other there be which hold opinion, that they descended of the people named in old time Agathys, which inhabited in a part of Sarmatia, and were called Picts, because they used to paint and colour their faces, or (as some suppose) for that they used

Brechus.

4504 H.B.
60 H.B.
696 H.B.
Fandusius.

Rothsay.
The Scots
ferrie ouer into
the Iwerterne Isles.

They inhabit
the Ile of
Rothsay.

The Scots
inhabit the
maine land of
Scotland.

4617 H.B.
They inhabit
the countrie
called Arguile

They make
lawes and ordinances.
Gouernors
had in reuerence.

They liue in
peace.
The Picts
came into
Scotland out
of Germanie.

The historie of Scotland.

32

The Picts came first into Orkeney, and changing their seats came into the maine land of Scotland, Pictland, Firth.

4867 H. B. The Picts make strong holds.

The Picts require women of the Scots.

A league made.

The succession of the government.

Their alliance disliked.

Dissention a present destroyer.

The Picts god husbandmen. The Scots given to hunting and fouling.

The Britains send

used gais apparell of diuers and sundrie colours; but the same writers generallie confesse, that they first came into Germanie or hither Scythia (that is to meane Denmarke) many yeres before they entred into Britaine. Truth it is that they first came out of Germanie, into the Isles of Orkeney, and there inhabiting for a season, seried ouer into Cathness, whereof it came to passe, that the streit there at this present is called Pictland firth: and so in continuance of time increasing in number, they passed further into the land, and got possession of Kosse, Spurrey land, Orerne, and Anguse, and after that, entering into Ffife and Louthian, they diuise such Britains from thence as inhabited there before, which were but a simple kind of people, as those that applied nothing but onelie nourishing and breeding of cattell.

These Picts, as by conference of times may appere, entred first into Scotland, about the yeare after the creation of the world 3633, and being once arrived, they began to erect and build certeine forts, wherein they might defend themselves, if any force of enemies should chance to put them to such straits; but perceiuing they could not continue any time without wices to mainteine their stocke and progenie by bringing forth issue, they thought it expedient to require of the Scottishmen some number of women to marrie with, that thereby a sure alliance might be had betwixt both nations, & that if need required, they might the better defend them from their common enemies the Britains, whom they knew would be loth to see the increase of either Scots or Picts, as those that were strangers to them, and to surpers upon their confines.

This request was granted, and a full league ratified betwixt the Scottishmen and Picts, with covenants, that neither of them should seek to blasphe any peece of that which the other held, but content themselves with their owne marches. And further, he that attempted to wrong the one, should be accounted an enemy to both: and against whom they should be readie to ioint their powers in either others defense. Also it was accorded, that if at any time it were doubtfull who ought to succeed in the gouernement of the Pictish kingdome, some one descended of those Scottish women should be admitted to the throne.

This alliance was euen at the first disliked of the Britains, who doubted, that if these two nations should once be ioined inseparably together, they might in time to come increase to greater puissance than should stand well with the suertie of their estate. Therefore studieng how to prevent that danger, they thought the readiest meane to destroy both those nations was (if they might bring it to passe) to set them first together by the eares amongst themselves, that afterwards when their powers were by such means soe abated, they might the more easilie subdue them at their pleasures. This deuise the Britains kept secret for a time, till occasion serued to worke their intent. In which meane while the affinity betwixt the Scots and Picts increased to the wealth of both nations, and for the issue sake great loue and friendship was maintained among them. The Picts applied themselves to tilling the ground, and building of fortresses: the Scots set all their delight in hunting and fouling, vsing about the same to go armed in iacks and light ieffernes with bow and arrowes, no otherwise than if it had bene in open warre: for in this exercise they placed all the hope of the defense of their possessions, lands and liberties.

At length, the Britains perceiuing happlie some grudge or enuie to be entred amongst them, they

sent solemne ambassadoers vnto the Picts, declaring that it were more honorable for them to ioint in league with the Britains, than with the Scots: which Britains were knowne to be famous, both in peace and war, and inhabited a countrey most fruitful and replenished with all commodities necessarie having therein rich mines of diuers kinds of metall, where the Scots bring a rude nation, wild and sauage, inhabited a barren countrey, full of rough and scittellie mounteins, delighting thereto in nothing but in the slaughter of men and beastes. And herevnto they added that (which most moued the Picts) how it was foretold them by prophetes, that the Scots through treason should utterly in time come extinguisht and destroye all the Pictish blood. Which persuasions induced the Picts at the last, to make a league with the Britains, who promised their aid at all times, in whatsoeuer enterprise the Picts should take in hand against the Scots, and as often as occasion should require.

This league thus being confirmed with the Britains, incouraged the Picts so, that they sought daily how to picke quarrels, and fall out with the Scottishmen: wherevpon making proclamation that no Scottishman should enter into their borders, vpon paine of death: some such as they took within the same, they cruelly slue; other they ransomed at exorbitant summes: wherevpon the Scots being kindled with iust displeasure, on the other side requited them with the like, euer as they caught any of the said Picts by hap or otherwise amongst them, or in their walks.

The one nation seeking thus to be reuenged of the other, there ensued open war betwixt them: wherevpon the Scottishmen, to the end they might be the better able to mainteine their quarrell, sent ouer their ambassadoers vnto their kinsmen in Ireland, requiring them of aid in that present danger, as hauing now not onelie warres with the Picts, but also with the Britains, who minded nothing but the utter destruction of them and their linage, except speedie remedie were found. And for that they saw it needfull to haue one onelic head and gouernor, they made sate also to haue some capitaine of honor with them into Albion, vnto whom as to their king they would submit themselves. In that season amongst the Pictish Scottishmen, there reigned a king named Fergusus, who inclining to the petition of the Pictish Scots, caused an huge armie forthwith to be leued, and there to be appointed his owne sonne Fergusus to be generall of the same, a worthy young gentleman, and an expert warrior: whome he sent ouer with his puissant companie, in such speed as was possible. He had also with him the marble stone, that he might conceiue the better hope to reigne there as a king, because he went forth vnto such a dangerous warre.

Such also as went with him in this iourne, had their wives, their children, and all their substance with them, as the manner of the nation then was. When they went forth into any foren countrey. Now it came to passe that this Fergusus was no sooner come into Albion amongst the Scottishmen there, but that in a parlement called and assembled in Argile for the purpose, they first consulted after what sort they might mainteine themselves against their enemies, and what order for gouernment should be obserued amongst them. Where finally for auoiding of such inconueniences, as might rise through manie gouernors, they decreed to chuse onlie one, whome in all things, as their king & head, they would from thenceforth follow and obeye.

But because there was none thought so meet to beare that office, as Fergusus, and that the chaire

ambassadors vnto the Picts.

A craftie suggestion.

Prophecy.

The Picts become enemies to the Scots.

The Scots reuenging their wrongs vnto them.

Scots sent for aid into Ireland.

They require a gouernor.

Fergusus king in Pictland.

Fergusus sent into Scotland. The marble stone.

Fergusus landed in Albion. A parlement.

A king is to be chosen.

Fergusus

chaste of hope was also brought with him: they concluded by whole consent to commit that charge unto him, and so to the great reioicing of the people, he was placed vpon his marble stone, and crowned king, being the first of the Scottish nation that euer ruled in Albion as absolute gouernor, who began his reigne in the yeare after the creation of the world 3640, which is (as Harrison saith in his chonologie) before the incarnation of our sauour 227, after the building of Rome 420, and after the entring of Brutus into Britaine 790.

The kingdome of the Scottishmen being thus begun in Albion, Fergus took vpon him to rule as king, making provision on all sides to resist his enemies: who whilst these things were a doing in Argile, had assembled their powers: vnto whom also the Britains had ioined themselves, and were now entred into the Scottish borders. Fergus hauing herof knowledge, speedilie got together his people, and came with banners displayed to encounter his enemies. In king Fergus's banner, there was a red lion portraied rampant, with his taile folded towards his backe, as though he did beat the same, which is the manner of them when they be moued to displeasure. Fergus was the first that bare this cognisance in Albion, which euer since hath bene borne by those kings that haue successiuelie reigned after him there.

Both the armies were now come within sight of other, and readie to haue giuen the onset, when there went a murmuring amongst the Picts, that their companions the Britains were gotten to a hill a little beside them, minding to see the end of the battell before they did stir, and then if occasion serued (as their hope was it should) they purposed to fall vpon both parties, as well Picts as Scots, and so to destroye them both, the vanquishers together with the vanquished, as they found them out of araic in following the chase. The like report was brought vnto Fergus by one that fled to his side from the enemies campe, touching this treason of the Britains, conspiring the extermination of both the people.

By reason whereof, either part being put in feare of that which might insue through the malicious purpose of the Britains, they kept their tents certeine daies together, without making any halt to battell. And in the meane while Fergus sent a messenger vnto the king of the Picts, requiring him to come to a communication before they should fight, for that he had to informe him of such matters as pertained no lesse to the safegard and preservation of the Picts, than of his owne people the Scots. The king of the Picts willingly gaue eare to this message, and so a little beside both the armies standing in battell araic, the two kings accompanied with a few of their nobles met together, where in the end the danger in which they both stood, being plainelie disclosed and throughlie weied, they condescended to haue a further treatie of peace, which the king of the Picts alleged he might not conclude without the publike consent of his subiects; and therefore he appointed on the daie following to returne to the same place againe, there to giue a resolute answer, after he had understood the minds of his lords and commons in the same.

Wherevpon therefore returning to his campe, he called his counsell afoze him, declaring the substance of the communication which had bene betwixt king Fergus and him, which was in effect tending to this end. First considering the present deuils of the Britains, there was nothing more expedient than a peace to be agreed vpon, as well for the commoditie of the Picts as Scots, if they would yield withall to auoid the imminent perill of their

better ruine and common destruction first induced by the Britains.

Wherevpon also he required their aduise what they thought god to be done; declaring that according as they counselled him, he would worke therein. This matter being thus proposed, as there were diuerse heads, so were there sundrie opinions. Some iudged that in no case they could enter friendship againe with the Scots, who had so cruellie slaine and murdered a great number of the Pictish nation; and had shewed such tokens of a beaustie furious nature, that there was no hope to continue long in amittie with such a raging kind of people: and hereto they held that it was not vnknowne how the prophesie went, that the Scots should in the end destroye all the Pictish progenie. So that it were wilddome to keepe their power vnder, so long as was possible, and not to increase the same by ioining with them in friendship.

Other were of a contrarie mind, esteeming that in no wise the Scottish mens friendship ought to be refused, vnlesse they would determine to seke new dwellings in some other forraigne parties; sith the Britains would not faile, but vpon occasion take what vantage they could to expell them both, as well Scots as Picts, out of the countries now by them possessed. And as for that, which was alledged touching the prophesie, if the gods had so determined, then might no policie of man prevent it: and if there were no such thing appointed by the same gods, what follied then were it to cast such dreadfull doubts where no cause was? Much and besides this, they had taken them wiues of the Scottish nation, and thereby ingrafted their seed (the hope of their posteritie) in that stocke, which is the nearest meane and foraeablest occasion to nourish friendship amongst people, that is or may be deuised; therefore it should not be onelie profitable but necessarie also to haue peace with the Scots, to renew againe with them the former league, to the perpetuall strengthening and aduancement of both the nations.

Whilst the Picts were thus in debating the matter, their wiues also being present there in the armie, came in amongst them with their children, and in most lamentable wise besought their husbands to haue pitie vpon them, in their so sorrowfull case, and not to suffer their hands to be defiled with vnnaturall murder, sith it were lesse discomfort to them with their little ones to die anie kind of death whatsoeuer it were, rather than to behold their husbands with their fathers, their brethren, and their kinsfolke ioine together in battell, and there to kill one another without all mercie and compassion. The nobles and gentlemen of the Picts hearing the cries of these women, and being now somewhat moued to pitie, consented at last to haue peace with the Scottish men, and to renew againe the old league that was heretofore betwene them: and for mutuall iniuries heretofore committed, that there should be a mutuall recompense, according as might stand with equitie and reason. So that where the Britains had bene the chiefe procurers of all that mischief and discord betwixt them, in hope thereby to destroy both the parties, they should now be reputed from henceforth as common enemies to them both. As for all other articles & conditions of agreement, it was ordeined that their king should do therein as vnto him might seeme good.

In the morning therefore, as was appointed, the king of Picts meeting with king Fergus, declared that his subiects were agreed vpon: and further opening his mind touching the establishment of the peace, thought it conuenient to haue a day of meeting betwixt them to ratifie the same. Wherewith Fergus

A prophesie.

The Picts admonished by their wiues to peace.

The Picts are moued to pitie.

Britains reputed as enemies.

The meeting of the two kings.

In other day
taken for the
ratification of
the peace.

The Bri-
tains go home-
ward disap-
pointed of
their purpose.

The Scots
and Picts re-
turne home in
peace.

This Coill
by the circum-
stance of the
time, and o-
ther conside-
rations,
should seeme
to be the same
whome the
Britains
name Gutte-
line.

Coill his
subtiltie.

The Britains
rob the Scots
and the Picts
for to three
discoy.

The Scots
and Picts in-
vade the Bri-
tains.

Coill entered
into Scot-
land with an
armie.

Fergusse al-
sembled a
great power
of Scottis-
men.

Fergusse being well contented & glad that through his motion a peace should thus ensue, a day was appointed betwixt them and kept accordingly, so that comming together, the ancient league was in all points renewed, with some conditions added thereto, available (as was thought) for the stronger confirmation thereof. Before this, and after the first meeting betwixt the Scots and Picts, I meane so some as the Britains had understanding of this agreement, they had no lust to tarie longer in the field, but raising their power, they departed their waies homewards, doubting least the said agreement might turne smallie to their gaine. The Picts and Scottishmen also after they had thus fallie ratified the peace and league betwixt them, brake up their camps, euerie man repairing to the place of his abode.

The king also of the Britains named Coill (so iourning in that season nere about Forke) being informed of this sudden renouation of the league betwixt the Scottishmen and Picts, was nothing so full of the newes: for he doubted least in time to come their confederacie might be occasion of their further increasing in puissance, and after that some new occasion of his trouble. Wherefore studieng by what waies and meanes he might best prouide remedie for such inconueniences as might insue, he attempted nothing openlie for the space of two years, but onelic watched his time, to the end that if he might in that season chance (thorough the insolent courage of either nation) to espie anie occasion seruicable for his time, he might set vpon and be a plague vnto them both.

At length also he caused his subjects (such I meane as bordered nere to the marches of both the people) to fetch prizes and booties out of the Pictish confines. So that when the Picts sent thither with request to haue restitution made, it was by and by answered, that the Scots had done such trespasses (being a people inured vnto such feats by nature, and not the Britains, who were nothing guiltie in that kind of matter; and thus would the Britains do in like sort when they had robbed the Scots, so that with such inuicious dissimulation, as well Scots as Picts being not a little offended, they entred some after into the British confines, robbing & spoiling the same, as their custome is, with all manner of crueltie. When Coill of Britaine had notice of these doings, he took grieuous indignation thereat, and therevpon determined to proue whether he might with open warres atchieue his purpose, which he could not bring to passe by his former cloaked practise. And herewith assembling an armie, he entred into the Scottish borders lieng towards the Irish seas, wasting & spoiling with fire and sword whatsoever he found in his waies, till he came euen to the riuer of Dune, where incamping himselfe vpon the banks thereof, he sent forth companies of his souldiers to destroye the countrie, and to bring in all such prisoners as they should lay hands vpon.

But in the meane time, and so some as Fergusse heard of the approach of the Britains, he caused all the people in the countrie to get them with their goods & cattels vnto the mounteins, except such as were able to beare armour: whome he appointed to attend vpon him, to defend the countrie as occasion serued. Whereof Coill hauing knowledge brought by an espiall, he sent forth about five thousand nimble men, and such as had bene used to clime craggie hilles, to go before and win the passages, purposing the next day to follow himselfe with the whole armie. But the Scottishmen and Picts being now assembled together, and certified hereof also by their spies, they first fell in consultation what they

were best to do; and in the end agreed that the same night they should set vpon the British campe: Fergusse with his Scottishmen on the one side, and the king of the Picts on the other: so that in the dead of the night the Scottishmen killing the watch, were entered into the British campe, yer Coill had knowledge of anie such thing.

Whereby it came to passe that whilst the Britains (awaked with the noise) dreto vnto that part where the alarme rose, to beat backe the Scots; the Picts comming ouer the riuer of Dune, by a certeine blind ford, assailed them on the backs, to the great confusion of the whole armie, by reason whereof the Britains (seeing none other remedie but to saue themselves by flight) turned their backs and fled, in which tumult they were trodden downe and fell by heaps one vpon an other, and were not able to helpe themselves, nor yet to make shift to auoid the hands of their aduersaries. In this businesse also Coill himselfe chanced to be oppressed amongst the rest, so that he was found dead in the search of such as were slaine, and after solemne buried according to his estate in Troinouant, leaving the kingdom vnto his sonne Sisellus, who with his mother Marcia gouerned the same together by the space of manie yeares.

Such Britains also as escaped out of their enemies hands, got them together in the next morning, perceiving what losse they had sustained not onlie by the death of their prince, but also in the slaughter of a great part of their whole armie, sent an herald vnto the Scots and Picts to require a peace: which though the most part of the people were not in will to haue consented vnto, yet persuaded in the end by their princes, they were contented to yield thereto: so that a generall peace was concluded, and speedilie published betwixt them.

Immediatlie herevpon, the Picts with their part of the spoile gotten at this iourne, departed to their homes, and Fergusse returned into Argile; where studieng dailie for the quiet aduancement of the Scottish commonwealth, he called a parliament of his nobles, and first declaring to the assemble how much bound they were to the gods for giuing them this victorie over so puissant enemies as the Britains were, he exhorted them to liue in friendlie concord amongst themselves, and to abstaine from violating the leagues now concluded, as well with the Britains as before hand with the Picts.

Also for the auoiding of enuious contention, and for the better assurance of euerie mans estate, he iudged it necessarie to haue a partition made of all the lands belonging vnto the Scottish dominion. For before they occupied the whole as in commune, without knowing to whome this peece or that did belong. Which politike aduise of Fergusse, the Scottishmen praised most highlie, promising not onelic to follow his counsell herein in all that he should wish, but also in all that he should otherwise command.

Wherevpon shortly after there were chosen by his aduise seven ancient personages, men of good conscience and great experience, which were appointed to be suruisors of the whole countrie, and to diuide the same as nere as they could into a set number of equall portions (but with this consideration, that according as the fruitfulness or barrenness of the soile required, so they should enlarge or diminish the circuit of their bounds.) When they had viewed the countrie, and according to their commission seruered forth the same into parts, they returned into Argile, where Fergusse then sojourned, and there in his presence, the names of all his noble men that were reputed as gouernors were put in lots, currie of them to haue such part of the realme for his owne, as

Coill was
slaine and his
souldiers
discomfited,
whome
Hector Booc
saith, there
countie of
Coill takes
name.

Peace con-
cluded.

Parliament

In this
partition
into
equall
portions.

The land
is
parted.

Subiect
subiects.

When
the
land
was
parted.

The
gouern-
ment
was
put
into
lots.

as should fall to him by good lucke and present hap.

By this meanes each of them being placed as his chance fell, they inhabited their quarters with such people as they had the leading of, so that afterwards the countries took their names of those the first gouernors: which names for the more part (being a little changed) remaine amongst them euē vnto this day. Fergus hauing thus without occasion of enuie diuided his countrie amongst his nobles and subjects, studied furthermore to deuisse lawes for the maintenance of common quiet amongst them. And therefore amongst other ordinaunces he made statutes against murder, robberie, burning of houses, and especiallie against theft.

He builded also the castell of Beregontium in Loughquahze on the west side of Albion, ouer against the westerne Isles, where he appointed a court to be kept for the administration of iustice: that both the Albion Scots, and also those of the same Isles might haue their access & resort thither for redresse of wrongs, and ending of all controuersies. The residue of his life he past in rest and peace with his neighbors the Picts and Britains, endeavouring by all meanes to knit and couple the hearts of his subjects in one friendlie bond of inward loue and amitie. Finally, sailing afterward into Ireland to be arbitrator in a matter of variance betwixt the nobles of that land, as he returned homewards by force of tempest, the ship wherein he was imbarked, was driuen vpon a rocke, where he perished, after he had reigned as king amongst the Scottishmen in Albion about 25 yeeres. The rocke where he was thus cast away, hath bene euē since called rocke Fergus, after his name.

In the same season there reigned amongst the Britains one Enanius, named by Hector Boetius Goadus, and amongst the Picts one Cruthneus Camelonus that builded a famous citie vpon the banke of the riuer called Caron, as the Scottish writers affirme, appointing it to be the chiefe citie of all the Pictish kingdome, where in times past there was a faire commodious haven apt to harbour ships in at all seasons, but now it is dammed by in such sort, that vneath there appeareth anie token where that haven was: and the citie it selfe was finally subuerted by Kenneth king of Scotland, as after shall appeare. The forenamed Cruthneus builded also the towne of Agneda, afterwards called Cdenbrough, of which king of the Picts, the castell was named the castell of Spaidens, for that the daughters of the Pictish kings were there kept vnder strait custodie, appointed to learne to sow & to weake, till they came to yeeres of marriage.

But now to returne to the Scottishmen. After the death of Fergus, the nobles of the realme assembled together, to take counsell whome they might chuse to succeed in his place. Manie of them, in respect of the high benefitts which their nation had received by the politike gouernement of king Fergus, would not in anie wise that his sonnes, though young of yeeres, should be forgotten; but that according to reason and equitie, the eldest of them should be elected, sith they might not otherwise deliuer them selues of the note of ingratitude towards his father, vnto whome they were more bound than with any can be well expessed.

Other hauing a speciall regard to the quiet of their commonwealth, doubted least if they crowned a child to their king, during his minority, it could not be but that there should follow strife, enuie, and contention for the gouernance of his person and realme amongst the nobles; and that in such wise, as the people being diuided into sundrie factions, the due administration of iustice should be neglected,

the nobles bearing and bolstering by all kinds of iniuries done or committed by anie of their partakers.

And though it might so happen that they agreed vpon one speciall gouernor, as reason was they should; yet should he seeke to aduance his kindfolks more than reason hapilie required, and peraduenture do things otherwaies much displeasing to no small number of them by that his private authoritie. And againe, the king should no sooner come to yeeres of anie discretion, but one or other would put him in mind to take vpon him to rule the whole him selfe, before he vnderstood what charge he had in hand: and by reason of his fraile youth he lightlie would not follow the counsell of anie, but such as consented vnto him in his sensuall lusts and inordinate fantasies, which commonlie reigne in such princes as take vpon them gouernance of realmes, before they knowe (through want of sufficient yeeres) how to gouerne themselves.

For these and the like considerations, alledged by some of no small authoritie amongst them, it was agreed in the end, that one Feritharis the brother of the late deceased Fergus should be crowned king, and haue the gouernance of the realme during his life: and herewith in the meane time to see his nephues king Fergus his sons brought vp in princelie nurture and discipline, as appertained to the sons of a king: that after his deceasse, if he liued till anie of them were come to ripe yeeres, they might succeed him in the estate and kingdome.

This ordinance also they decreed to be obserued as a law from thenceforth euē after, that if the king died leauing no issue, but such as were vnder age to succeed him, then should one of his nearest cousins, such as was thought meetest to occupie the rowne, be chosen to reigne as king during his life, and after his deceasse the crowne to reuert vnto his predecessors issue without controuersie, if the same were once growne vp to lawfull age.

By this meanes then were children excluded from obtaining the crowne, least the publike libertie of the realme might chance to be put in danger. But yet was it afterwards perceived that this deuisse for choosing of kings, ministred occasion sometimes to the vncle to seeke the destruction of the nephue, and likewise to the nephue to procure the dispatch of the vncle and vncles finnes, with the committing of manie heinous murders of right worthy princes, to the no small danger of overthrowing the whole state of the commonwealth, so that finally that ordinance was clearely abrogated, as you shall heare hereafter.

But now to my purpose. After Feritharis with the full consent of all the people was thus elected king, he was inthronized with all solemnitie in receiuing his kinglie ornaments, as his two edged sword, his scepter roiall, and his crowne of gold fashioned in forme of a rampire made for defense of a towne or fortresse, signifying that he took vpon him to preserve the libertie of his countrie, to see offenders duly punished, and the execution of lawes with equall punishment trulie ministred.

These ornaments of inuensure remained vnto the Scottish kings, without being in anie point changed, till the daies of Achais king of Scotland, who establishing a perpetuall league with Charles the great, emperor and king of France, to induce euē betwene the Scots and Frenchmen, added vnto the crowne foure flower de lices, together with foure crozlets, diuided in sunder with equall spaces, rising somewhat higher than the flower de lices: that thereby the obseruing of the christian religion and sincere faith, maintained by the Scottish nation, might

Feritharis
chosen king.

The choosing
of kings was
not allowed.

Feritharis

A two edged
sword.

The crowne
changed.

The league
with the
Picts con-
firmed.

might be the more resdient to all men that beheld it. But now as touching Feritharis, shortly after he was thus inuested king, he came to an interuiew with the king of the Picts, where manie things being communed of touching the wealth of both nations, the league was in solemne wise confirmed, and such punished as had done anie thing sounding to the breach of the same.

After this, being returned home, he ordered himselfe in the administration of his charge verie by rightlie, without giuing iust occasion vnto anie to find himselfe grieved: and thus continued he certaine yeeres in such loue of all the estates of the realme, that afterwards when his nephew Ferlegus the eldest sonne of king Fergus, being now come to full age, through instigation of some insolent persons, and such as by alteration hoped for aduancement, required (contrarie to the ordinance before established) to haue of him the crowne: the matter was taken in such ill part, that where before the same Ferlegus was highlie beloued and honored of all the people, they were now readie (if Feritharis had not with authoritie and gentle persuations staied them) to haue torne him all in peeces: but although their rage was somewhat appeased by Feritharis, as is said, yet would they not be pacified thoroughlie, till that all such as had bene of counsell with him in that practise, had suffered death, and new gouernors appointed to haue the ouersight of him.

Feritharis
suddenly died.

Ferlegus
exiled.

Election of
a new king.

Mainus.

Justice main-
tained.

Small mat-
ters redress
among neigh-
bours.

Great mat-
ters determi-
ned by the
king.

Mainus con-
firmed the
league with
the Picts.

Mainus a de-
uout man in
his religion.

Feritharis liued not passing thre moneths after this businesse, but died suddenlie in the night, the truth not being knowne whether by naturall death, or through treason of Ferlegus and certaine of his complices (whereof there was no small suspicion) for that he together with them found meanes to sle first to the Picts, and after to the Britains, where he passed the residue of his life in great shame and ignominie. Feritharis being thus dead in the 15 yere of his reigne, the nobles assembled together for the election of a new king, and in the end they agreed vpon Mainus the younger sonne of king Fergus, as then being about 24 yeres of age.

This Mainus being of contrarie conditions to his brother Ferlegus, was thus aduanced to the crowne by the whole consent of the nobles and commons, who yet kept in fresh memorie the noble gouernement of his father Fergus. He therefore studing to answere the peoples expectation in following his said fathers worthie acts, maintained iustice in all points, without suffering anie bearing of boldferring of wrong. If there were anie controuersie risen betwixt neighbour and neighbour within one hundred or cantred, he willed that the same might be taken vp and ended amongst them at home by order of some authorized court there. But if the matter were of such importance, as that it could not well be decided without authoritie of some higher court, he would then haue the hearing thereof, at such time as he used enerie yere once to haue a publicke out of all parts of his realme, to conferre together for such purposes; at what time also such as were notorious offenders were arreigned and punished by death or otherwise, according to the fault which they earst had committed.

Also for the more quiet of his subiects, he confirmed the ancient league with the Picts, their king named Chyinus requiring the same by his ambassadors sent vnto him. Moreover this Mainus vpon a religious deuotion toward the gods, hauing an assured beliefe, that without their fauours all worldly policies were but vaine, deuised sundrie new ceremonies to be added vnto the old: and also caused certaine places in sundrie parts of his dominion to be appointed out, and compassed about with great huge

stones round like a ring; but towards the south was one mightie stone farre greater than all the rest, pitched by in manner of an altar, whereon their priests might make their sacrifices in honor of their gods.

In witnes of the thing, there remaineth vnto this day certaine of those great stones standing round ringwise, which places are called by the common people, The old chapels of the gods. A man would maruell by what shift, policie, or strength such mightie stones were raised in that maner. Amongst other the gods also, which the Scottishmen had in most reuerence, Diana was chiefe, whome they accounted as their peculiar patronesse, for that she was taken to be the goddess of hunting, wherein consisted their chiefe exercise, pastime and delite. Vnto her therefore he instituted monethlie sacrifice, by reason whereof this use was taken vp, that so soone as anie of them got sight of the new moone next after his change, he saluted her with certaine prayers or salutations most reuerentlie. Which custome indured amongst them manie hundred yeeres after. Mainus did also appoint yearly liturgies for the priests to be taken of such sacrifice as was offered vp to the gods. Finally, when he had thus instructed his people in lawes and ordinances, aswell touching the religious seruice of the gods, as also for politike gouernment of his countrie, he ended his life, after he had reigned about 29 yeeres, leaving the estate to his sonne Donadille, Eldurus reigning at the same time in Britaine, and Maara amongst the Picts.

Donadille being crowned king of the Scots, established a new league with the Britains, by sending his ambassadors vnto them: and with the Picts he renewed & confirmed the ancient alliance. He set all his pleasure on hunting and keeping of hounds & greyhounds, ordering that euerie holder should find him two hounds and one greyhound. If a hunter chanced in following the game to lose an eye or a lim, so that he were not able to helpe himselfe after that time, he made a statute that he should be found of the common treasure. He that killed a wolfe should haue an ore for his paines. This beast in deir the Scottishmen, euen from the beginning, vsed to pursue in all they might deulle, because the same is such an enemie to cattell, wherein consisted the chiefe portion of all their wealth and substance.

Thus the Scottishmen in this season, setting all their delite on hunting, began also to vse lawes and statutes in proces of time concerning the same. And first it was ordained, that he whose dog did teile and go through to the end of the course with the deare, so that he were seene to be at the fall, should haue the skin, the head & hoznes to remaine to him whose dog did best next. The body being dyest & broken by, should be distributed at the pleasure & discretion of the master of the game. The bowels and panch were call to the dogs as the case required. And if there rose anie doubt in anie of these points, they should chuse by common consent, a iudge to determine of the matter. But whether these deuities were lawes made by the king as then for the further aduancement of his pleasure, or rather customes growne and ratified by long continuall vse, I cannot tell, but certaine it is, they were obserued through all the Scottish regions, as hauing the force of lawes, and so are used euen vnto these daies.

Beside these ordinances for hunting, Donadille commanded also, that all such statutes as Fergus had made, should be kept and obserued: wherevnto he added certaine new, namelie diuerse sorts of punishments for sundrie kinds of transgressions, according to the qualitties of the same: which he caused to be ingrossed in books of record, and committed to the

Donadille
renewed
the league
with the
Picts.

The new
moone
next after
his change.

Donadille.

Donadille
lowered
the lawes
of hunting.

The new
lawes
for hunting.

James
lawes
for hunting.

The new
lawes
for hunting.

Donadille
lowered
the lawes
of hunting.

the custodie of a graue counsellor, who by a common consent should haue the interpretation of those lawes if anie doubt arose, and that when anie offender should come before the iudge, and heare the sentence read by him, the same offender might understand that he receiued nothing but right at the iudges hands: by reason whereof it came to passe, that such offenders without repining willingly were contented to suffer anie punishment whatsoeuer it was that the law did so appoint them. This custome grew into such force, that it neuer might yet be abrogated amongst them of the westerne Isles, but that euen vnto this day they haue their lawiers amongst them, without whose denuntiation or decree taken out of the register, no iudgement is reputed lawfull.

These were the acts and doings of king Dozua: dille, who in the 28 yere of his reigne departed this world at Berregonium, now called Dunfalsage, leaving behind him a sonne called Keuther as yet not of sufficient age to succede in the estate. By reason whereof Pothatus the brother of Dozuadille, a man of comelie personage and wit, apt (as was thought) to haue a realme in gouernance, was crowned king by force of law aboute remembred, debarring children vnder age to inherit the succession of the crowne.

This Pothatus had breath reigned two yeres, when all the people began to crye out vpon him, for such tyrannicall parts as he practised as well against the meane estates as the high. And forsomuch as he being admonished of his ductie, and required to reforme certeine dishonorable vsages by him exercised, he would giue no care thereto: therefore one Doualus gouernor of Brigantia, conspiring with other nobles of the realme to depose him, intised Keuther king Dozuadilles sonne, to take part with them, and to claime the crowne as due to him by descent from his father. And so assembling a companie of their faction sufficient for their enterpryse, they entered the palace where Pothatus lay, and after reasoning with him of certeine points touching his misgouernment in the estate, diuers of their companie not tarieng till they were commanded, rashlie fell vpon him, and murthred him together with diuers of such nobles and gentlemen, as they knew to be enemies to Doualus and his friends.

After this they proclaimed Keuther king, and crowned him with all due solemnities, diuers of the nobles of the realme being highlie displeased therewith, for that they iudged it not onelie a great offense to haue the king thus traitorously murthred, but also saw hereby the ancient ordinance of choosing their king through consent of the people, to be broken by the wicked attempt of a priuat person, a most unskillfull young man advanced to the crowne, contrarie to the decree of an autentike law. Among other one Ferquhard the sonne in law of Pothatus gouernor of Lozne and Cantir, called an assemblee of the people, and began to declare what enormities were like to insue through this tyrannicall attempt of Doualus. Doualus hearing whereabout Ferquhard went, hastilie came to the place where this assemblee was made, and there slaing diuers of the chiefe, he did put Ferquhard also in great hazard of his life, who by stiong yet escaped his hands, and got him ouer into the Ile of Jla, whither resorted vnto him diuers of the nobles (that fauored not Douale) with a great number of the commons.

In the end, Ferquhard perswaded his companions to set all feare apart, and to returne with him into Scotland to take reuenge of Douale and his complices, being traitors and enemies to the realme and common-wealth, so that first joining hands, which they did wet in mans blood (according to the

custome then vsed) they promised one to another to liue and die in the quarell, and after imbarcking themselves in certeine vessels, they entred the sea, and passed ouer into Scotland, where gathering together no small number of such as willingly resorted vnto them to their aid, they encountered with Douale in battell, whose host twise in one daie was put to flight nere to the citie Berregonium with the losse of eight thousand men.

The night parted the fraie, but in the next morning, Douale and his partakers through great indignation conceived, for that they were so beaten backe by Ferquhard (hauing in all his host not past 10000 persons) fiercelie came forth of their tents to giue battell afresh, and finding their enemies ready to receiue them, there was fought so cruell a battell betwixt them, that in the end either part being sore trauelled with slaughter and long fight, was glad to giue place to the other, not passing an eight hundred of all those that were present that daie in the field as then being left aliue. Upon Douales part there was slaine Gethus king of Picts, whose daughter king Keuther had married, with a great number of his people: also Douale himselfe with diuers of the nobles of Scotland, beside gentlemen & commons that toke part with him. On the contrarie side there died also Ferquhard himselfe with diuers gouernors of tribes, beside the residue of the nobles, gentlemen & commons of Kesse, Cathenesse, Harne, Argile, Cantire, and Lozne, with them of the westerne Isles which were there with him.

Keuther escaping with life from this bloudie encounter, in the night following departed his waies with such of his people as were left aliue. Whereof his enemies being aduertised in the next morning, pursued after him with such diligence, that in the end they toke him within a castell in Cathenelle whither he was fled for succor: he was pardoned of his life, partly in respect of his fathers merits, and partly againe for that it was knotone how his tender youth was such as had not deserued death by any fact, otherwise than in that he had followed the counsel of malicious persons. By this cruell murther and huge slaughter thus committed betwixt these two nations of Scottismen and Picts, both their forces were so greatlie infiebled, that they became an easie prey to their ancient and common enemies the Britains, who in such oportunitie of occasion thought not to sit still till the same might happilie be past and gone.

First therefore with a mightie armie the Britains invaded the Picts: the nobles of which nation perceiving themselves not able to make resistance, fled with their wiues, their children, and the most part of their goods, ouer into the Isles of Orkenie, and there assembling together, they created them a new king to haue the gouernance ouer them, who was also named Gethus, and brother to the other Gethus a little before mentioned. Here also they remained certeine yeares after, liuing in peaceable manner with the former inhabitants, whom they found there, wronging them by no inuiolous dealing at all (if the Scottish historie be true.) Whereof moreover as some suppose it came to passe, that these Islands of Orkenie are named by diuers writers the ancient kingdome of the Picts.

In the meane while the Britains seizing vpon such countries as these Picts had forsaken, that is to saie, the Pers, Louthian, and others, they left in diuers places where they thought expedient, garrisons of men of war, to keepe the same in due subiection: and after entred into the confines of the Scottish kingdome, burning & waisting all afore them, where with such Scots as yet remained aliue, being highlie

Douale is slaine.

Ferquhard is slaine.

Keuther the king fled.

Keuther pursued & taken. He is pardoned of his life.

Gethus king.

why Orkenie was called Pictland as some suppose, but the truer should be to be that they were so called because the Picts inhabited there before they set foot in Britain.

D. J.

lie

The Scots
ouerthrowne.

lie moued to indignation, came stoutlie into the field to defend their countrie, and incounting with their enemies nere to Balender wood, they lost two thousand of their companie: the residue also being sore chased, fled into sundrie parties for safegard of their liues.

Scots belie-
ged deuoure
one another.

This discomfiture put the Scottish nation into such feare and terror, that they viterlie despaired of all recouerie, where contrariwise the Britains were so aduanced (in hope viterlie to cypell all aliens out of their Ile) that pursuing the victorie in most earnest wise, they forced Keuther and all the nobilitie of the Scottish nation that was yet left aliue, to flee for safegard of their liues into the castell of Beregonium, where they held themselves as in the surest held. The Britains being certified of the repaire of their enemies to Beregonium, enuironed the castell with a strong and vehement siege, untill that the Scots within were constrained through want of vittels to eate each other, according as the lots fell by a common agreement made amongst them.

The Scots
come forth
and fight.

But when it came to passe, that euen those that were reputed as heads and gouernors, and in whom consisted the hope of their whole defense, did now and then come to the shambles as well as other of lesse reputation, they thought it best to trie by issuing forth, if any of their haps might be so good as to escape the danger present, whereas by tarrying still within the fortresse, they should but deuoure one another without any reuenge for losse of their liues had vpon their fierce and cruell enemies. Wherevpon by common consent there issued forth, first one Colane lord of Cantire with an hundred of his owne souldiours, and fiercelie skirmishing with the Britains, defended himselfe a good space right manfullie, though in the end both he and his whole band were bozne doونه and slaine with prease and multitude of his enemies that assailed him on each side. In the meane season, whilste he thus occupied the Britains in fight on one side, Keuther with the residue of his people brake forth by another waie, and escaping to the sea side, got ships and fled ouer into the wessterne Isles, where he found a great number of other Scottishmen that were gotten thither, being compelled by Denus king of the Britains to auoid forth of the countries, which they before inhabited.

Keuther pas-
sed into Ire-
land.

They inhabit
the moun-
teins.

Keuther remained not long in the Isles, but passed ouer into Ireland. The Britains not a little moued for his escape with the other of the Scottish lords, reuenged their displeasure on such commons and other meane people as fell into their hands, so that such as might escape, got them into the mountains, and liued there by roots, berries, & other wild fruits in summer, and in winter by such benefon and flesh of wild beasts as they killed in the wilbernesse: and sometimes they came doونه and made railes vpon the Britains that occupied their houses and lands, fetching great booties verie often from amongst them.

Keuther is
sent for out
of Ireland.

This cruell warre lasted twelue yeeres, untill in manner all such Scots and Picts as remained in Albion were brought vnder seruitude to the Britains. In which meane while, Cethus king of the Picts kept his siege roiall in Pomonia the chiefeest Ile of the Orkneys. Keuther also begot of his wife a sonne named Therens, and shortly after being procured by letters and messengers sent vnto him from the foresaid Cethus and such Scots as were yet remaining in Albion, he assembled a number of ships together, and first with a chosen power of warriors sailed to the wessterne Isles, where increasing his numbers, he passed ouer into Albion, landing on the west halfe of Koffe at Lough Buum, and there

comming on land, the first person that they met with (according to a custome vled amongst them in those daies) they slue, and wetting the points of their weapons in his blood, they first tasted thereof after their maner, then holding vp their weapons into the aire, they desired of the gods that they might reuenge the blood of their elders with happie battell against the Britains their enemies. After this, hearing that Cethus king of the Picts was also entred the land with a mightie power of Germans, which were come to his aid, and was not past thirtie miles off, he staid there abiding for his comming, to the intent that joining their powers together, they might be the better able to furnish their enterprise.

The third daie after they met together with great joy and congratulations, vnto whom with all speed a great number also of those Scottishmen and Picts that had still continued in the countrie (during the time of the persecution by the Britains) daillie resorted and came flocking in from each side vnto them. Silistus king of the Britains, who succeeded after Denus, as then lately deceased, hauing knowlege hereof, assembled a great armie of his subiects, and hearing that the Scots and Picts were entred into the borders of his realme, he hasted forth to incounter with their powers, and so joining with them in battell, after long and cruell fight, in the end the victorie remained with the Scottishmen and Picts, by the great valiance and manfull prowesse of Keuther: wherevpon the place where that battell was fought hath bene euer since called Keuthirdale, as ye would say Keuthers ballie.

This victorie was not very pleasant to any of the parties, by reason of the great numbers of men slaine on both sides, insomuch that they were glad to fall to agreement immediatlie after, and concluded a peace, with conditions that the Scottishmen and Picts should be restored againe vnto their ancient possessions and lands in Albion. This peace continued a long time after inuoluate betwixt these nations. The yeare that Keuther returned thus into Albion, was before the birth of Christ 216, after the building of Rome 529, and from the creation of the world 3750. Keuther by Beda in his ecclesiasticall historie of England is named Keuda, who also supposeth him to be the first of all the Scottish princes, that set any foot in Britaine there to inhabit: his comming thither was (as seemeth to some) long after the supposed time here before alleged. And verelie there is great cause to moue a doubt of the truth of that which Hector Boetius hath written, in following (as he saith) other authors, touching the first comming into Britaine, as well of the Scots and Picts. For if it were true, that so long before the comming of the Romans into this Ile, they were here planted and growne to such puissance; it is strange that no mention is made of them in any of their writings, till about the yeare 360 after Christ; as in place conuenient it shall more plainelie appere. Keuther passed the residue of his daies without any further warres, forren and ciuill, and so departed this world at Beregonium, in the 26 yeare of his reigne.

After Keuther his deceasse, his vnckles son called Keutha succeeded in the kingdome, chosen thereto by the common agreement of all the states, because that Therens sonne to Keuther vnderneath come to the age of ten yeeres, was thought vnable to take the charge vpon him. Keutha therfore being thus elected to reigne as king ouer the Scottishmen, ordeined that such noblemen as had achieved ante notable exploit in defense of their countrie, should be had in perpetuall memorie, and buried in solemne wise in sepulchres aloft vpon his mountains, vpon

Colant.

The Gre-
mans in
aid of the Picts.

Keuther and
Cethus met
and were
their powers
together.

The Bri-
tains are
discomfited
by the Scots
and Picts.

whereof Ke-
utha daile
the name.

Yeeres
cluded.

240 H.B.

499 H.B.

Keuther by
Beda is na-
med Keuda.

499 H.B.

Keutha.

An opinion
for buriall
of their warriors
in hills as
pointed out.

upon the which were set so manie obelisks or long pointed stones, as they had laine enemies in the wars: whereof some remaine there to be seene even to this daie.

This Keutha also understanding of the lacke of all maner of craftsmen in his realme, and of such as were expert in the liberall sciences, caused a great number of most perfect artificers to be sent for, to inhabit amongst his people, the better to instruct them in their occupatiōs. Unto these also as unto other professing anie liberall art, were appointed honest livinges, by way of fees; assigned to be received of such open and bases as were killed, to everie man of science and artificer his part. And further, each of them had certaine measures of otes and barlie in stead of yearelie annuities. For as yet the use of coine was not known amongst the Scottishmen. The which custome of distributing their beaſts, which they killed in this wise, is still used in the westerne Isles even to these our daies.

Keutha perceiuing furthermore that through unskillfull surgians and physicians manie wounded and diseased persons were oftentimes cast awaie, ordeined by the aduise and consent of his counsell, that none should take upon them as a surgion or physician, vnlesse they were by long experience well practised aforehand in those sciences. For before that time they used to carie forth such persons as were sicke or otherwise hurt, and to lay them in some open place in the streets or market sted, that all such as came by, might according to their knowledge declare their aduise, and shew if they had bene vered with the like disease) by what means they had escaped the danger, and recovered againe their health. For no man might without the note of high reproch passe by, keeping silence in this behalfe. And this was according to the custome of the old Egyptians.

Keutha thus studeing for the aduancement of the commonwealth of his subiects, continued in the estate with great prosperitie, till finallie perceiuing himselfe farre growen in age, and not so able to traueil in the affaires of the realme as he was before, he caused a parlement to be assembled, and there in presence of all the estates, required to be discharged of the gouernement: and that the same might be committed vnto his cousin Thereus, who as then was not onelie of sufficient age to take it vpon him, but also of such towardnesse, as that in each mans opinion he was thought likelie to attaine vnto the prouesse of anie of his noble progenitors. Thus Keutha, after he had reigned 17 yeares, returned to a priuat life, resigning the whole rule of his realme vnto the aforesaid Thereus, being through his persuasion receiued as king of all estates by common consent there in that present assemblee.

This Thereus for the first six yeares was equall in all points of princelie gouernement to anie of his predecessors, but afterward he changed his copie in such maner, that iustice and all other kinds of vertue being set apart, he neither regarded the lawes of the gods, nor yet of men; but gaue himselfe to all sort of filthinesse and most detestable vices, so farre forth, that his subiects (as their custome is in following the maners and vsages of their princes) became so outrageous in their licentious livinges, and namelie the nobles and gentlemen, that thereof ensued theft, murder, rape, spoiling, and all kinds of oppression of those sillie soules that had no meanes to resist, so as in fine, diuers gouernours of the tribes perceiuing no hope of amendment while Thereus should reigne, conspired together, deuising meanes how to depose him of all kinglie authoritie. But he hauing notice of their purposed intentions, and doubting the sequele thereof, conuised himselfe

out of the way in most secret wise, fleeing for succour vnto the Britains, vnto whome though he made earnest sute for aid to be restored home againe, yet could he purchase no such fauour amongst them: so that leding a miserable life a long time after within the citie of Poike, he finallie there ended his daies. He reigned in Scotland about 12 yeares or more.

Immediatlie after this his auoiding the realme, the nobles and peres chose one Conanus lord of Gallo way to rule the estate as gouernour, whose authoritie had bene euer great amongst the people. His studie was chieflie imploted how to reduce the lords and nobles of the realme into concord and friendlie amitie, where before through the negligence of Thereus each sought others destructions. Also he caused due punishment to be executed vpon all such as liued by robbing and reuling; of whome in the beginning of his gouernement there was no small number: but he wooded them forth, in such wise that yet he left off, there was not one of them to be found. At length, after it was understood that Thereus was dead, this Conanus renounced the administration in presence of all the estates assembled in parlement at Beregonium, where by common consent Josina brother of Thereus was chosen to reigne as king, for that Thereus had left no issue behind him to succeed.

This Josina being proclaimed king, renewed the ancient leagues with the Brits and Britains. He had physicians in great estimation; for that during his abode in Ireland, he was nourished of a child amongst them, and by reason thereof had some knowledge in the facultie, speciallie he understood the vertues and properties of herbes, where with in those daies the Scots used to heale and remedie all maner of sores and diseases, which as then were few in number, in respect of the sundrie kinds which are now known amongst vs; and all by reason of the superfluous feeding and exesse of meats and drincks used in our time, whereas our elders sufficed with a little, liued without surfeting, the chieffest breeder of such strange and manifold sicknesses. In this Josina his daies it chanced that a Portugale ship was driuen and drowned by force of a streinable tempest nere vnto the shore of one of the Scottish Isles, where diuerse of those that were within the same ship, mariners and other escaped to land, amongst whome were two ancient and fatherlie old men of right reuerend aspect and countenance.

These two in companie with some of the inhabitants of that Ile came ouer into Beregonium, where the king as then sojourned. They were Spanishe priests of the pagane religion, whose purpose was to haue gone vnto Athens in Grecia (as some write) but whence soeuer they were, and what purpose soeuer they had, certeine it is they were philosophers; and therefore the king receiued them most iouillie, doing them all the honoz he could deuise, and commanding that they should be lodged within his owne palace, where they had all things needfull, and accordingly ministred vnto them.

These philosophers, after they had refreshed themselves at their ease for the space of 14 daies, the king caused them to come before him, requiring them to shew their opinion what they thought by the nature of the soile, the maners and customs of his people, so far forth as they had seene and heard. They without pausing for answer declared, that as yet they had not had time to learne those things, but onelie thus far by coniecture they supposed, that the ground was more like to be fruitfull of mettall mines, than of coyne and graine, as conteining far more riches vnderneath the earth than aboue: this they said that

Thereus fled to the Britains.

Conanus.

Conanus is chosen king.

Conanus persecuteth offenders.

He renounceth the estate.

Josina cleared king.

Josina.

Surfeting the cause of strange diseases, which so commonlie now reigne.

Two ancient philosophers through shipwracke arrive in Scotland, and are iouillie receiued of the king.

The Scottish
religion re-
proued.

they gathered by the influence of the heaueus vnder the which it laie. And as for the rites and vsages of the people, in one point they could in no wise come münd them, for that in religion they followed the superstitious rites of the Egyptians, worshipping the immortall gods in the shape of beastes and fowls; whereas God was euen the same that did comprehend both heauen and earth, with the waters and all things in them contained, whome they named nature, and as it were the primordiall cause of beginning of all things, vnto whome it was not possible to deuise anie similitude of living thing that might in anie wise represent him. Therefore (said they) men ought to worship the living God with fire and deuout praier, building him a temple for that purpose, and onelie vnto him to burne incense, and to performe vnto him: at whose hands such as liued chastitie, vprightlie, and according to the rules of iustice, ought euer to looke for some high benefit, where other that liued contrarie might euer stand in doubt of contrarie reward.

Upright li-
uing well re-
warded at
Gods hands.

With these their sensible instructions they persuaded manie of the Scottish nation vnto their opinion, though the greatest part would by no means follow anie other kind of religion, than that which they had receiued from their elders: neither could anie of them be brought to thinke otherwise of the sun, the moone, and stars, but that there was a certaine diuine power or godhead in euerie one of them. And thus much of these strangers brieftie and by the way, who came into Scotland at this present: but now to proceed with our purpose. When Iosina had reigned 24 yeares, he departed out of this world at Berregonium, being a man of verie great age. He left behind him a sonne named Finnanus, who a little before his fathers deceasse was by consent of the people proclaimed king of Scotland.

Iosina depar-
ted this life.

Finna-
nus.

This Finnanus had the nobles of his realme in such estimation, that he ordeined that nothing should be decreed or practised touching the publike affaires of the realme, except they were first made priue and of counsell in the same. He sought also to win the fauour of his people by mekenesse and gentle intreating of them, in somuch that though he went about to restore the old religion somewhat defaced by his father through information (as is said) of the two aboue mentioned sage philosophers, yet did he not constrain anie man to worship the gods, otherwise than his fanthe ferued him. He was the first that instituted those prelates, which gouerned after the manner of bishops, in all matters pertaining to religion, and were called in the Scottish tong Durceglis in Latine Druides. These Druides were appointed to be resident within the Ile of Man, as the Scottishmen hold opinion: but other thinke rather that they were resident in Angleseie, in the Britishtong called Mon. Vnto these also hauing great liuings assigned them, were the inferiour priests subiect, as receiuing at their hands all iniunctions and orders for the vse of their sacrifices and other ceremonies.

Prelates orde-
red in reli-
gion.
Druides in
the old Sco-
tish tong cal-
led Durceglis.

The Scots
mistake Man
for Angleseie.

The authori-
tie of the
Druides in-
creased.

These Druides afterwards applied themselves so earnestlie to the studie of philosophie, as well natu-
rall as morall, that they were had in no small reuerence of the people, as they that were both accounted and knowne to be men of most perfect life and innocencie: by meanes whereof their authoritie daile so far forth increased, that finallie iudgements in most doubtfull matters were committed vnto their determinations, offenders by their discretion punished, and such as had well deserued accordinglie by their appointments rewarded. Moreouer such as refused to obeye their decrees and ordinances, were by them excommunicated, so that no

creature durst once keepe companie with such, till they were reconciled againe, and cleared by the same Druides absolved.

Plinie, Cornelius Tacitus, Strabo, and Julius Caesar, with diuers other approued authors, make mention of these Druides, signifying how the first bringing of their religion was in Britaine (which some comprehend all whole vnder the name of Albion) and from thence was the same religion brought over into France. Finnanus was not onelie praised for his setting forth of that heathen religion, but also for his politike gouernement of the estate in so full rest and quietnesse. Neither was his fame a little advanced for the marriage concluded and made betwixt his sonne Durcius and Agasia daughter to the king of Britains; for by that alliance he won diuers of the Britisht nation vnto his friendship. Finallie, this Finnanus died at Camelon, being come thither to visit the king of Scots as then soe diseased, after he had reigned about the space of thirtie yeares. His bodie was conueied vnto Berregonium, and there buried amongst his predecessors.

After him succeeded his sonne the forenamed Durcius, farre differing from his noble father in all vertuous demeanour, as he that was altogether giuen to banquetting and excessive drunkennesse. Such of the nobles as his father had in high reuerence he made light account of; accepting onelie those that of their wicked deuises could find out new kinds of voluptuous pleasures, through whose persuasions some of his peeres he consumed, some he spoiled of all their substance & inheritance, other he put to death without iust cause or anie kind of lawfull means. Furthermore he forsoke the companie of his lawfull wife Agasia, causing hir to be forced and abused by diuers vile persons in most villanous manner.

Durcius.

Wicked con-
sumptions.

With these and the semblable inordinat practises he procured the indignation of his people so far forth against him, that those of the westerne Isles with them of Cantire, Loche, Argile, and Koffe, conspired together in the reformation of such disorders as were daile bred in the administration of iustice, by the wicked suggestion of euill disposed counsellors, against whome they pretended to make their war, and not against their king. There were also so manie that fauoured them in this quarrell, and so few that leaned to the king to aid him against them, that he was constrained to dissemble with them for a time, in promising not onelie to remove from him such as they would appoint, but also to be ordered in all things according as they should thinke good. And to put them in beleefe that he ment as he spake, he committed some such counsellors as he had about him vnto ward, and other some (of whome he little passed) he sent vnto them as prisoners, to receiue such punishment by death or otherwise, as they should thinke conuenient.

He craue en-
closed with
simulation.

He further also in presence of Dozo the gouernour of Cantire, sent to him for that purpose, sware in solemne wise afore the image of Diana, to performe all such promises and covenants as he was agreed vpon, and had made vnto the conspirators. With which cloked dissimulation they being deceiued, came without suspect of further guile vnto Berregonium, where at their first coming he was ready to receiue them (as seemed by his feined countenance) with glad some hart and most friendlie meaning; but they were no sooner entred the castell, but that a number of armed men appointed for the purpose fell vpon them, and slue them all without mercie.

Cratie dis-
simulation.

A cruel me-
thod.

This heinous act being once signified abroad in their countries amongst their friends and kindred, caused

Scots
king
was
besieged.

Corvus
is
said.

His
the
king.

Cwin.

Meaning
of
the
first
part.

Public
re-
mune-
rations.

The
first
of
the
prince.

A
mable
of
the
prince.

caused a new commotion, so that within a few daies
after, manie thousands of men in furious rage
came before the castell, and besieged the king most
straightlie therein. Whis perceiuing himselfe in such
danger as he knew not well how to escape, came
forth with such companie as he had about him, and
incomtring with his enemies, was straightwaies
beaten downe among them, and so at once lost there
both kingdome and life in the ninth yeare of his
reigne. Durfus being thus dispatched, his children
doubting the indignation of the people conceived a-
gainst them for their fathers fault, to auoid the
perill fled ouer into Ireland, and immediatlie the
nobles of the realme assembled themselves together
for the choosing of a new king, in no wise minding
to haue anie of Durfus his race to reigne ouer
them, least they would take by some means to re-
venge his death: howbeit at length when they were
at point to haue fallen at variance in suffering of
contrarie opinions about the election of their prince,
through a wittie oration made by Cozanus gouer-
nour of Aegile, who alledged manie weightie rea-
sons for the auoiding of sedition, they all agreed to
commit the free election vnto the same Cozanus,
promising firmitie to accept whome soeuer he should
name. Here vpon Cozanus consulting a little with
the peers of the realme, named one Cwin the bre-
les sonne of Durfus, who as then remained in
Ireland, whither he had withdrawn himselfe in
Durfus his daies, being banished the realme by
him, for that he could not auate with his corrupt
manners. This election was acceptable to all estates,
for that thereby the administration of the kingdome
continued in the line of their former kings.

And Cwin shortly after was brought forth of
Aidland with all regall solemnities, and at Ber-
regonium placed vpon the stone of marble, to the
great reioicing of the people there assembled. Here-
with also the nobles of the realme, putting their
hands in his, bound themselves by oth to be loiall
and faithfull subiects vnto him in all points, which
custome of swearing fealtie then first by Cwins
commandement, begun and continued manie hun-
dred yeares after amongst his and their posteritie;
in somuch that the capteins of the tribes also requi-
red the same kind of oth of them that inhabited with-
in their liberties, which in part remaineth yet vnto
this day amongst those of the westerne Isles, and
such as inhabit in the mounteins. For at the crea-
tion of a new gouernour, whome they name their
capteine, they vse the like ceremonies; which being
ended, at the next faire kept within that countrie,
proclamation is made, that no man inhabiting with-
in his iurisdiction, shall name this new gouernour
by anie other name from thenceforth, than by the
ancient & accustomed name as such rulers aforetime
haue bene called by. And that so oft as they heare
him named, they shall put off their caps or hats, and
make a certaine courttesie in signe of honour due to
him, in such manner as we vse in hearing diuine ser-
uice, when anie holie myserie is in doing, or anie
sacred name of the almightie creator recited.

But now touching king Cwin, his chiefest stu-
die was to mainteine iustice throughout his domi-
nion, and to weed out such transgressours as went
about to trouble the quiet estate of his subiects. Fur-
thermore, considering what inconueniences proce-
ded through the vse of voluptuous pleasures & wan-
ton delices, he ordeined that the youth of his realme
should be trained to endure hardnesse, paine, and
trauell, as to lie vpon hard boards without anie sea-
therbeds or pillows vnder them. Also to exercise
themselves to throw the dart, to shot, to wrestle,
and to beare armour aswell in time of peace as of

warre; that when need required, trauell and such
kind of exercises should be no paine but pleasure
vnto them; where otherwaies lacke of vse might
make the same intollerable. Whilist Cwin is thus
occupied about the setting forth of necessarie ordi-
nances for the wealth of his realme, the king of the
Picts did send vnto him ambassadours to require
his aid against the Britains, who were entred his
countrie in robbing and spoiling the same.

Cwin consenting quicklie to that request, lent
an armie forthwith, and with all speed passed forward
to ioine with the Picts, in purpose to reuenge the
old iniuries done to his nation by the Britains, who
likewise were as ready to receiue battell, as the
Scots and Picts were desirous to giue it, so that
both the armies incomtring together (the Scots
and Picts on the one side, and the Britains on the o-
ther) there ensued a sore conflict betwixt them, con-
tinued with vnumercfull slaughter till night parted
them in funder; no man as then able to iudge who
had the better, but either part being priue to their
owne losses, withdrew themselves further off from
the place of the battell, so that the Scots and Picts
the same night got them into the mounteins of Pic-
land, and the Britains so lone as it was day made
homewards with all speed towards their countrie,
leaving no small preie and botie behind them, which
the Scottisshmen and the Picts recovered, committing
downe with all speed from the mounteins, when
they once heard that their enemies were departed.

A doubtfull
battell.

King Cwin being returned from this iournie,
determined to passe the residue of his life in rest
and quietnesse, appointing iudges in euerie part of his
realme, for the ministring of iustice and executing of
lawes, according to the due forme and ordinance of
the same. He appointed also such as should watch for
the apprehension of theues and robbers by the high
waies, assigning them linings of the common trea-
surie to lue by. And there he enen vnto this day that
hold still such linings, though the office be twome out
of vse and forgotten.

After this, he builded a castell not farre distant
from Berregonium, which he named after his owne
name Cuonitum: but afterwards it was called
Dunstaffage, which is as much to say, as Steuens
castell, which name it beareth at this present. Final-
lic, this Cwin, after he had reigned to the great
weale of the realme, about 19 yeares, he departed
this life, leauing behind him a son base begotten, na-
med Cillus, who causing his fathers funerals to be
executed with all solempne pompe and ceremonies,
raised by some after sundry obelisks about his graue
nere vnto Dunstaffage, where he was buried.

Dunstaffage
is builded.

There were present also at the buriall, two of
Durfus his sonnes, whome Cwin in his life time
had reuoked home out of Ireland, where they were
in exile. Both these, as well the one as the other, be-
cause they were twins, and not knowne whether of
them came first into the world, looked to be king af-
ter Cwin: their names were Dathan and Dorgall.
And such malicious emulation and enuious spite
rose betwixt the two brethren, for the attaining of
their purpose, that greater could not be deuised; which
Cillus, like a craftie & subtil for, by couert means
sought still to augment; and in the end causing them
to come together for some conclusion of agreement,
at length when he had set them farther at ods than
they were before, he procured a number of souldiers
appointed for the purpose to raise a tumult (as
though it had bene in taking of contrarie parts) and
there to slea them both.

The craftie
swooking of
Cillus.

Thus Cillus hauing brought to purpose that he
came for, shewed in countenance as though he had
bene much offended therewith, and done what he
could

Durfus two
sonnes are
sleane.

could to haue appeased the matter; and herewith he commeth running forth with a high voice, declaring to his companie, that if he had not made god thist for himselfe, he had bene slaine by the hands of Dothan and Doggall, who fell into such mischefe themselves, as they had prepared for other. Whereupon also he required his friends and seruants most earnestlie to conueie him into some sure place, where he might be out of danger, and in better securitie: in somuch that manie of those that heard him, giuing credit to his words, went with him with all speed vnto Dunstaffage, where being receiued into the castell with diuers of the nobles that followed him, he got him into a gallerie, and there making an inuective oration against the sonnes of Durstus, and touching by the way what perill might insue to the commonwealth by ciuill diuision, he perswaded them to commit the rule into his hands, vntill it might be certeinlie knowne, vnto whome the same of right appertained.

The nobles through feare consented to create Gyllus king.

Those that were present, perceiuing to what issue his painted processe tended, and doubting lest if they should seeme to stand against him at that instant in this his demand, they might happilie be the first that should repent the bargaine, consented to proclaime him king: whereupon he required all such as were present, to swear vnto him fealtie, and to do him homage according to the custome. And herewith agreeable as he had before promised, and according to his fathers will (as he alledged) he distributed among them all such cattell as belonged to his said father. Whereby he wane the greater fauour of manie, but yet not iudging himselfe altogether inueritie, by reason that Dothan had left behind him three sonnes, as then remaining in the Ile of Man, in the bringing vp of the Druides, he purposed therefore to dispatch them also for the better assurance of his estate, and thereupon he made a iournie thither himselfe, feigning as though he meant nothing but all loue and frendlie affection towards the children, by which meanes he gat two of them into his hands, the one named Llimorus, being about twelue yerres of age, and the other Cormacus that was two yerres younger. The youngest of the three named Ederus, being about seuen yerres old, as his better hap was, chanced to be sicke at that time, by reason whereof he escaped his hands: Gyllus feigning as though he wished to haue the other two brought vp like the children of a prince, he led them away with him into Scotland, leaving certeine of his seruants behind him, to rid Ederus the youngest out of the way at leasure; and as for the other twaine, the night following after his comming home to Dunstaffage, he caused them to be murdered, euen in their tutors armes, whose aid most pitifullie they besought and required. But the woman that had the keeping of Ederus now in his sicknesse, provided more warilie for his safegard, for she smelling out what was the kings purpose, in the dead of the night got hir selfe together with Ederus into a ship, and passed ouer into Argile, where being set on land, she caried him on hir shoulders vp into the mounteins, and there with in a secret den sustained his languishing life for certeine moneths in great care and miserie.

Gyllus goeth about to murder Dothan's sonnes also.

A detestable murder.

Ederus escapeth.

Gyllus commeth secretly a seale to iustice.

Gyllus notwithstanding these his cruell acts, shewed yet in outward apearance that no man was more desirous of the quiet state and prosperous successe of the commonwealth than he: ever reasoning among his nobles, and that in the presence of his commons touching the maintenance of iustice, & punishment of murtherers, whereas he himselfe thiristed continuallie, and most of all after the blood of those whom he doubted anie thing likelie to attempt the reuenge of his wicked misgouernance: insomuch that he could

sed in one place and other, all such to be murdered and slaine as bare anie good will toward the lawfull line of Durstus.

Now the people seeing the daillie slaughter of the nobilitie; and at the last growing to be verie loze moued against him, namelie those of Galloway, Bile, Carrick, and Coningham, with them of Cantire, Lozne, and Argile, they assembled their powers together, and with all speed marched forth towards the place where they thought to find the tyrant: who hearing of this their conspiracie, assembled such puissance as he could make, & hauing no other refuge but to trie the matter by battell, made towards his enemies with more speed than god successe: for yet the two armies came to joining, a great number of Gyllus his friends fled to the contrarie part, so that hereupon doubting the issue if he were constrained to fight, he stole priuillie from amongst the residue of his folks, and getting into a fithers bote, conueied himselfe ouer into Ireland: whose departure being once knowne, his souldiours yeldded themselves vnto Cadall gouernour of Galloway, who was capteine generall of all the conspirators, and now by the consent of all the estates created gouernour of the realme till they had chosen a king.

This Cadall, immediatlie vpon the great authoritie giuen him, gat first all the best fortresses into his hands, as Weregounum, Dunstaffage, and other: then he passed ouer into the Ile of Fla, to provide the better for the resisting of Gyllus, if he shuld attempt anie thing by purchasing aid amongst them of the westerne Isles. Whither was brought vnto him also, the pong Ederus (by such of Durstus his friends as had escaped the cruell hands of Gyllus) whome Cadall caused to be honorable conueied vnto Epilake the chiefeest citie of Galloway, there to be brought vp in princelie nurture, that comming to full age, he might the better be able to take vpon him the gouernance.

In which meane while Gyllus made all the friends in Ireland that he could, insomuch that vpon such golden promises as he made vnto the chiefeest gouernours there, they consented to aid him with all their forces. Wherof Cadall being aduertised, he thought it best that a king should be chosen, and thereby an unitie to be framed amongst all the estates of the realme, whereupon causing a councill to be assembled for the same intent, by common agreement, one Ewin, a man of worthie fame, nephew to king Finian by his brother Douall, was in the end proclaimed king: who was latelie come from the Ile of Gouwere into Albion, in companie with Cadall, and kept himselfe close hitherto within the said Ile, for doubt of Gyllus that sought amongst other to haue destroyed him also.

This Ewin, being the second of that name, made great prouision in the beginning of his reigne to resist the said Gyllus his enimie. And hearing that he had bene in the Ile of Fla, and put the same to fire and sword, he prepared an armie and ships also, to transport therewith ouer into Ireland, there to reuenge that iniurie vpon such as had aided Gyllus therein to the hinderance of his countrie. The forer named Cadall gouernour of Galloway, was appointed also to haue the leading of this armie: who taking the sea at Dunstaffage, directed his course straight ouer vnto the coasts of Ireland, where taking land and encountering with his enemies, he put them to the worse, insomuch that Gyllus fearing to fall into his aduersaries hands, fled out of the field into the next wood, where he thought to haue saued himselfe. His souldiours also perceiving him to be fled, gaue ouer the field, and yeldded themselves vnto Cadall, who toke them to grace, and forthwith sent

The Scots rise against Gyllus.

Gyllus departeth secretly and getting into Ireland.

Leland and other take Ederus and bring him to Epilake.

Gyllus prouideth against Ireland.

Ewin the second of the name chosen king.

Ewin.

Cadall with an armie sent into Ireland.

sent out certaine companions to seeke Gillus, who found him in a den closed about with thicke woods and bushes, where he had lien his certaine daies, and was almost starued for hunger. Those that found him immediatlie stroke off his head, and presented the same vnto Cadall, to the great reioicing of all the companie.

Thus after that Cadall had atchieued his enterprise with good successe, he toke the sea againe to returne into Scotland, but by meanes of a greuous tempest, he lost the greatest part of his armie, with all the spoile and riches that they had gotten in that voyage. Which mischance sore blemished the glorie of so famous a victorie, so that the reioicing of manie was turned into dolefull mourning for the losse of their friends and kinsfolke, but namelie Cadall toke it to greuouslie, that nothing could be moze offensive vnto him. Howbeit, after he was come on land, the king and other of the nobles recomforted him in all that they might, and the king gaue him also much faire lands, with diuers castles in Galloway, in recompense of his good faithfull seruice at sundrie times shewed in defense of his countrie, and made him gouernor of Galloway also, which he verie thankfullie accepted.

After this king Ewin came to an interuiew with the king of Scots in the borders of Galloway, and there renewed the ancient league betwixt the Scottish men and the Scots. For more corroboration wherof Syoja the daughter of Gethus the third king of the Scots, was ioined in marriage with Ederus, the solemnization being kept at Epiake. These things thus accomplished, Ewin returned to Duffasage, where being certified by letters from the lieutenant of Rosse, that the Flanders of Dykeney had passed the island firch, and were entred into Cathnessie, robbing and spoiling that countrie with a great part of Rosse, he leued an armie with all speed, and hastied towards the enemies, confreining them by his sudden coming to fight whether they would or not, having no lesseure to get awaie, so that with small resistance they were banquished and chased, some into the mounteins, and other to the sea side: of whom part escaped by hotes ouer into their countries, the residue of them in this their sudden overthrow being either slaine, drowned, or taken. But Blasus the king of Dykeney, for that he would not come into his enemies hands, slue himselfe. And thus ended this enterprise against the enemies of Dykeney: greatlie to the increase of Ewins fame amongst the Scottish nation.

After this he visited the west parts of his realme, and at the mouth of the riuer of Lochtey he builded a citie which he named Enuerlochtey, infranchising the same with a sanctuarie for the refuge of offenders. This citie afterwards was much frequented with merchants of France and Spaine, by reason of the great abundance of samons, herrings, and other fish which was taken there. The old ruines of this citie in part remaine to be seene in that place where it stood, euen to this day. He likewise built another citie in the east part of the realme nere to the water called Lochnessie, which he named Enuernessie, after the name of the water. Whither in times past there resorted manie merchants of Germanie, with such merchandize as the inhabitants of the countrie there stood in need of, exchanging the same with them for marterne skins, and other such fures, wherewith they made their returne. This citie is as yet remaining, and beareth the old name, rich and well stored with diuers kinds of merchandize, so that this Ewin procured a most famous prince for his worthe exploits right fortunatelie atchieued both in peace and warre. And finallie vnderstan-

ding the death of his verie deare and intirelle beloued friend Cadall, he repaired vnto Epiake, as well to giue order for the pacifying of his sones being at variance for their fathers inheritance, as also to do the moze honor to his friend now deceased, by erecting some monument nere vnto his sepulchre. Comming therefore to Epiake, and setting an accord betwixt the young men, he caused an image to be made in all points resembling the personage of Cadall, as nere as might be: which he placed in the midst of the market stee, comminding the same to be honozed with burning of incense and other diuine ceremonies. Within a few daies also, though inward sorrow, as was thought, for the losse of so deere a friend, he began to wax sicke himselfe, and at length perceiuing he should not escape present death, he caused Ederus (of whom before mention is made) to be brought vnto him, into whose hands with manie wholsome aduertisements how to vse himselfe in gouernement of his subiects, he wholie resigned the estate, the which after his decease he knew to be due vnto him without all question and controuersie: and afterward departed this world, when he had reigned seuentene yeares continuallie for the most part in high wealth and felicitie.

After the decease of Ewin, Ederus was, in manner before expressed, receiued for king by the whole assent of all the Scottishmen. Whose chiefe delight was altogether in hunting and keeping of hounds and grethounds, to chase and pursue wild brasts, and namelie the wolfe the beardedmans so, by meanes wherof his aduancement was much moze acceptable amongst the nobles, who in those daies were wholy giuen to that kind of pleasure and pastime. In the beginning of his reigne there was no trouble towards, the publike state of the realme being maintained by upright iustice, and all transgressions through terror of due punishment politikelie repressed.

The first that went about to put him to any notable trouble, was one Blasus of the Fles, nere of kin to Gillus that usurper and murderer, who with a power of Irishmen, and other of the westerne Fles landed in Argile, wasting & spoiling the countrie with fire & sword, wherof Ederus being aduertised (who was at the same time in those parts hunting amongst the mounteins) gathered an armie with all speed, and hastening to the place where his enemies ships late at anchor, he first burned the same, to take awaie all meanes from them to escape by flight. The morning next following he did set vpon them also at vntwares: of whom some he slue, and the residue being taken, either in the fight or chase by his commandement were hanged, and cruellie executed to the example of all others.

After this, he passed ouer into the westerne Fles, where he did execution vpon such as had aided Blasus, putting some to death, and causing other to fine at his pleasure, and depriuing some viterlie of all that euer they had. At his returne againe into Scotland, there met him ambassadoys sent from Castillane kings of the Britains, requirng him of aid against Julius Cesar, who (as the same king had perfect vnderstanding) was appointed verie hostile to passe the seas from France, ouer into this Ile, with a mightie power of Romans, to subdue the inhabitants vnto the seigniozie and iurisdiction of Rome.

Ederus receiued these ambassadoys verie courteously: and forsomuch as their maisters request required counsell, he caused his lords which were then present, to assemble together the next daie, afore whome he willed that Androgeus, chiefe of the British ambassadoys, should declare the effect of his message,

Cadall deceased.

Ewin resigneth the estate.

Ewins deceased.

Ederus.

Blasus nameth the Scots.

Ederus burneth his enemies ships.

Castillane king of the Britains requirith of the Scottishmen aid against the Romans.

Androgeus chiefe ambassador of the Britains declareth the effect of his message.

The Scots
grant to aid
the Britains
against the
Romans.

Cadallane &
Donald with
ten thousand
Scotishmen
send to aid
the Britains.

c 129 H.B.
60 H.B.

The Brit-
tains refuse
aid being of-
fered them.

Julius Cesar
inuateth this
land the les-
cond time.

The Brit-
tains are over-
throwne.

Julius Cesar
his message
to the Scots
and Picts.

The answer
of the Scots
and Picts un-
to Cesar his
ambassadors.

sage, which he did so eloquentlie, and uttering such sensible matter, he w^o it stood the Scotchmen vpon to aid the Britains against such common enemies to all nations as the Romans were, that in the end it was concluded by the king, with the advice of his nobles, that he should not onlie send a power to aid the Britains against the Romans, but also send some of his lords with Androgeus and his associates vnto Cethus king of the Picts, to moue him to do the like: who hearing how reasonable their demands were, promised further to accomplish the same.

Thus the British ambassadors hauing sped accord-
ding to their desires, repaired homewards: imme-
diatlie vpon whose departure, both the kings Ede-
rus & Cethus leuied their armies, & sent them forth
towards London, whereas then Cassibilane sojour-
ned. I find that the Scots were ten thousand men
vnder the leading of Cadallane gouernor of Galles
way, the sonne of Cadall before remembred, and
one Donald gouernor of Argile. But what successe
followed of this first iourne which Cesar made into
Britaine, ye shall find the same in the historie of
England more at length expressed. The yere that
Julius Cesar came to inuade Britaine, was the
fourth of Ederus his reigne, from the creation of
the world 3912 complet, which is after Christ
Harrisons account 54 before the conning of our Sau-
our, and 692 after the building of Rome.

The Scotchmen and Picts hauing their part of
the spoile which the Romans at their departure left
behind them, were sent home to their countries with
great thanks and rewards for their pains, but the
Britains were so exalted in pride by the departure
of the Romans, that they belaued verelie they shuld
haue no more to do with those enemies, or if they had
they thought themselves strong enough to repell
them without aid of other. By meanes wherof when
king Ederus was informed how the Romans pre-
pared to inuade them afresh, and had sent them word
thereof, offering to them his aid: they made no ac-
count of that offer, but answered that it was not
necessarie, for euerie light inuasion of forren eni-
mies, to seeke helpe at other mens hands, being of
puissance sufficient of themselves to resist the same
well enough.

But of this refusal of so friendlie an offer, it was
not long y^e the Britains sore repented them. For
shortlie after Julius Cesar with a farre greater po-
wer than that which he brought with him at the first
time, landed here in this Ile amongst them againe:
and being at th^{re} sundrie times fiercelie incountred
by king Cassibilane, at length he put the same Cas-
sibilane with his Britains to flight, slaying and tak-
ing a great number of them. Amongst other of the
prisoners were th^{re} of their chiefe captains, An-
drogeus, Cilentoxiges, and Tenantius. By reason
of which ouerthrow Cassibilane was so discouraged,
that doubting further mischefe, he yelded himselfe
vnto Cesar, accepting such conditions of peace as
were appointed him, and for performance of coue-
nants, deliuered sufficient pledges.

Cesar hauing thus conquered the Britains, sent
his ambassadors vnto the kings of the Scotchmen
and Picts, requiring them to submit themselves as
Cassibilane had done, or else he had them loke for
open warres at the Romans hands, which they might
assure themselves they should in no wise be able to
sustaine, considering their mightie and huge pus-
sance, hauing the most part of the whole world at
their commandement already. Wherevnto aswell
the one king as the other made this or much what
the like answer, that they were bent sooner to lose
their liues than their libertie. Which their resolution,
if they were put to the triall, should be euidentlie

proued by the deed it selfe.

Cesar hauing receiued this answer from these
two nations, he sendeth new messengers vnto them
with a more rough message, who not onlie by theate
but also by great reasons went about to persuade
them vnto submission. But they persisting in their
former opinion for defense of their liberties, and ut-
terlie refusing all manner of bondage, would incline
by no meanes to come in any bond of friendship
with the Romans. After the returne of these last
messengers, Cesar was fullie resolved to enter into
their countries, to force them vnto that by dint of
sword, wherevnto by treatie he might not induce
them: and had set forward on that iourne shortlie
after indeed, if he had not bene called backe into
France, to pacifie sundrie commotions there raised
by the reuolting of the people inhabiting in those
countries, where the Picts and Romans, with
other the inhabitants nere about Chartres do now
dwel.

The common Scotch chronicles record, how Ju-
lius Cesar came as far as Kalendar wood, and there
wan by force the citie of Camelon, where the British
kings bled most to sojourne. Herevnto the same
chronicles adde, that Cesar builded a great stone-
house of 24 cubits in heighth, & of 12 cubits in bredth,
of square hewen stones, right workmanlie framed,
which house they saie Cesar caused to be bled in freed
of a iudgement hall, and here placed it nere the ri-
uer of Caron, ouer against the forenamed citie of
Camelon, as a witness that the Romans armie
had bene so far forward within that countrie. Such
an house there remaineth to be seene euen vnto this
daie, and is called Julius hoff, that is Julius hall,
or Julius court. Howbeit, other more agreeable to
the likelihood of a truth, write that this house was
sometimes a temple builded to the hono^r of Claudi-
us Cesar, and of the goddess Minotia, by the Romane
capteine Vespasian, at such time as he made wars
in that countrie, before his advancement to the
empire.

But to returne vnto Ederus. About the same
time, in which he looked to be inuaded by Julius Ce-
sar and the Romans, and for that purpose had sent
for them of the westerne Isles to reinforce his host, he
was now inforced to conuert it another waie, for
there was one Murketus, nephue vnto the aboue
remembred Gillus, that came with a nauie out of
Ireland to rob and spoile those Isles, being destitute
as then of men to resist him. But Ederus hearing
thereof, dispatched Cadallanus with an armie into
those parties for defense of his subiects: which Ca-
dallanus behaued himselfe so politikelie in this ex-
ploitt, that setting vpon the enemies as they laie at
anchor, he took them in the night season, without
making any great defense, and after hanged them
by along the shore side within the Ile of Colvye:
Murket himselfe being honozed with an higher place
to hang in than all the rest, as due to him that was
their chiefe head and leader in that voiage. The rem-
nant of Ederus his reigne passed without anie o-
ther notable trouble: and so after he had reigned 38
yeres, he deceased a verie old man, about the 23
yeres of the empire of Augustus Cesar. He was
buried also at Dunstaffage with all due pompe & so-
lemnitie, hauing diuers obelisks (as the custome
then was) erected and set by about the place where
he was so intumulate.

After him reigned his sonne Elwin, the third of
that name, nothing like in any princelie quali-
tie vnto his noble progenitors, but contrariwise
infamed by all kind of vices. In the first yeres of
his reigne he was wholy drownd in lasciuious leche-
rie, a bawoning himselfe altogether to lie weltering
amongst

Cesar sendeth
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Julius Cesar
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Julius hoff

Murketus
nephue vnto
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with the nauie
out of Ire-
land.

Murket was
hanged by
along the shore
side within the
Ile of Colvye.

48 H.B.
26 H.B.

Elwin

Elwin

amongst a sort of vile strumpets, his lust being never throughlie satisfied, though neuer so often wearied. The nobles of the realme he had in no regard at all, of whom some he confined, and some he caused to be murdered, onlie because he might the more freele without gainesaying haue his vile trade of lying with their wiues and colins. Such delight he had also in his filthie and abhominable ribaldrie, that he made lawes for maintenance of the like amongst his subiects, as thus: That it might be lawfull for euerie man to marie diuers & sundrie wiues, some six, some ten, according to their substance and qualities. And as for poore mens wiues, they were appointed to be common unto the lords of the soile: and further, that the same lords should first deflowre the bride after his marriage: which last ordinance toke such effect, that of manie hundred yeres after it could by no means be abrogated, though the twofold former liberties were by authoritie of the kings succeeding, shortly after this Ewins decesse, taken awaie and reuoked.

But now to conclude touching the doings of this Ewin, ye shall vnderstand, that at length such lords as greatlie abhorred his vile conditions & vsages, conspired against him, and raising an armie of their friends and partakers, incountred with him in the field, and there toke him prisoner, being destitute of all aid and succours: for such as he brought with him, not once offered to strike one stroke in his quarrell. Ewin being thus taken, was by and by condemned to perpetuall prison; and Caballan, of whom ye haue heard before, immediatlie proclaimed gouernor of the realme. Howbeit the night following, after that Ewin (according to the iudgement pronounced against him) was committed vnto ward, a presumptuous yong man, in hope to haue thanks of Caballan, entred into the chamber where he was inclosed, and there strangled him. But in stead of thanks he was recompensed with death: for Caballan detesting such a wicked deed, caused him to be hanged in open sight of all men. Such was the end of Ewin, being thus dispatched in prison, in the seuenth yere after he began his reigne ouer the Scottishmen, being the 9 yere of Augustus Cesar his gouernment of the Romane empire.

After Ewin succeeded Metellanus, son to one Carren, the brother of Cderus a prince of most gentle behauiour. This Metellanus maintained his subiects in great quietnesse and rest, without anie manner of wars, either forein or ciuill. Such wicked lawes as his predecessour had established, he did what he could to abolish. But such yong gentlemen as delighted in sensuall lust, and licentious libertie, stood so stiffelie therein against him, that in the end he was glad to leaue off his purpose. About the same time also there came vnto Kimbaline king of the Britains an ambassadoz from Augustus the emperor, with thanks, for that entring into the gouernment of the British state, he had kept his allegiance toward the Romane empire: exhorting him to keepe his subiects in peace with all their neighbors, with the whole world, through meanes of the same Augustus, was now in quiet, without all warres or trouble-some tumults.

These ambassadozs went also vnto Metellanus the K. of the Scottishmen, exhorting him to acknowledge a superiouritie in the Romane emperor, vnto whome the people inhabiting in the furthest parts of the east, had sent their ambassadozs with rich iewels to present his person withall. Wherewith Metellanus being partly moued to haue a frendlie amitie with the Romans, he sent vnto Rome certeine rich presents to the emperor, and to the gods in the capitol, in signe of honour, by which means he obtained an

amitie with the Romans, which continued bestwirt them and his kingdome for a long time after.

Thus a generall peace as then reigning throughout the whole world, it pleased the giuer and author of all peace to be borne at the same time, of that blessed virgin Marie, in the citie of Bethlem in the tribe of Iuda. Which most blessed and salutiferous birth did come to passe in the 12 yere of Metellanus reigne, and in the 42 of Augustus his empire: from the first establishing of the Scottish kingdome by Fergusius 324 yeres, and after the creation of the world 3966, as Harison in his chronologie doth manifestlie conclude. After this, Metellanus reigned certeine yeres in continuall peace and quietnes, euermore ready to do the thing that might be to the contentation and the weale of his people. Finally, he passed out of this life in the 29 yere of his reigne, which was the 28 after the birth of our Sauour; and 13 of Tiberius the emperor. Howbeit he left no issue alieue behind him to succeed in the gouernment of the kingdome: for those children which he had begotten, he buried in his life time, by meanes whereof, one Caratake, sonne to Caballan, and nephew to King Metellanus by his sister Europela, was proclaimed King; as he that excelled in riches and puissant authoritie about all other the yeres and high estates of the realme, and had not a litte to do in the administration of publike affaires in the latter daies of his vncle Metellanus.

The first thing he did after he was established in the estate, he sailed into the westerne Isles, to appease a rebellion moued by the gouernour there. Which done, and the authors punished, he returned into Albion, and came into Caractonum, which was sometimes a famous citie, and metropolitane of Scotland, situate within the countie cleped Carrike, as it appeareth by the ruines there remaining euen vnto this day. In this citie was Caratake borne, & therefore fauouring it the more, he lay there most commonlie, and did what he could to aduance the wealth and state thereof. Whilst these things were a doing in Scotland, Kimbaline king of the Britains died, who for that he had bene brought up in Rome, obserued his promised obedience towards the empire; but Guiderius succeeding, did daine to see the libertie of his countie oppressed by the Romans, and therefore procuring the Britains to assist him, assembled a power, and invaded the Romans with such violence, that none escaped with life; but such as saved themselves within castles & fortresses.

The emperor Claudius that then gouerned the Romane empire, aduertised hereof, sent first capteins, Aulus Plautius, and Cneus Sertius to appease that rebellion. They landing in Britaine with their armie, banquished Guiderius in battell, so that he was constrained to send to Caratake king of Scots for aid against the common enemies of both nations. Caratake hauing considered the effect of this message, gaue counsell to the Britains to send into France then called Gallia, to pacifie with the people there to moue some rebellion against the Romans, in hope of helpe, which they were assured to haue by the Britains. This counsell was followed, for immediatlie vpon the ambassadozs returne, there were sent ouer into France certeine intelligenciaries to moue some conspiracie which had taken effect (by reason of the generall hate of seruitude, wherein the Romans kept the people subiect to them in those daies) if Guiderius had not bene constrained to giue battell, and chanced to be slaine in the same, ycr the Walls could be resolved vpon anie determinat purpose.

This ouerthrow being reported in France, caused the Walls to staie their intended rebellion. Shortly

The birth of our Sauour Christ.

10 H.B.
320 H.P.
5109 H.B.

Metellane departeth this world.
29 H.B.
14 H.B.

Caratake proclaimed King.
This Caratake called the British and English writers take to be a Britaine, and inhabiting within that portion of the Isle now called England.

Caratake.

Caratake was borne in Carrike.

Kimbaline king of the Britains died.

Guiderius the British king rebelled against the Romans.

Plautius & Sertius.

Guiderius sendeth to Caratake for aid.

France in those daies Gallia.

Guiderius slaine.

The emperor
Claudius
us cometh
into Britaine.

Claudius sail-
eth into the
Dykenies.

How Kirke-
Wale.

Claudius tak-
eth the king
of the Dyke-
nies.

The doubt of
Claudius go-
ing into the
Dykenies.
Dion Cassius.

Arutragus
forsaketh his
lawfull wife.

Woads impris-
oned.

Woads is de-
livered out of
prison, and
conueied into
Wales.

Arutragus
grieveth his eni-
mies an enor-
mously.

lie after Claudius himselfe came ouer into Britaine, and receiuing the Britains under his obedience, ordered things among them at his pleasure. And after preparing his nauie and armie with all purueiance convenient, he set forward towards the Isles of Dykenie, purposing to conquer the same, for that they had aided the Britains in these last warres against the Romans. But approaching nere to those Isles, he was in danger to haue bene cast awaie by a tempest rising by chance, euen as he was entered the streit betwixt the Dykenies and Dungisbie head in Cathnesse called: Wicland frith; yet at length getting to land, he found in that Ile where he first arrived, no bodie at home, all the people through feare vpon the first sight of the great multitude of ships being fled to hide themselves in caues and dens amongst the rocks & mounteins.

Claudius therefore leauing this Ile, passed into Domontia the chiefeest of all the Dykenies, where discomfiting such as appeared abroad to make resistance, he besieged the king of those Isles named Caranus, within a castell where he was withdrawen, and finally causing him to yeld himselfe prisoner, led him with other nobles of Britaine (whome he had for pledges) vnto Rome, the more to set forth the glorie of his triumph at his returne vnto the citie. But whatsoeuer Hector Boetius and others write of this passage of Claudius into the Dykenies, it is not like that he came there at all, for if he staied not past 16 daies in Britaine, as by Dion Cassius it appeareth that he did not in deed; how should we imagine that he could both pacifie the south parts of Britaine, and after go into Dykenie and conquer the same within so small a time, being readie to returne towards Rome at the end of those 16 daies, as the said Dion affirmeth: But this discourse haue I made according to their owne histories, least I should seeme to defraud them of whatsoeuer glorie is to be gotten by errors, as the manner is of them as well as of other nations, which to aduance their antiquities and glorie of their ancestors, take the aduantage oftentimes of writers scant worthy of credit.

But now againe to our purpose. Arutragus being established in the kingdome of Britaine, vpon some priuat displeasure forsake his wife named Woads, the sister of Caratake king of the Scottishmen, and married Genissa a Romaine ladie, which act manie of the Britains disallowed; the more in deed, because he had faire issue already by Woads, as a son and two daughters. But this was done, as all men iudged, by the counsell of Aulus Plautius, whereby to breake all friendship and alliance betwixt the Britains and the Scots, to the end that in no case of rebellion they should loine their powers together. Neither did he onelie refuse Woads, whome all men knew to be his lawfull wife, but also caused hir to be kept in prison, till that the Britains (hauing indignation thereat) got hir out of the place where she was kept, and conueied hir into Wales together with hir children.

With which dealing Arutragus being highly moued, determined with force of armes to punish them that had thus misused him: but perceiuing that not onelie those people which inhabited the countrie, now called Wales, and other that adioined on the north marches thereof were readie to defend the queene against his malice, he was faine to require aid of the Romans, who with their capteine Aulus Plautius assembling together with such of the Britains as toke part with Arutragus, set forward toward the enemies, and joining with them in battell, did giue them the ouerthrow. The next day after this victorie thus gotten, word was brought that

the people inhabiting in the countries which we now call Lancashire, Yorkshire, and Darbshire, were by in armour against the king and the Romans, by reason whereof Arutragus and Aulus Plautius withdrew towards London, that defending the sea coasts towards France, they might yet haue the sea open at all times whatsoeuer they pleased. And to re enforce their power, Aulus Plautius sent ouer for two legions of soldiers into France, to come with all speed to his aid.

The Britains, who had gone so farre in the matter that they could not well withdraw themselves, now being certified of all their enemies doings, thought best to make themselves so strong as was possible. And to the end that they might proceed in some orderlie meane, all the greatest lords and estates assembled together at Shetisbury, in those daies called Corinimum, where they concluded vpon a league to aid one another with all their might and maine against the Romans & Arutragus, who went about to bring them whole vnder seruile subiection and thraldome of the same Romans. They being thus agreed to make warres in this quarrell, and for the same purpose to loine their whole puissance together, there rose a doubt whome they might chuse for their generall capteine, for that it was feared lest there might grow some secret enuie amongst the nobles being of equall power, if one should be in this case preferred before an other. For the auoiding of which mischief, by the graue admonition of one Comus a noble man of the parties of Wales, they accorded to send messengers vnto Caratake the king of Scotland, requirring him to aid them in their right and iust quarrell against Arutragus and the Romans, whereby he might reuenge the iniurie done to his sister queene Woads and hir issue, whome the father through counsell of the Romans purposed to disperit, to the end such children as he had by Genissa (for that they were of the Romaine blood) might introy the kingdome. They further declared, that all the British lords which were confederat in this enterprise, had chosen him by common assent to be their generall and chiefe leader, if it might so please him to take it vpon him, as their trust was he would: considering the iust causes of their warre, and the surterie which by victorie gotten might insue vnto all the inhabitants of the whole Ile of Albion.

Caratake hauing heard the summe of their request, and thoughtlie weteng the same, promised them to be readie with his whole puissance in the beginning of the next spring, to come to their aid, vnto what place soeuer they should thinke expedient: and thereof he told them they might be most assured, willing them in the meane time so to provide for themselves, as their enemies might haue no aduantage at their hands. With this agreeable answer the British messengers returned to Shetisbury to the confederats, who reioicing at the news, made provision against the next spring to go against the Romans, in hope of good successe, speciallie through aid of the Scots and Picts, who also with their king called Conkiss were willing to helpe towards the deliuering of the land from bondage of the Romans, whose nestling so nere their noses they were loth to see or heare of. So some therefore as the spring approached, all those three people, Britains, Scots, and Picts, gathered their powers together, and met in Yorkshire, in purpose to encounter with their enemies in battell, where soeuer they found them.

Arutragus and Aulus Plautius hauing knowledge of all the doings of the confederats, likewise assembled their power, & comming towards them,

for a while forbare to ioin in battell, though counsell of Plandius, who perceiuing the most part of the Britains and Scots to be but new souldiers, taken vp of late to fill the numbers, knew that by protracting time they would be come out of heart, though watching and euill harbrough, in such sort that in the end they should be easie enough to deale with; and euen so it came to passe. For the Romans refusing to fight a generall battell, yet scoured so the fields on eijh side abroad, that neither the Britains nor Scots could go forth anie waies for forage or vittels, but they were still snatched vp, so that what though hunger, lacke of sleepe, and other diseases, manie of the Britains began to conueie themselves from the campe home to their houses, of whome some being taken by the enemies, declared that the whole armie of the confederats was in great distresse, and sore infiebled by such vnaccustomed trauell and diseases as they were enforced vnto in the campe. Whereupon Aruiragus and Aulus Plandius determined the next day to giue battell. And so in the morning they araised their people, & marched forth betimes towards the campe of the confederats.

Caratake, who (as ye haue heard) was generall of all the confederates, understanding the enemies intent, was as readie to receiue battell as they were to offer it; whereupon there ensued right great and vnumerfull slaughter betwixt them on both parts, without sparing any at all, till such time as the night parted the fraie, with such losse on either side, that after they were once got in sunder, neither part had anie halfe afterwards to ioin againe: so that in the morning there appeared none in the field but onelie the dead bodies, those that were left alieue as well on the one part as the other being fled and scattered into the woods and mounteins. Aruiragus and Plandius got them vnto London: and Caratake commanding his people home each man into his countrie, he himselfe withdrew first towards Powke, and after thence vnto the citie of Carrike; whither shortly after there came vnto him ambassadours from Aulus Plandius, sent to know vpon what occasion he did aid the Britith rebels against the Romane empire, declaring that if he would not be conformable to make a worthe amends for so presumptuous an enterprise, he should be sure to haue the Romans his enemies; and that in such wise, as he should perceiue it were much better for him to seeke their friendship, than to abide their eninitie.

Herevnto Caratake answered, that he had iust cause to do that which he did, considering the injuries which his sister Cloada with hir sonne Guiderius had and were like to receiue by their counsell and meanes: and therefore he was so little minded to make anie amends for that was done, that he thought it more reason that the Romans should clearelie auoid out of the whole possession of Britaine, either else they might assure themselves to haue aswell the Britains, as also the Scots & Picts to be their perpetuall enemies, and that onelie for the chalenge of their ancient liberties and freedom. The Romane ambassadours being returned with this answer, Plandius tooke no small indignation thereat, soe menacing to be reuenged of so high and contumelious words pronounced against the maiestie of the Romane empire.

About the same time Aruiragus, vpon trust conferred by ioining his power with the other confederate Britains, to expell the Romans quite out of the realme, and so to recouer the intire estate, resolting from thence fled into Shrewsburie, where, at the same time such Britith lords as were enemies to the Romans, were assembled againe in counsell, by whom Aruiragus was receiued with great gladnesse (ye

maie be sure) of those lords, trusting by his meanes to haue their force in maner doubled. His wife Genissa being at the same season great with child, tooke such thought for this reuolting of hir husband, that travelling before hir time, she immediatly died therewith. But Aulus Plandius, perceiuing now the roughlie how little trust there was to be put in the Britans, dispatched a messenger in all hast with letters vnto Claudius the emperor, who as then sojourned at Rome, signifieng vnto him in what danger the state of Britaine stood, if timelie prouision were not the soner made.

Claudius weiceng the matter by good aduise of counsell, ordeined by decre of the senate, that Trespasian (of whome ye haue heard before) should be sent thither with an armie, to tame the proud and loftie stomachs of the Britains, with their confederats the Scots & Picts. Trespasian herevpon departing from Rome, came into France, & increasing his legions, with a supplie of such souldiers as he found there, passed ouer into this our Britaine, where contrary to the report which he had heard afore his coming, he found euerie fortresse so well furnished after the warlike order of the Romane vltage, and moreover all such companies of men of warre as kept the field so well appointed and ordered, that he could not but much praise the great diligence and politike gouernement of Plandius.

Now then Trespasian had a little refreshed his men, and taken order how to proceed in the reducing of the Britains to their former obedience, he set forward toward Aruiragus & other the enemies, whom he understood as then to be at Powke, making their assemblee, not generallie of all that were able to beare a club, as they did the yere before; but out of all parties a chosen number of piket men were sent for, as out of Denonshire & Cornetwall there came 6000, forth of Wales and the marches 12000, and the like number out of Kent, Westmerland, and Cumberland. Out of Dorsetshire and other the parties of Britaine subiect vnto Aruiragus, there came 35000. All which numbers assembled nere vnto Powke, euerie man bringing his prouision with him to serue him for two moneths space. Vnto the same place came also Caratake with 30000 Scottish men: and Althara otherwise called Charan, king of the Picts, with almost as manie of his subiects.

Trespasian being certified still from time to time of all the doings of his enemies, hastned with all speed towards them; and by the leading of trustie guides comming to the place where they were incamped within a marish ground not passing 12 miles from Powke, he fiercelie vpon a sudden setteth vpon them within their campe, yer they thought he had bene nere them. But yet notwithstanding they manfullie stood to their defense: inso much that those in the right wing of the Romans armie were like to haue bene distressed, if Trespasian perceiuing the danger, had not sent a legion to their aid in time, wherby the battell was newlie in that part ressozed. The capitains on either side did what they could to encourage their folkes to stick to their tackle, without giuing ouer by anie meanes, considering what gaine came by victorie, and what losse ensued by receiuing the overthrow.

The Britiths, Scots, and Picts, like enraged lions, ran vpon the Romans, with such cruell desire of reuenge, that euen when they were thrust through vpon the point of any weapon, they would run still vpon the same, to come vnto him that held it, that they might requite him with the like againe. But yet would not all that their fierce and desperate hardnesse preuaile, for fortune by fatall appointment being bent to aduance the Romans vnto the dominion

Genissa the wife of Aruiragus d. eth.

A messenger sent vnto Claudius the emperor from Plandius.

Trespasian commeth into Britaine.

The Britains gather an armie.

The Scots & Picts come to aid the Britains. Althara or Charan king of Picts.

Trespasian assaulteth the Britains in their campe.

The desperate hardnesse of the Britains and Scottishmen.

Fortune fauoureth the Romans.

The Brit-
tains receive
the overthrow

Caratake
escapeth.
Charan king
of the Picts
is slain.

Assengers
sent by Aru-
ragus unto
Vespasian
with sub-
mission.

Arutragus
cometh in
unto Vespas-
ian.
Arutragus
restored again
to his former
dignitie.
The Brit-
tains are par-
doned, but yet
deliuer new
hostages.
Their lawes
abrogated,
few lawes.

Camelon be-
sieged by
Vespasian.

Camelon
surrendered.
The kings
regall orna-
ments taken.

Camelon peo-
pled with
Romans.

nion of the whole world, shewed his selfe so fauoura-
ble vnto them in this battell, that in the end, though
the Britains with the confederats did what lay in
men to do for attaining of victorie, yet were they
beaten downe and slaine euerie mothers sonne, a
few onelie excepted, which escaped by flight.

Arutragus seeing the slaughter of his people,
would haue slaine himselfe, but that some of his ser-
uants caried him by force out of the field, that he
might be reserued yet vnto some better fortune.
Caratake escaping by flight, fled into his countrie,
but Charan king of the Picts, not cōtending to liue
after such losse of his people, threw away his armor
with all his kingly ornaments, and sitting downe
vpon a stone, as a man past himselfe, was there
slaine by such as followed in the chase. Arutragus be-
ing conueied out of danger, and gotten into Forke,
considered how by reason of this great discomfiture,
it was impossible to resist the Romane puissance,
and therefore with consent of the residue of his no-
bles that were escaped from the battell, he sent an
herald vnto Vespasian, offering to submit himselfe in
most humble wise vnto anie reasonable conditions
of peace and agreement. Whereupon Vespasian com-
manded that Arutragus should in priuate apparell
come in vnto him, for he would not talke of anie
peace, except he had Arutragus present, and there-
fore he sent vnto him his safe conduct to assure him
safetie both to come and go.

Arutragus seeing no other remedie, came in vnto
Vespasian, according to his appointment, and vpon
his submission was pardoned of all his trespasses,
and placed againe in the kingdome. The cities and
good toynes also that were partakers in the rebel-
lion, were in semblable wise forgiven without fi-
ning or other indemnitie, and so likewise were all
the nobles of the countrie. Howbeit, for the better
assurance of their loialtie in time to come, they deli-
uered new hostages. Their ancient lawes also were
abrogated, and the Romane lawes in their place
established. For the administration of the which, in
euerie prouince was appointed a Romane iudge to
see good orders obserued according to the forme there-
of. By which means the British nation establisht
returned vnto his former obedience of the Romane
empire. All the winter following, Vespasian laie
at Forke, making his appress against the next
spring to go against the Scots and Picts. So soon
therefore as the summer was come, Vespasian set-
teth forward with his armie, and entering into the
marches of his enemies, he did put them in such feare
that the Picts were glad to yeld themselves vnto
him, a few of the nobles & some other excepted, which
were withdrawn into Camelon, in hope through
strength of that toln to defend themselves from all
assaults. Vespasian being certified therof, came & be-
sieged them within the same citie, not minding to de-
part till he had them at his pleasure. This siege con-
tinued till they within, being in danger to famish
through want of vittels, surrendered themselves
with the toln into Vespasians hands. In this toln
were found all the regall ornaments, as the crovne
& sword, with other iewels belonging to the kings of
the Picts. The sword hauing the hilt of gold, & a pur-
ple scabbard very finely wrought & trimmed, Vespas-
ian vsed to weare in all the warres wherein he after-
wards chanced to be, in hope (I wot not) of what good
successe and lucke to follow therof. The British lords
which were within Camelon, were commanded to
deliuer pledges: and after licenced to depart with-
out anie other damage. Vespasian himselfe remai-
ning at Camelon, take order for the peopling of the
tolne with Romans, granting them the vse of the
liberties and priuileges which the Romans inhabi-

ting in Rome inioied. Also ouer against the toln
vpon the banke of the riuer of Caron, he builded a
temple in honoz of the emperoz Claudius, wherein
he set vp two images, the one representing Claudi-
us, and the other the goddesse Victoria.

Whilest he was thus occupied, tidings came to
him, that Caratake king of the Scottishmen had as-
sembled in Gallotway a great army of Scots, Picts
and Britains, in purpose against the Romans, to
reuenge the last overthrow. Whereupon Vespasian
with all speed sent forth a strong power vnder the
leading of Aulus Plautius to encounter the eni-
mies. Plautius being approached within foure miles
of them, incamped himselfe in a strong place, as
though he minded not to passe further, till Vespasian
with the rest of his whole puissance were come to his
aid. Neuertheless, night was no sooner come on,
but that he gaue generall commandement through
his host, that euerie man should make him ready to
depart at a certeine houre vnder the standards of
their capteins in order of battell.

Then in the second watch of the night he set for-
ward, following certeine gulches (which knew all the
straits and passages of the countrie) till he came to
the place where Caratake with his armie was lod-
ged: and first killing the watch which stood to defend
his entrance, till the armie was raised, he set vpon
the whole campe, and though he found such resistance
that the battell continued right fierce & cruell from
the dawning of the day, till it was his none, yet in
the end the victorie remained with the Romans, and
the Scots with the Picts, & such Britains as were
on their part, put to flight and chased. Caratake es-
caping out of the battell, fled into Argile, and got him
to the castell of Dunstaffage. Whereof the Brit-
tains & Picts, which as yet had not submitted them-
selves, were put in such dread through byte of this
overthrow, that immediatlie thereupon they came
in and yielded themselves vnto Vespasian. And in
semblable wise the people of Gallotway utterly des-
pairing any longer to defend their countrie against
Plautius (who was now entered into their confines,
and had taken the citie of Carrike) offered to become
subiects vnto the Romans, which they might neuer
be brought vnto before that time.

These newes being certified vnto Vespasian by
a purseuant, he rode straightwaies vnto Carrike, &
there receiued the oths of the nobles, and other the in-
habitants of the countrie. That done, he sent ambas-
sadors vnto Caratake, to trie if he might by anie
meanes to become friend vnto the Romane em-
pire, in acknowledging some manner of subiection
therevnto: but this denie was to small purpose, for
Caratake was determined rather to end his life as
a free Scottishman in defense of libertie, than to be-
come thrall vnto anie foireine nation, in hope to
liue long time in seruitude, doubting least if he came
anie waies forth into danger of the Romans, they
would blurpe the whole dominion vnto themselves.
Whose mind when Vespasian vnderstood by his an-
swer made to the ambassadors which were sent vnto
him, he was minded to haue gone with an armie vnto
Dunstaffage where Caratake lay, but that he was
informed that dangerous passages he must needs
thorough, all full of delect mounteins, bogs, and
quauemires, without anie prouision of vittels or
forage to be found by all the way as the armie
should passe.

Leauing therefore this enterpryse, he caused to as-
semble vittels to be assembled, as could be prouided on
all parts, purposing to haue passed ouer into the Ile
of Man, into the which there were gotten together a
great sort of Britains and Picts, that had escaped
the Romans hands. But this iourne also was bro-

Julius H. C.
This was a
Colchester of
the British
English
tore on page

Caratake
fled into
Argile.

Plautius
sent forth
an armie
against Ca-
ratake.

Plautius
killed
the watch
camp.

Caratake
fled into
Dunstaffage.

The people
of Gallotway
submitted
to the
Romans.

Caratake
sent
ambassadors
to Vespasian.

Caratake
refused
to become
subiect.

ken by another incident, for even at the same time, newes were brought that the Britains of the Ile of Wight, with the Kentishmen, and severall others the inhabitants upon the south coast, were revolted, and had slain diuerse Romans, which lay in garisons in those parts. Vespasian therefore, minding to cure this wound per it should through the fester, hastened thither with all speed, and with little ado pacifying the rebels, caused the chiefe offenders to be punished according to their deserts.

Shortlie after both departed for by the emperor Claudius, he returned into Rome with great glorie for his noble and high achieved victories. Aulus Plautius was left in charge with the gouernment of Britaine after Vespasians departure: who hearing that Caratake had assembled a great armie of Scots, and other such Britains and Picts as had not yet submitted themselves unto the Romans, in purpose to recouer againe those countreies which Vespasian had lately conquered, he likewise prepared to meet them, so that both the armies encountering together, there was fought a right terrible battell with great slaughter on both parties, till finally the victorie inclining to the Romans, more through skillfull policie than puissant force, the Scots, Picts, and Britains were discomfited and chased into the bogs and marshes, the common refuge in those daies for the Scots: then by anie aduenture they chanced to be put to flight.

After this overthrow the warre was continued for two yers space, by robes and incursions made one vpon another in the confines of Kile and Galloway. In which meane while Plautius fell sicke of the sir, which still continuing with him, brought him at length in such case, that he was not able to trauell at all in the publike affaires of his office. So that he wrote his letters vnto the emperor Claudius, signifieng vnto him in what case he stood, and thereupon required that some sufficient personage might be sent to occupie his come. Claudius hauing received his letters, and understanding the effect of the same, sent one Moxorius Scapula, a man of high linage, and of good experience both in peace and war, to haue the gouernance in Britaine.

About the time of whose arriual into Britaine, Aulus Plautius departed out of this world at Camelon, where he then sojourned. His bodie was burned, and according to the vsage of the Romans in those daies, the ashes were closed in a chest, and buried within the church of Claudius and Vitoria, which (as is said) Vespasian builded nere vnto Camelon, vpon the riuers side there. Hereof was a custome taken vp amongst both Scots and Picts (as some thinke) to burne the bodie of the dead, and to burie the ashes: whereof there haue bene found diuerse tokens and monuments in this our age. As in the yere 1521 at Findoz a village in Perne, five miles distant from Aberdine, there were found in an old graue two chests of a strange making full of ashes, either of them being ingrauen with Romane letters, which so soone as they were brought into the aire, fell to dust. Likewise in the fields of another towne called Kenbaden in Perne, ten miles distant from Aberdine, about the same time were found by certaine plowmen two sepulchres made of cut and squared stones, wherein were foure chests, of workemanship, bignesse and inscription like to the other two. Manie the semblable monuments haue bene found in diuerse places in Scotland in times past: but it is to be thought, that in these sepulchres there were Romans buried, and neither Scots nor Picts.

But now to our purpose. Immediatelie vpon the coming of Moxorius into Britaine, the people

of the west countreies rebelled, procuring the northern men with the Scots of Galloway, and all the Picts to do the like. They sent also vnto Caratake, requiring him in this common quarell against the Romans to put to his helping hand for recouerie of the ancient libertie of the whole land of Albion, considering it was like they should match well enough with this new Romane capteine Moxorius Scapula, that understood little of the maners and vsages of the Britains. But this notwithstanding, Moxorius being informed of all these practises, and remembering that furtherance it were for a capteine in the beginning to win a name by some praise: for this enterprize, he made first towards the western Britains, whome he thought to surpise per they should assemble with the other rebels, and meeting with them, he chased and toke a great number of them, as they fled here and there out of all order.

After this, he went against the people called Iceni, which (as some thinke) inhabited the countreie now called Dorsetshire, but other take them to be Northfolke men, who being gathered together, were gotten into a strong place, inclosed about with a great ditch as they vse to fence pasture grounds, that no horsemen should breake in vpon them: yet this notwithstanding, Moxorius assailed them within their strength, & in the end breaking downe the rampire, with such aid as he had, burst in at length amongst them, sleasing and taking the most part of them: for few or none escaped, they were so kept in on each side. But of this battell, and likewise of other enterprizes, which Moxorius and other of the Romane lieutenants achieved here in Britaine, ye shall find more thereof in the historie of England according to the true report of the Romane writers, the which herelie make no mention either of Scots or Picts till the yere of our Lord 320, at the sonest. And as for the Silures and Brigantes remoued by Hector Boetius so farre northward, it is euidentlie proued by Humphrey Llloyd, and others, that they inhabited countreies contained now within the limits of England: The like perhaue to understand of the Moudones where Caratake gouerned as king, and not in Carrike, as to the well aduised reader I doubt not but it may sufficientlie appeare, as well in the description as in the historie of England aforesaid.

But now to returne where we left: the brute of this late victorie quieted the busie minds of such of the Britains, as were readie to haue revolted. But they of Galloway would not at the first giue ouer, but in trust of aid at the hands of Caratake continued in their rebellion, till Moxorius came thither, and beate downe such as made resistance, whereby the other were some pacified. After this he entred into the confines of Kile and Cantire, spoiling and wasting those countreies, and brought from thence a great number of captiues. With which inturie Caratake being not a little kindled, he assembled a mightie armie, wherein he had at the least 40 thousand men, what of his owne subjects and other such as came to his aid. For after he was entred into Pictland, there came vnto him out of all parties no small number, of such as desired either to be reuenged on the Romans, either else to lose life and libertie both at once, for the task of bondage was so bitter vnto all the inhabitants of Albion in this season, that they in maner were wholie conspired together to remoue that yoke of thraldome from their shoulders which so painefullie pinched them.

Caratake thus furnished with an armie, chose forth a strong place to lodge in, fenced on the one side with the course of a deepe fordlesse riuer, and on the other sides it might not be approached vnto for the steepnesse

The Britains yet esteemed rebels. The Britains require aid of Caratake.

The Britains of the west part are chained.

Iceni. Dorsetshire is assailed. Some take the Iceni to be the Northfolke men.

They of Galloway are beaten and pacified.

Kile and Cantire wasted and spoiled. Caratake assembled an armie.

The strength of the place where Caratake was incamped.

Of this mat-
ter ye may
read more in
England.
Women in
camped.

Women plac-
ed in order
of battell.
Caratake and
his captains
exhort their
men to fight.

Drusus in-
courageth his
Romans.

Caratake
overthrowne
by the Ro-
mans.
His queene
taken.

Caratake be-
trayed by his
stepmother.

Caratake is
sent to Rome.

He is shew-
ed to the people in
triumph.

Caratake
departeth this
life.

54
Strange
lights scene.

sharpnesse of the crags and such fencing as they had made with great stones, in places where there was any wale to enter. All such women as were somewhat kept in age, and came thither with them, in great numbers, were by Caratake placed on either side his battels, both as well to incourage the men to do valiantlike with shouting and hallowing unto them, as also to assaile the Romans with stones as they should approach. Other such as were young and lustie, were appointed to keepe arate amongst the men to fight in the battell.

Caratake hauing thus ordered his field, and hearing that Drusus was come to giue battell, exhorted his people to sicke to it like men, and so in semblable wise did all his captains and sergeants of the bands, going from ranke to ranke to incourage their souldiours, declaring how that this was the armie that must either bring libertie or thraldome to them and their posteritie for ever. On the other part Drusus minding to trie the matter by battell, set his people in arate after the ancient maner of the Romans, willing them to consider that they were descended of those parents and ancestors which had subdued the whole world: and againe, that those with whom they should now match, were but naked people, fighting more with a certeine maner of a furious rage and disordered violence, than with any politike discretion or constancie.

Herewith vpon commandment giuen on both parts, the battell began right hot, & for a good space verie doubtfull, till the practised knowledge of the Romans vanquished the furious violence of the Scots, Picts, and Britains: who being put to flight fled into the mounteins to escape the enemies hands who pursued them most egerlie. Amongst other of the prisoners there was taken Caratakes wife, with his daughter & brethren. He himselfe fled for succor unto his stepmother Cartimandua: but as aduersitie findeth few friends, she caused him to be taken and deliuered unto Drusus. This was in the ninth yeare after the beginning of the warres. Drusus used him verie honorablie, according to the degree of a king: finally he sent him unto Rome, together with his wife, his daughter, and brethren. His fame was such through all places, that where he passed by, the people came flocking in on each side to see him, of whom they had heard so much report for his stout resistance made so long a time against the Romane puissance.

At his comming to Rome he was shewed in triumph, all the people being called to the sight: for the victorie and apprehension of him was iudged equall with anie other atchiued enterpryse against whatsoeuer the most puissant enemies of former time. The Emperour Claudius vpon respect as was thought of his princelie behauior and notified valiancie, restored him to libertie, and reteining his daughter and eldest brother at Rome as pledges, vpon his oth received to be a true subiect unto the empire, he sent him home into his countrie againe, assigning vnto him the gouernance of Calloway, with Rile, Carrike, and Coningham. He liued not passing two yeeres after his returne into Scotland, studieng most cheastie (during that time) how to preserue his people in peace and quietnesse. He departed this world one and twentie yeeres after the decesse of his uncle Apetellan, in the yere of our Lord 54.

A little before his falling into the hands of the Romans, there were sundrie strange lights scene in Albion, as fighting of hostlemen abroad in the fields, with great slaughter, as seemed on both parts: and forthwith the same so vanished awate, that no appearance of them could any where be perceined. Also a sort of woelues in the night season set vpon such as

were keeping of cattell abroad in the fields, and caried awate one of them to the woods, and in the morning suffered him to escape from amongst them againe. Moreover, at Carrike there was a child borne, perfect in all his limbs saving the head, which was like unto a rauen. These vniuersal signes and monstrosities put the people in no small feare: but after that Caratake was restored to his libertie & countrie, all was interpreted to the best.

After Caratakes decesse, his youngest brother Corbheid was chosen to succeed in his place, in the fiftie and eighth yere after Christ, for his elder brother was departed at Rome through change of aire not agreeable to his nature. This Corbheid was a stout man of Romack, much resembling his brother Caratake. In the first beginning of his reigne, he did his endeavour to purge his dominion of such as troubled the quiet state thereof, by robbing and spoiling the husbandmen and other the meaner people of the countrie, of the which robbers there was no small number in those daies, speciallie in the Westerne Isles, also in Koller & Cadynes. In the meane time the Picts hauing created there a new king called Conchist, gouernour of Spers and Louthian, they set vpon the Romans being about to make fortresses in those parties. And but that succours came in time from the next townes and castles adjoining, they had laine all the whole number of them, & yet aided as they were, the maister of the campe, and eight other of the captains, with diuers officers of bands, besides common souldiours, lost their liues there.

Shortlie after also, the same Picts overthrow a number of foragers, with such compantes of hostlemen as came to defend them. Herewith Drusus being not a little moued, made ready his bands, and fiercelie incountred with the Picts, who defended themselves so vigorously, that the force ward of the Romans was nere hand discomfited. Which danger Drusus perceiuing, speedlie came to relieue the same, but preasing too farre amongst his enemies, he was sore wounded, and in great danger to haue bene laine. The night comming vpon parted the frate, not without huge slaughter on both parts. After this, the warre continued still betwixt them with often incursions and skirmishes. At the length the Picts with such other Britains as were come vnto them out of the Isle of Spain and other parties, incountred with the Romans in battell, and vpon the first joining, of purpose gaue backe, training some of the Romans to pursue them vnto such places, where they had laid their ambushes, and so compassing them about, slue a great number of them, and chased the residue into the streias of the mounteins, where they were also surprised by such of the Picts as returned from the battell.

Drusus vnderstanding how the matter went, withdrew with the rest of his people to his campe, and shortlie after sent a pueruant vnto Rome, to informe the emperour in what state things stood in Britaine, by reason of this rebellion of the Picts, who neither by force nor gentle persuasions could be pacified. The emperour determining to prouide remedie therefore, sent word againe that he would not that the Picts should be reasons receiued vpon their submission, if they were giuen to make safe for pardon, but vtterlie to be destroyed and exterminated. For the accomplishment whereof he appointed two legions of such men of warre, as sojourned in France to passe ouer into Britaine. But in the meane while Drusus departed this world, whereof his hurts (as the Scottish chronicles make mention) or through sicknesse (as shend rather same by Cornelius Tacitus) it forth not. After whose

Corbheid

The Picts
more were
gained the
Romans.

The Picts
overthrew
the Roman
regiment.

Drusus
wounded.

The Romans
trained his
into ambu-
shes and
killed him.

Drusus

Whilome
Julius Cæsar
was the
first.

The Ro-
mans are dis-
comfited by
the Brits.

Julius Cæsar
was comfited
by the Brits.

The Brits
were in the
power of
the Romans.

Julius Cæsar
was comfited
by the Brits.

Julius Cæsar
was comfited
by the Brits.

Julius Cæsar
was comfited
by the Brits.

Julius Cæsar
was comfited
by the Brits.

whose decessie Paulinus Valens had the chieffest charge, who bringing his armie forth to encounter the Brits that came to seeke battell, was fiercelie fought withall, notwithstanding the victorie had a- bidden on his side, if at the verie point there had not come succours to the Brits (that is to wit) 400 horsemen out of the countrie of Kendall, by whose fresh onset the Romans were discomfited and cha- sed vnto their campe, there being slaine about 3000 of them at that overthrow, and on the Brits side there wanted 2000 of their number at the least.

About the same time there arrived in Britaine an other Romane capitaine to be generall in place of Julius now deceased, his name was Aulus Didius, with him came the two legions afore remem- bred. At his first comming over he mustered the old crewes of the Romane souldiers first, much blaming them for their negligence, in suffering the enimies so to increase vpon them, to the great dan- ger of losing all that (through sloth and faintnesse of courage) which latelie before in Britaine had been wonne and conquered by high prowes and ballant combat of his predecessours. In the end he exhorted them to put away all feare, and fullie to determine with themselves to recover againe the honor which they had latelie lost, which he said would easilie be brought to passe, if they would take vnto them man- full stomachs, and obeye him and such other as had the gouernance and leading of them. The Brits being informed that this Aulus Didius was arrived with this new supplie of men, & prepared to come against them, they thought good to send vnto Corbzeid king of Scotland, to require his aid against the Romans, reputed as common enimies to all such as loued li- bertie, and hated to liue in seruaile bondage. For which respect Corbzeid was the sooner moued to con- descend vnto the request of the Brits; and therevpon assembling an armie entred into Galloway. Where of Aulus Didius being certified, sent an herald vnto him with all speed, commanding that he should depart out of those quarters, sith he had no right there, considering that Galloway was assigned vnto Caratake but for tearme of his owne life, by force of the emperours grant, and now by the death of the same Caratake was reuerfed againe vnto the empire.

The herald had vnnearth done his message, when word came vnto Corbzeid how an armie of the Ro- mans vnder the guiding of Cæsius Pasica was entred into the marches of Galloway, to the great terror of all the inhabitants, doubting to be spoiled and robbed on eche hand. These newes put the herald in danger of his life, had not Corbzeid vpon regard to the law of armes licenced him to depart. The host which Corbzeid brought with him into Gallo- way, he bestowed in castles and fortresses abroad in the countrie for more safegard, but he himselfe rode in all hast vnto Epiake, to haue the aduise and aid of one Cennius that had married the forenamed Car- timandua that unkind stepmother of Caratake, as ye haue heard before. This Cennius was of coun- sell with his wife Cartimandua in the betraeing of king Caratake, and therefore was growne into much hatred of the people for that fact, but through support of the Romans he was for a time defended from all their malices. Notwithstanding in the end being wearied of the proud gouernment of the Ro- mans, he revolted from them vnto Corbzeid. Where- with his wife being offended, found means to ap- prehend both him and his brethren with certeine of his kinsfolks, and laied them fast in prison.

But now Corbzeid at his comming thither, did not onelie set them at libertie, but also took & cau- sed Cartimandua to be buried quicke. In the meane

while a certeine number of Scots distressed a few foragers of the Romans, but following the chase somewhat rashlie, they were inclosed by the enimies and slaine. This mischance put the Scots in great feare, and the Romans in good successe, so that Pa- sica was in purpose to haue assailed a certeine strong place, wherein a number of the Scottishmen were gotten, and had fortified the entrees, had not other newes altered his purpose, for hearing how an other armie of the Scots was ioined with the Brits, and were approached within three miles of him, he brought his host forth into a plaine where he ordered his battels readie to receiue them. Whereof the Scottishmen hauing knowledge, hasted forth to- wards him, and were no sooner come in sight of the Romans, but that with great violence they gaue the onset, most fierclie beginning the battell, which continued till sun-setting with great slaughter on both sides; at what time the Romans were at the point to haue discomfited their enimies, had not those Scottishmen which were left in fortresses (as is said) abroad in the countrie, come at that selfe instant to the aid of their fellowes, by whose means the battell was renewed againe, which lasted till the mirke night parted them in sunder. The Romans withdrew to their campe, and the Scots and Brits got vp into the mountains.

Shortlie after a peace was concluded betwixt the parties, with these conditions; that the Romans should content themselves with that which they had in possession before the beginning of these last wars, and suffer Corbzeid to inioy all such countrees as his brother Caratake held. And likewise the Brits pay- ing their former tribut for the finding of such garri- sons of Romans as late at Camelon, they should be no further charged with anie other exactions. Moreover it was agreed, that neither the Scots nor Brits from thenceforth should receiue or succour a- nie rebels of Frenchmen or Britains, nor should aid by anie maner of means the inhabitants of the Ile of Man, who had done manie notable displea- sures to the Romans during the last warres. This peace continued a six yeares during the life of Aulus Didius, who at the end of those six yeares, depar- ted this life at London, leauing behind him all things in good quiet.

After his decessie the emperour Nero, who succe- ded Claudius, appointed one Verrannius to be lieutenant of Britaine, a man verie ambitious and much desirous of honor, by means wherof, in hope to aduance his name, he sought occasions to haue warres with the Scottishmen; and at length hearing that certeine of them being borderers had fetched booties out of Pictland, he did send a great power of Romans to make a rode into the next marches of the Scots, from whence they brought a great spoile, both of men and of goods. With which iniuries the Scots being moued, sought daillie in semblable sort to be reuenged; so that by such means the warre was renewed. But before anie notable encounter chanced betwixt them, Verrannius died. His last words were full of ambitious boasts, wishing to haue liued but two yeares longer, that he might haue subdued the whole Ile of Albion vnto the Ro- mane empire, as if he might haue had so much time he doubted not to haue done.

Paulinus Suetonius succeeded in his place, a man of an excellent wit, and verie desirous of peace. He first confirmed the ancient league with Cor- bzeid king of Scotland: a recompense being made in euerie behalfe for all wrongs & iniuries done on euerie part. After this (as Hector Boetius hath ga- thered) he conquered the Ile of Man; but for so much as by probable reasons it is apparant inough, that

The darke
night parted
the fraie.

A peace con-
cluded.

Aulus Didius
departeth
this life at
London.

Verrannius
is made lieu-
tenant of Bri-
taine.

Verrannius
departeth this
life.

Paulinus
Suetonius,
Engleise and
not Man
was thus in-
duced by
Suetonius.

C.ij.

it

it was not Man, but the Ile of Angleſeie which the Britains name Môn, and at this time was subdued by Suetonius, we haue here omitted to make report thereof, referring you to the place in the English chronicle, where we haue spoken sufficientlie after that ſort Suetonius both attempted & atchieued this enterpriſe, which being brought to end, he was ſent for into Gallia, to reſpreſſe certeine tumults riſed among the people there. In whoſe abſence the Britains thinking to haue a meet time for their purpoſe, moued a new rebellion. But by the relation of Cornelius Tacitus, this chanced whileſt Suetonius was buſie in requiring the Ile of Angleſeie, as in the English chronicle it likewiſe appeareth, with the ſtrange ſights and wonders which happened about the ſame time, whereupon the ſoutherſaiers (as Hector Boetius ſaith) declared that the Romans ſhould receiue a great ouerthrow. Upon truſt of whoſe words the Picts and other Britains inhabiting Camelon and in the marches thereabouts, ſet vpon ſuch Romans as inhabited there, and ſue a great nauie of them per they were in doubt of a new rebellion. The reſidue which eſcaped, got them into an old church, where they were ſlaine eſtimated ſonne.

The Scots and Picts kill the Romans.

Petilius Cerealis his men being ſlaine returned.

Catus the procurator of Britaine fled into France.

Queen Moada deſireth aid of hir brother Corbzeid.

Charanach king of the Picts.

The Romans ſlaine.

Dutchmen arrive in Scotland.

Also Petilius Cerealis coming with a legion of ſoldiers and a troope of horſemen to their ſuccours, was incountred by the Picts, & being put to flight, loſt all his ſoldiers, hardlie eſcaping himſelfe with the horſemen to the campe. Shortly after he toke by his tents and returned towards Kent, where Catus the procurator receiued (as I may call him) of Britaine as then ſolourned, who vnderſtanding how the whole Ile was on eche ſide in an vprore, fled ouer into France then called Gallia. This meane whiles queene Moada ſent vnto hir brother Corbzeid king of Scotland, requiring his aid againſt the Romans, who had ſo viliſie ſlaid hir and hir daughters, to the great diſhonour of hir and all hir linage, and now was the time to be reuenged of ſuch iniuries, the whole nation of the Britains through the couetous dealing of the procurator Catus, being riſen in armes to recover their ancient liberties.

Corbzeid being highly diſpleaſed towards the Romans for the euill intreating of his ſiſter, determined either to ſee hir ſatiſfied by worthy recompence, or elſe to be reuenged on them that had miſſed hir: and hereof gaue ſignification vnto Catus the procurator: that was as then returned into Britaine with a power of men of warre. Corbzeid receiving but a ſcornfull anſwere from him, found meanes to ioin in league with Charanach king of the Picts, and gathering together a mightie armie of one & other, purſued the Romans and their associates, ſlaing downe a wonderfull number of them. He alſo burned and deſtroyed diuers townes, ſuch as in keeping their allegiance to the Romans ſtood earneſtly to their deſence, as Berwicke and Carleill with others. About the ſame ſeaſon there arrived in the ſouth a number of Dutch ſhips, fraught with people of Herberne or Polonia, a region in Germanie ſituated betwixt Boheme and Hungarie. They were driuen out of their owne countrie by the Romans, and aſſembling together vnder a famous capteine named Roderike, came down to the mouth of the Rhene, where making ſhift for beſſels, they toke the ſeaſ to ſeek them ſome new habitations; and thus arriving in Scotland, were ſollicitly receiued of the Picts and Scots, for that they were reputed right valiant men, and glad to reuenge their owne iniuries againſt the Romans. Jamelic with the Picts they were much eſteemed, for that they came forth of the ſame countrie from whence their anceſtors were deſcended.

Their huge bodies and mightie limbs did greatly commend them in the ſight of all men beſore whom they muſtered, ſo that coming to the place where the kings of Scots and Picts were incamped with their people readie to march forth towards the enemies, they were highly welcomed, and vpon their offer receiued into companie, and appointed to go forth in that iourne, in aid of queene Moada againſt the Romans. With this Moada was aſſembled a mightie hoſt of the Britains, amongſt whom were ſix thouſand women, whole bent to reuenge the villanies done to their perſons by the Romans, or to die in the paine. And for this purpoſe were they come well appointed with armour and weapons, to be the firſt that ſhould giue the onſet. Moada hearing of hir brothers approach with the king of Picts and their armies, met them on the waie accompanied with a great number of the nobles of Britaine, and brought them to hir campe with great joy and triumph.

After taking aduiſe how to behaue themſelues in their enterpriſe, they thought it good to make haſt to fight with the procurator Catus, yer anie new power of men of warre might come to his aid forth of Gallia now called France. Whereupon marching towards him, they met together in the field, where betwixt them was ſtricken a right ſerue and cruell battell; but in the end the hoſtmen of the Romans part being put to flight, the ſoldiers were beaten downe on eche ſide; Catus himſelfe being wounded, eſcaped verie hardlie by flight, and shortly after got him ouer into France. The Scots and Picts with other the Britains, hauing atchieued this victorie, purſued their enemies from place to place, ſo that there died by the ſword, what in the battell and elſewhere in the chaſe, ſeventie thouſand Romans and other ſtrangers, which ſerued amongſt them; and of Scots, Picts, and other Britains, were ſlaine thirtie thouſand.

The gouernour Suetonius being then in Gallia, hearing of this ouerthrow, & in what danger things ſtood in Britaine, by reaſon of the ſame, came ouer with two legions of ſouldiers, and ten thouſand of other Brigants as aiders to thoſe legions. Moada the queene vnderſtanding of his arriual, aſſembled againe hir people, and ſent vnto the Scots and Picts to come to hir aid: who together with the Poloniaus came with all ſpeed vnto hir. When they were thus aſſembled, Britains, Scots, Picts, & Poloniaus on one part, and Romans with their aids on the other, they marched forth to incounter together with deliberat minds to trie the matter by dint of ſword, being earneſtly exhorted thereto by their gouernours on either ſide. So that ioining with ſuch puſſance, they fought a right cruell battell, manie in the beginning being ſlaine and hurt downe on both ſides. But in the end the victorie abode with the Romans, the Britains with other the Albans were chaſed out of the field. There were ſlaine of them at the point of foure ſcore thouſand perſons, as Tacitus writeth. The more part of the Poloniaus, together with their capteine Roderike, were in that number. Moada the queene, doubting to come into the hands of hir enemies, ſue hir ſelfe. Two of hir daughters were taken priſoners, and brought armed, even as they were found fighting in the battell, vnto Suetonius.

The eldeſt of them within a ſew moneths after was married vnto a noble Romane named Marius, who had beſoured hir before time. He was alſo created king of Britaine by the emperours authoritie, that thereby the ſtate of the countrie might be reduced vnto a better quiet. He liued to lie moſt an end in the parties of Berdale, and named a part thereof

Scots were not yet in the time.

women come with the queene in an hour.

The Romans are put to flight and overthrown.

Catus was ſlained.

70000 the Romans ſlaine, and 30000 Britains.

Moada aſſembled an armie againſt the Romans.

The Romans overthrew the Scots and Picts. The Poloniaus all ſlaine. Moada ſue hir ſelfe.

Marius was made king.

Westmerland.
(where he passed the most part of his time altogether in hunting) Westmerland, after his owne name, though afterwards, when the Romans were expelled, a portion of the same adjoining next unto the Scots was called Cumberland. The Apocautians which escaped from the discomfiture, had that portion of Scotland assigned forth unto them to inhabit in, that lieth betwixt the riuers of Forne and Speie, called euen vnto this day Purrey land.

Corbzeid dead Anno Christi, 71. H. B.
Corbzeid being thus ouerthrowne, and hauing his power greatlie infiebled thereby, passed the residue of his life in quietnesse. For the Romans being troubled with ciuill warres, medled neither with the Scots nor Brits, but onlie studied to keepe the south parts of Britaine in due obedience. Finally Corbzeid departed this world, after he had reigned 34 yeares, and was buried amongst his elders nere vnto Dunstaffage, with manie obelisks set vp about him.

Dardan.
After Corbzeid succeeded one Dardan, which for his huge stature was afterward surnamed the great. He was lineally descended fro Apetellane, who was his great grandfather. The nobles and commons of the realme chose him to be their king, onelie for the good opinion they had conceived of him in his predecessors daies, by whome he was had in great estimation, and had atchiued vnder him manie worthie enterprises, so that he was thought most meetest for the rone, considering the sonnes of Corbzeid were not as yet come vnto ripe yeares to intop the same. For the said Corbzeid had three sons in all, Corbzeid, Lincane, and Bæke. The eldest had bene brought vp with Moada, quene of the Britains, whereby he had learned the maners and visages of the Britissh nation, and thereupon was surnamed Gald; for so do the Scottishmen vse euen vnto this day to name anie of their owne countrymen that hath learned the courtesie and maners of strange countries.

Dardan slain Anno Christi, 71. H. B.
But to returne to Dardan, in the beginning of his reigne he gouerned the estate by god indifferent iustice, but after he had continued therein by the space of two yeares, he began to fall into all kinds of vices, remouing from offices such as were by right bearers of themselves in the same, and aduancing to their places byzibers and extortioners. The nobles he had in suspect, fauoring onelie such as thorough flatterie were by him preferred. And where he was browne beyond all the terms of honestie in fleshlie and sinfull lust, yet was his couetousnesse so great, that all was to little which he might lay hands vpon. He also put to death diuers honorable personages, such as he perceiued to grudge at his doings. He likewise purposed to haue made away the sonnes of his predecessor Corbzeid, but his traitorous practise being disclosed, the most part of the nobles and commons of the realme rebelled against him, and sending for Corbzeid Gald the eldest sonne of the former Corbzeid, remaining as then in the Ile of Spain (where he should haue bene murdered) they chose him to their king. And at length beating downe all such as made resistance, they got that cruell tyrant Dardan into their hands, & bringing him forth before the multitude, they caused his head to be openlie stricken off. This was the 81 yeare after the birth of our Saviour, being the first of the emperor Domitian, & the fourth complet of his owne reigne ouer the Scottishmen.

Corbzeid Gald.
Corbzeid Gald being thus chosen (as I haue said) to succeed in the gouernment of Scotland after Dardan, is called by Cornelius Tacitus Galgacus, a prince of comelie personage, and of right noble port. In the first beginning of his reigne he punished such as had bene furtherers of his predecessors mis-

gouernement, and afterwards he passed ouer into the westerne Isles, where he appealed certeine rebels, which went about to disquiet the state of the common-wealth there. From thence he sailed vnto the Isles of Lewis and Skie, and put to death certeine offenders that would not be obedient vnto their gouernors and iudges. After this he returned by Rosse, and set a stay also in that countrie, touching certeine misdeameors of the people there. To be short, he purged the whole realme of all such robbers, theues, and other the like offenders against the quiet peace of his subiects, as were hugelie increased by the licentious rule of his predecessor Dardan, and here vnto he was mightilie aided by the Apocautians, who pursued such offenders most earnestlie, and brought in vnto him no small number of them, euer as they caught them.

By this means was the state of the common-wealth brought into better quiet, and the yere next ensuing, being the third of Gald his reigne, he called a councell at Dunstaffage, wherein he laboured much for the abrogating of the wicked lawes instituted by king Elwin, as before is partly specified; but he could not obtaine more, than that paye men from thenceforth should haue their wines free vnto themselves, without being abused from time to time indifferently by their landlords, as heretofore they had bene. Whilist he was thus busied about the establishing of holisome orders & statutes for the welth of his subiects, word was brought him that Petilius Cerealis a Romane capteine, being sent from Cæsar the emperor to haue the gouernment of Britaine, was landed with a puissant armie in the countrie, and minded hostile to invade the borders of his realme, as Annandale and Galloway.

With these newes Gald being somewhat astonished, thought good to vnderstand the certaintie of the enimies doings, before he made anie stirre for the leueng of his people; and therefore appointed certeine light horsemen to ride forth, and to bring certeine newes of that which they might heare of: so who at their returne declared that the enimies armie was abroad in the fields, vpon the borders of Pictland, and had giuen the Picts already a great overthrow; and further, how they were turned westward on the left hand, in purpose to enter into Galloway. Gald being thus certified of the Romans approach towards his countrie, determined to giue them battell, before they entered into the inner parts of his realme, and therefore with all speed he assembled his people, to the number of fiftie thousand men, all such as were able to beare armes, being ready to repaire vnto him in such present necessitie for defense of their countrie.

It hath bene reported, that as he marched forth towards his enimies, sundrie strange sights appeared by the way. An eagle was sene almost all a whole day, flying by and downe ouer the Scottish armie, euen as though she had laboured hir selfe wearie. Also an armed man was sene flying round about the armie, and suddenlie vanished away. There fell in like maner out of a darke cloud in the fields, through the which the armie should passe, diuerse kinds of birds that were spotted with blood. These monstrous sights troubled mens minds diuerslie, some construing the same to signifie god successe, and some otherwise. Also the chieft captiues amongst the Scots were not all of one opinion, for some of them weighing the great force of the Romane armie, being the greatest that euer had bene brought into their countrie before that day, counsellled that they should in no wise be fought with all, but rather to suffer them to wearie themselves, till bittels and other prouision should faine them, and

See more of him in England.

Gald punished such as disturbed the quiet state of his subiects.

The Apocautians helpe to apprehend the enimies and offenders.

Gald labored to abrogate wicked lawes.

Petilius Cerealis a Romane capteine sent by Cæsar into Britaine.

The Picts and Brits mistaken by the Scottish soldiers.

The place overthrown by the Romans purpose to enter into Galloway. Gald determined to fight with the Romans.

Strange sights appeared to the Scottish armie.

The Scots not all of one mind.

Ell. then

then to take the advantage of them, as occasion served.

Other lovers of a contrarie mind, judging it best (with the puissance of the whole realme was assembled) to give battell, least by deferring time, the courage and great desire, which the people had to fight, should wax faint and decaye: so that all things considered, it was generallie in the end agreed upon to give battell, and so comming within sight of the enemies host, they made readie to encounter them.

At the first the Scots were somewhat amazed with the great multitude of their adversaries, but through the cherefull exhortations of their king, and other their captains, their stomachs began to reuive, so that they boldlie set upon the Romans, whereof ensued betwixt them a right fierce and cruell battell, howbeit in the end the victorie inclined to the Romans, and the Scots were chased out of the field. Caldo himselfe was wounded in the face, yet escaped he out of the battell, but not without great danger in deed, by reason the Romans pursued most egerlie in the chase.

There were slaine of the Scottishmen (as their chronicles report) aboue twelue thousand, and of the Romans about six thousand. This victorie being thus atchieued, the Romans got possession of Epiake with the greatest part of all Galloway, and passed the residue of that yere without anie other notable exploit: but in the summer following, Petilius the Roman gouernour went about to subdue the rest of the countrie, the Scots oftentimes making diuerse skirmishes with him, but in no wise durst ioine with them, puissance against puissance, least they should haue put their countrie into further danger, if they had chanced estones to haue received the ouerthrow.

Here haue we thought good to aduertise the reader, that although the Scottish writers impute all the trauels, which Petilius spent in subduing the Brigants, and Frontinus in conquering the Silures, to be imployed chieflie against Scots & Picts: the opinion of the best learned is toholie contrarie thereunto, affirming the same Brigants & Silures not to be so far north by the distance of manie miles, as Hector Boetius and other his countriemen doe place them, which thing in the historie of England we haue also noted, where ye may read moze of all the doings of the Romans here in Britaine, as in their writers we find the same recorded. But nevertheless we haue here followed the course of the Scottish historie, in manner as it is written by the Scots themselves, not binding anie man moze in this place than in other to credit them further than by conference of authours it shall seeme to them expedient.

In the meane time then, whilst Petilius was occupied (as before ye haue hard) in the conquest of Galloway, Moadicia the daughter of Aruitagus (whom the Romans had before time misused, as before in this treatise is partly touched) gathered together a crew of souldiours within the Ile of Man, partie of the inhabitants, and partie of such Scottishmen of Galloway as were fled thither for succor: with these shee toke the seas, and landing in Galloway, upon purpose to reuenge hir iniuries in times past received at the Romans hands, shee set upon their tents in the night season, when they looked for nothing lesse than to be disquieted, by reason whereof they were brought into such disorder, that if Petilius had not caused such fierbrands to be kindled as he had prepared and dyelled with pitch, tosen and tallow, for the like purpose, the whole campe had bene in great danger: but these torches or fierbrands gaue not onlie light to see where to make resistance, but also being cast in the faces of the enemies, staid their har-

die forwardnesse, whereby the Romans hauing leasure to place themselves in arraie, defended the entries of their campe, till the day was spring, and then giuing a full onset upon their enemies, they put them quite to flight.

But Moadicia not herewith discouraged, hasted with all speed vnto Epiake, and taking that citie shee set fire on it, and slue such Romans as shee found there, whereof Petilius being certified, sent forth a legion against hir to withstand hir attempts. Those that had the charge of them that were thus sent, used such diligence, that laiens an ambush for hir in a place fit for that purpose, they so inclosed hir, that slaing the most part of hir company, shee was taken prisoner hir selfe, and being brought alieue vnto Petilius, upon hir stout answer made vnto him, as he questioned with hir about hir bold enterprises, shee was presentlie slaine by the souldiours.

Anon after Petilius was certified, that the inhabitants of the Ile of Wight, with other southerne Britains, had raised a commotion against king Marcius, so that without speedie succors they were like to driue him out of his kingdome: whereupon he hasted thither with all conuenient speed, and subduing the rebels, set all things there in good order and staie: and so remaining there till the next yere after, he fell sicke of the sir and died. Immediately whereupon the emperor sent one Julius Frontinus to succeed in his place. This Frontinus brought with him two legions of souldiours, and after he had taken order with king Marcius for the keeping of the Britains in due subiection of the empire, he purposed to bring such vnto obedience, as inhabited within and beyond the woods of Calidon, and as yet not banquished by anie man.

Therefore entering first into Galloway, and bisting such garrisons of the Romans, as Petilius had left there for the keeping of that quarter, he commended their loialtie and diligence, in that they had looked so well to their charge, that the enemye had gained no aduantage at their hands, whilst the armie was occupied in the south parts about other affaires there. He also sent an herald vnto the king of the Picts with letters, requiring him to reneue by confirmation the former league betwixt his people & the Romans, & not by any means to aid the Scots as before they had done to their great losse & hindrance. Herunto the king of Picts mudy suspecting the matter, made a direct answer, that he saw no cause why he should in fauor of the Romans suffer his confederats the Scots to be subdued, and brought to destruction without all reason or equitie: and therefore he was determined by the aduise of his peeres & counsellors, to aid the Scots against such as sought nothing but the meanes how to bring the whole Ile of Albion into thraldome and seruile bondage.

Frontinus little regarding this vntowardlie answer, set forward to subdue such Scots as were yet disobedient. And so entering into the borders of Aile, Carrike, and Coningham, had diuers skirmishes with such as king Caldo had assembled to defend his countrie, but forsomuch as he was diseased with sickness, he was at length constrained to withdraue himselfe into Argile, leauing his power behind him to resist the enemies attempts: but shortly after his departure from amongst them, they were fought withall by the Romans, and discomfited, three thousand of them being slaine in the field. By reason of which ouerthrowe those countreies submitted themselves to the Romans, perceiving no hope otherwise how to escape that present danger.

These Scots of Carrike, Aile, and Coningham, being thus brought into subiection, the armie was licenced to withdraue to their lodgings for the winter

The Scots agree to fight with the Romans.

The Scots are discomfited.

The citie called Epiake is won by the Romans.

The Scots durst not fight any field with the Romans.

Touching all the doings of the Romans in Britaine ye shall find sufficientie in the historie of England.

Moadicia reuengeth wars with the Romans.

The Roman campe assailed in the night by Moadicia.

Epiake is taken & burned by Moadicia.

Moadicia is slaine.

The Brigants rebell.

The Brigants are appeased.

Petilius the Roman is gat death.

Julius Frontinus sent into Britaine.

The Silures mistaken by Scottishmen.

Frontinus purposed to pursue the conquest of the Silures with the Romanes.

Frontinus requirith to ioyne in amitie with the Picts.

The Picts king refused to be in league with the Romans.

Frontinus little regarding this vntowardlie answer.

Frontinus little regarding this vntowardlie answer.

Frontinus little regarding this vntowardlie answer.

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Frontinus little regarding this vntowardlie answer.

ter season, during the which, Frontinus fell sicke of superfluous abundance of flegme, which bereft him in such sort, that the emperor Domitian, who as then governed the Roman empire, sent for him home to Rome, and appointed a right ballant personage, one Julius Agricola to succeed as lieutenant of Brittain in his Rome. About the time of whose arrivall there, the Scots of Annandale slew a great number of the Romans, with which successe they procured also to the Picts with the inhabitants of Galloway, Aile, Carrick, and Coningham to rebell.

These newes being reported unto Agricola, he made his promise with all speed to go against them, and first entering into the borders of Pictland, he reduced such as inhabited about the confines of Berwick to their former subjection, and after marching towards the citie of Camelon, Karanach king of the Picts encountered him by the waite, but being fiercely beaten off by the Romans, he fled backe into the citie, and within three daies after having reinforced his power, he estones gaue battell againe to his enemies; but then also being vanquished, he lost the most part of all his men, and so immediatlie thereupon was Camelon towne by force, & a great number of the citizens slaine.

Agricola caused it to be newlie fortified, and further through fame of this victorious beginning, he recovered the most part of all the castles and fortresses of Pictland. The forenamed Karanach escaping out of that present danger, got him beyond the water of Firth, for the more suertie of his owne person. Agricola having sped this in Pictland, marched forth against them of Annandale, who at the first making resistance for a time, at length were constrained to give backe, and so fled to their houses, where in the night following by their owne wives they were murdered each mothers sonne: for so the women of that nation used to put alwaie the shame of their husbands, when they at any time had fled out of the field from their enemies.

Agricola understanding that by winning him fame in the beginning, it should be no small furtherance unto him for the atchieving of other enterprises in time to come, determined to pursue his good fortune, and thereupon prepared to subdue the Isle of Man; but wanting vessels to convey his armie over, he found meanes that such as could swim, and knew the shallow places of that coast, made shift to passe the golfe, and so got on land, to the great wonder and amazement of the inhabitants, who watched the sea coasts, to resist such ships as they looked for to have arrived upon their shores; but now despairing to resist such kind of warriors as endangered themselves to passe the seas in that manner of wise, they submitted themselves unto Agricola.

Who taking pledges of them, and appointing certaine garisons to keepe divers holds and places of defense within that Ile, passed over with the residue of his people into Galloway, where he sojourned all the winter following: which being passed, and summer once come, he assembled his men of warre againe, and visited a great part of that countrie with Aile, Carrick, and Coningham, the inhabitants whereof he put in such feare with the onelie sight of his warlike armie, disposed in such polittike order and wise conduct, that there was none to be found that durst advance themselves to encounter him, so that he spent that summer season in keeping such of the Scots as had heretofore subdued, from attempting any commotion. And when winter was come, he assembled the nobles of the countrie, exhorting them by gentle persuasions, to fraime themselves to a civill trade of living, as well in building of temples, houses, and other ediffices after the Ro-

man manner, as also in wearing of comelie and decent apparell; and about all things to set their children to scholl, to be brought up in eloquence and good nurture. By this meanes he thought to fraime them from their accustomed fiercenesse, and to win them the sooner to be content with bondage, though he coloured it with neuer so faire a glose of humanitie.

The third winter being thus spent, and the next summer commin upon, Agricola invaded such countries as were yet undiscovered by the Romans, entering by the nether side of Calidon wood, even unto the dolorous mountaine, which afterwards by the Scots was cleped Sterling. It was called the dolorous mountaine, for that in the night season there was heard right lamentable noise & cries, as though the same had bene of some creatures that had bewailed their miserable cases: which undoubtedly was the craftie illusions of wicked spirits, to keepe mens minds still oppressed in blind errors and superstitious fantasies.

Agricola considering the naturall strength of this mountaine, with the site of an old ruinous castell that stood thereon, he caused the same with all diligence to be repaired, and a bidge to be made over the forth there, by the which he passed with his whole armie over into Fife: and the date after, hearing that the king of the Picts was withdrawne into a castell thereby, standing upon an high mountaine cleped Banart, he intironed the same with a strong siege, howbeit his hoped prey was not as then within it, for Karanach king of the Picts, informed of the Romans approach, got him forth abroad into the fields, and assembling his power, purposed by night to have broken the bidge, which Agricola had made over the forth at Sterling, but being repelled by such as were set there to defend the same, in his returne from thence he was incountried by Agricola himselfe, who being certified of this attempt of his enemies, had leaved his siege, and was coming towards them, so that both the hostes meeting together in the fields, there was fought a sore battell betwixt them, though in the end the Picts were discomfited, and their king the foresaid Karanach chased unto the river of Tay, where he got a bote, and escaped to the further side of that water. By reason of this overthrow, Agricola brought in subjection those countries, which lie betwene the waters of Forth and Tay, as Fife, Forthryke, and Ernedall, and sojourning there all the winter following, he built sundrie fortresses in places most convenient for the keeping of the inhabitants in their covenanted obedience, after his departure from amongst them.

In the meane while, the king of the Picts kept him at Dundee, whither resorted unto him a great number of the Pictish nobilitie, such as had escaped the Romans hands. These comforted their king in all that they might, willing him to be of good cheere, and to hope well of the recoverye of his losses againe by some god fortune, and meanes that might happen to come ver ought long, promising to the furtherance thereof all that in them lay, as well for counsell as aid as hand: and hereupon they took advise which waie to worke, inasmuch that at length it was by great deliberation thought god to seeke for succor at the hands of their ancient confederats the Scots, and so incontinently there were certaine messengers dispatched with all speed unto Galt the Scottish king, requiting him in that common tearparchie to take in league with his ancient friends the Picts, against the ambitious and most cruell Romans, who sought nothing else but the utter subjection of the whole land of Albion, as manifestly appeared by their proceedings, having already occupied and wrong-

Kalendar wood.
Agricola cometh to Sterling.

Agricola buildeth the castle of Sterling with the bidge.

Mount Banart.

Karanach escaileth Sterling bidge, which the Romans defended.

Karanach is effrones chased. Fife with other countries brought into subjection of the Romans.

Karanach comforted by his nobles.

The Picts send for aid to king Galt.

Cald prompt-
ly to ioin
in league
with the
Picts
against the
Romans.

The Scots
sea the Ro-
man soldiers
lieng in cer-
taine garisons
The river of
Clide, other-
wise called
Clude.
Agricola re-
pelling the
Scots, could
not yet win
the castell of
Dunbretton,
ancientlie
called Ard-
cluth, or Al-
cluth.

Agricola
inuaeth
Lennox.

Agricola re-
turneth into
Pictland, to
appease a re-
bellion of the
people there.
He returneth
vnto Clide.

Agricola pur-
sueth his en-
terpryse
against the
Scots.

All the Scots
assemble.

fullie surprised a great part not onlie of the Pictish kingdome, but also of the Scottish dominions, min-
ding still to go forwarde in such vnrighteous con-
quests, if by timelie resistance they were not staied.
Cald vpon this request and motion of the Picts
gladlie consented to ioin his power with theirs, in
common defense of both the realmes (against such
common enemies as the Romans were esteemed)
hauing herevnto the assent of all his peers and chie-
fest counsellors.

Thus whilst the kings of the Scots and Picts
were concluding a league together for defense of
themselves and their countries, certaine Scots en-
tered into the confines of Bile, Carrike, and Coning-
hain, and wan diuers fortresses, wherein certaine
garisons of Romane souldiers sojourned, whome
they slew downe right without all mercie, spoiling
the whole countrie. Agricola hauing knowledge
hereof, went straightwaies thither with a power,
and pursuing them that had done those iniuries,
some he took amongst the hills and mounteines,
whither they fled; and the residue he chased beyond
the river of Clide, but the castell of Dunbretton he
could not by any meanes obtaine, though he assaied
to win it euen to the vttermost of his power. It
was called in those daies Alcluth, that is to meane:
All Stone. The Scottishmen being thus driuen backe,
Agricola repaired such castells and fortresses as they
had ouerthrowne and beaten downe.

In the yeare following, being the first after the
first comming of Agricola into Britaine, he caused
his ships to be brought about fro the Ile of Wight
into the water of Lochline in Argile, thereby to put
his enemies in vtter despair of escaping his hands
either by water or land: and therevpon passing ouer
the river of Clide with his armie, and finding his
manie there, he set vpon the countrie of Lennox, in
purpose to subdue the same. But after he had made
sundry skirmishes with the inhabitants, he was
certified by letters from the gouernor of Camelot,
that the Picts were readie to rebell, by reason wher-
of he left off this enterpryse against the Scots, and
drew backe into Pictland, leauing a part of his ar-
mie to keepe possession of the water of Clide, till
his returne againe into those parties. At his com-
ming into Pictland, he appeased the rebels with small
aid, punishing the chiefe authors according to their
demerits. This done, he returned vnto the water
of Clide, lieng all that winter beyond the same, ta-
king order for the gouernment of those parties, in
due obedience of the Romane empire.

The summer following he appointed his nauie to
search alongst by the coast all the hauens and creeks
of Argile, and of the Ilands nere to the same. Whi-
lest he by land passing ouer the water of Lenine,
went about to conquer towines and castels, though
halfe discouraged at the first, by reason of the rough
waies, streit passages, high mounteines, craggie
rocks, thicke woods, deepe marshes, fens and mos-
ses, with the great rivers which with his armie he
must needs passe, if he minded to attaine his pur-
pose: but the old souldiers being inured with paines
and trauell, overcame all these difficulties by the wise
conduct of their wortheie generall and other the cap-
teins and so inuading the countie took towines and
castels, of the which some they beat downe and rased,
and some they fortified and stuffed with garisons of
men of warre.

About the same time by commandement of king
Cald, and other the gouernors of Scotland, all the a-
ble men of Cantire, Lozne, Spurrey land, Luge-
marth, also those of the westerne Iles, & of all other
parties belonging to the Scottish dominions, were
appointed to assemble and come together in Atholl, at

a place not passing fife miles distant from the castell
of Calidon now cleped Dunkeld, there to abide the
comming of Karanach king of the Picts, to the end
that ioining together in one armie, they might work
some high exploit. But he hauing assembled fiftie
thousand of his men of war, as he marched alongst
by the mounteine of Granzbene, in times past cle-
ped Spous Gramplus, there chanced a mutinie a-
mongest his people, so that falling together by the
eares, Karanach himselfe comming amongst them
vnarmed as he was to part the fraie, was slaine pre-
sently at vnwares, by one that knew not what he
was. By reason of which mishance that iourne was
broken, for the Picts being vtterlie amazed and dis-
comforted herewith, scaled and departed alunder.

Cald with his Scots now being thus disappointed
of the Picts his chiefeest aid, durst not leaue to trie
the chance of battell with the enemies, but determi-
ned with light skirmishes, and by withdrawing of
bittels out of their walke, to stop them from further
proceeding in conquest of the countrie, & in the mean
time to provide against the next summer new aid
and succors to keepe the field, and so to encounter
with them, puissance against puissance, if they re-
mained so long in the countrie. The Scots resting
vpon this resolution, thought good to send some hono-
rable ambassage vnto the Picts to moue them vnto
mutuall agreement & concord amongst themselves,
whereby they might be able to resist the common ru-
ine of their countrie as then in present danger to be
oppressed by the Romans.

Those that were sent on this message, did so dil-
gentlie behaue themselves, in bringing their purpose
to passe, that the Picts in the end agreed to ioin in
friendlie amitie one with another, and to chiose one
Garnard to their king to succede in the throne of Ka-
ranach. They also confirmed the former league with
the Scots, and by their procurement sent messen-
gers vnto the Norwegians and Danes, requiring
them of aid against the Romans the common eni-
mies of all such nations as loued to liue in libertie,
wherefoer the same were inhabiting in anie part
on the whole face of the earth. There were also sent
ambassadors vnto the Irishmen from the Scots for
the same intent, and from both those places there
was great aid promised, as fro them that esteemed
themselves halfe bound by a naturall respect, to suc-
cor such as were descended of the same ancestors
and countries that they were of, and now like to be
expelled out of the seats which their forefathers had
got possession in by iust title of conquest, and lest the
same vnto their posteritie to enioy for euer.

Whilst these things were thus in doing, Calus
diuiding his armie into sundrie parts, did what was
possible to resist all the attempts of the Romans.
Who standing in doubt of his puissance, rather
through fame thereof, than for anie apparant sight or
other knowledge had, durst not put themselves in
danger to enter into Calidon wood, of all that sum-
mer; and the winter following was so extreame, by
reason of frost, snow, and coldnesse of aire, that they
were not able to enterpryse anie exploit on neither
part: howbeit the summer was no longer come (be-
ing the seauenth after the comming of Agricola in-
to Britaine) but that they prepared to inuade one an-
other againe with all their forces.

From Ireland there came (according as was
promised) a great power of men of warre, and lo-
ned with an armie of Scottishmen in Atholl, being
there already assembled in great numbers out of
all the quarters of the Scottish dominions. Whither
came also Garnard king of the Picts with his pow-
er. All which forces being thus assembled together by
common agreement amongst them, Cald king of the

Karanach k.
of the Picts
slaine by mi-
fortune at one
of his own
soldiers.

An ambage
sent to the
Picts.

The Picts
brought to
agreement
amongst them-
selves.

Ambassadors
sent vnto the
Danes and
Norwegians to
aid.

The king of
Cald by prom-
ise sent the
Romans in
fear.

An aid of
Irishmen
sent to the
Picts.

Cald chosen
to be generall
against the
Romans.

the Scots was chosen to be their generall, who hearing that Agricola with his host was entred into Ikalendar wood, diuided the whole armie into three battels, and so marched forth towards the enimies in purpose to incounter them. Agricola being of this aduertised by spies, parted his people also into three wards, doubting to be inclosed within some conder some place by reason of the great multitude of his enimies, that were esteemed to be in number about 50000 of one and other.

60000 set forth
upon one part
of the enimies
with might.

Cald on the other side vnderstanding by spies this order of the Romans, in the dead of the night setteth upon one of those legions, which was lodged next vnto him, and finding meanes to slea the watch, was entred into the enimies lodgings, before they had any knowledge of his comming, so that the fight was right fierce & cruell euen among the Romans tents and lodgings. But Agricola being certified of this enterprize of the Scots, sent forth with all speed a certaine number of light horsemen and footmen to assaile them on the backs, & so to keepe them occupied, till he might come with all the residue of his people to the rescue. They that were thus sent, accomplishing their enterprize according to the deuise in that behalfe appointed, gaue a right fierce & stout charge vpon the Scots and Picts, greatlie to the reliefe of those that were by them assailed, and withall soze amazed and disorderd by reason of the enimies sudden inuasion.

Agricola comes
with the
lump of his
army.

By this meanes the fight continued right fierce and cruell on all sides, till at length the daie beginning to appere, helued to the Scots and Picts the plaine view of the whole Romane armie, approaching vnder the conduct of Agricola, to the succour of his people, being thus in danger to be distressed. Herevnto were the Scots and Picts put in such feare, that immediatlie they fell to running adwaie towards the woods and bogs, the accustomed places of their refuge. This euertyping did so abash both the Scots and Picts, that they durst attempt no more the fortune of battell, till they had some aid out of Denmarke, but onelie did what they could to defend their townes and countrie, by making fundrie railes vpon their enimies, as occasion and oportunitie serued. But the Romans, supposing nothing to be hard for their vndaunted valiancie, but that they were able to overcome whatsoeuer should stand at defiance against them, determined at length to find an end of the Ile of Albion, and so passing thorough Ikalendar wood, and ouer the riuer of Amond, they pitched their field nere to the riuer of Taie, not far from the castell named Calidon or Ikalendar.

The Romans
passe
through
Ikalendar
wood ouer
the riuer of
Amond.

The Picts, by reason that their enimies were lodged so nere to the confines of their countrie, doubting what might follow thereof, burned the citie of Eborac, least the same enimies chancing to take it, should furnish it with some garrison of men, to the great danger of the whole Pictish kingdome. This citie stood vpon the banke of Taie, right beautifullie built, with many faire castles and towres, as may appere euen vnto this daie by the old ruines thereof, strong rather by the workemans hands, than by nature. The Scottishmen in our time call the place Inchuthill. All their wiues and children they removed vnto the mounteins of Cranzbene for their more surtie and safeguard.

The Picts
burne the
citie of
Eborac,
lest the
Romans
should
take it,
and
furnish
it with
a garrison
of men.

About the same time the Romans were not a little disquieted, by reason of a mutinie which chanced amongst such Germans as were appointed to come ouer to Agricola, as a new supplie to furnish by such numbers as were decayed in his armie. These slauing their capteine, and such other Romans as were appointed to haue the order of them for their training in warlike feats at the beginning, as the ma-

ner was, got certeine pinnelles which they happened vpon in the riuer of Thames, and sailing about the east and north coasts of this Ile, arriued in Taie water, offering themselues to the Scots and Picts to serue against the Romans, whose malice they dread for their offense committed if they should returne into their owne countries, which laie about the mouth of the Rhene, and was as then subiect to the Romane empire, the inhabitants in those daies being cleped Alsipites, the which (as some suppose) inhabited Cleueland and Solike.

Their offer was accepted most thankesfullie, and places appointed for them to inhabit amongst the Hurraies, because they were descended as it were of one nation. Whilest these things were thus aduising, there came also the long wished aid from the Danes and Norwegians, to the number of ten thousand men, vnder the leading of one Gildo. His Gildo with his nauie first arriued in the strith betwixt Jife and Louthian, but for that the Romans kept him off from landing there, he cast about and came into the riuer of Taie, where he landed all his people, for prouision wherof he had good store both of vittels and armour. Garnard king of the Picts hearing of their arriual there, forthwith vpon the newes departed from Dundee, accompanied with a great number of his nobles, and comming to the place where Gildo with his armie was lodged, receiued him in most ioyfull wise, feasted and banqueted him and his people, and shewed them all the tokens of most hartie loue and friendship that could be deuised. Gildo himselfe was led by the king vnto Dundee, and lodged with him there in the castell, his people were prouided for abroad in the countrie in places most for their ease, to refresh themselves the better after their painefull iourne by the seas.

Shortlie after there came vnto Dundee the Scottish king Cald, who for his part did all the honour that in him lay vnto Gildo, shewing himselfe most ioyfull and glad of his comming, yelding vnto him and his people such thanks and congratulations as serued best to the purpose, and receiued no lesse at his and their hands againe. After they had remained thus certeine daies together at Dundee, both the kings Cald & Garnard, together with this Gildo, went vnto the castell of Forcare, there to consult with their capteins and gouernours of their men of warre, how to mainteine themselves in their enterprize against the enimie. At length they resolved not to go forth into the field till the winter season were past, for doubt of the inconuenience that might insue, by reason of the extreame cold intemperancie of the aire, whereto that countrie is greatlie subiect.

In the meane time they took order for the furnishing of all things necessarie for the wars, to haue the same in a perfect readines against the next spring, and till then they did appoint onelie to keepe frontier warre, that the Romans should not strae abroad to fetch in vittels and other prouisions to their owne gains, and to the vndoying of the poore inhabitants. Vpon this determination when the counsell was broken by, Cald withdrew into Atholl, to defend those parties; and Garnard with the Danish generall Gildo, furnished all the castles and holds in Angus ouer against the riuer of Taie, to stop the passages of the same, that the enimies should enter no further on that side. Thus passed the winter for that yeare, without any great exploit on either part achieved.

In the beginning of the next summer, Agricola sent appointed his nauie of ships to saile about the coasts of the furthest parts of Albion, making diligent search of euerie creeke & haue alongst by the same. The mariners, executing his commandement, sailed

These Alsipites first inhabited the parties betwixt the mounteins of Hessen and the Rhene, now called Hochring, from whence they removed into the nether countries. Danes, and Norwegians, come to aid the Scots and Picts. Gildo is kept off from landing by the Romans. Gildo arriued with his Taie water.

Cornelius Tacitus maketh no mention of any forraigne aid to come to the succours of his enimies comprehending them all vnder the name of Britains.

Garnard the king of Picts ioyfullie receiued Gildo. Cald commeth into Dundee to welcome Gildo. Cald, Garnard and Gildo assemble a counsell at Forcare, where they deuise how to proceed in their warre.

They determine to rest all the winter, and make frontier warre onelie.

Agricola sendeth forth his nauie of ships, to discover the furthest point of Britaine northward.

failed round about the north coast, discovering manie of the westerne Isles, and likewise those of Orkney, till at length they found out Orkney firth, being a streit of the sea of twentie miles in breadth, which separateth the Isles of Orkney from the point of Cathness, passing with so swift a course, that without an expert pilot the ships that shall passe the same are oftentimes in great danger, by reason of the contrarie course of the tides. The Rōmane mariners therefore, finding certeine husbandmen in the next Isles, constrained them to go a shipboard, & to guide them through that streit, promising them high rewards for their labour; but they upon a malicious intent not passing for their owne lives, so they might be reuenged of their enemies in casting away such a notable number of them together with their vessels, entred the streit at such an inconuenient time, that the ships were borne with violence of the streame against the rocks and shelues, in such wise that a number of the same were drowned and lost without recouerie.

The Rōmane ships through want of pilots are lost in Orkney firth.

Agricola making a bridge ouer Tay water, passeth by the same with his host, and incampeth nere to the foot of the mountaine of Granzbene.

Some of them that were not over-hastie to follow the first, seeing the present losse of their fellows, returned by the same way they came vnto Agricola, who in this meane time had caused a bridge to be made ouer the riuer of Tay, by the which he passed with his whole armie, and incamped on the further side thereof nere to the roots of the mountaine of Granzbene, leaving the bridge garnished with a competent number of souldiers to defend it against the enemies. The Picts being not a little troubled herewith, dispatched forth a messenger with all hast vnto Cald the Scottish king, signifieng vnto him the whole matter, and therupon required of him aid.

Cald hauing mustered his people aswell Scottish as Irish, assembled them together to the number of fortie thousand persons, what of one and other, and incontinentlie with all speed marcheth forth to come vnto the aid of the Picts, and so within a few daies passing ouer the mountaine of Granzbene, he arrieth in a ballie beyond the same mountaine, where he findeth the Picts, Danes, and Norwegians incamped together not far off from the host of the Rōmans. Here taking aduise together, & in the end determining to giue battell, king Cald (vnto whom as before is exprest, the gouernance of the whole was committed) assembling together all the number of the confederats, made vnto them a long and pithe oration, exhorting them in defense of libertie (the most pretious icwell that man might inioy) to shew their manlie stomachs against them that sought onlie to deprive them of that so great a benefit. And sith they were giuen to the bittermost bounds of their countrie, he perswaded them to make vertue of necessitie, and rather chose to die with honor, than to liue in perpetuall shame & ignominie, which must needs insue to their whole nation, if they suffered themselves to be vanquished in that instant. With these words, or other much what of the semblable effect, Cald so moued the hearts of his people, that they desired nothing but to loine with their enemies, & to trie it by dint of sword, which they vniuersallie signified according to their accustomed vse with a great noise, shout, and clamor.

On the other part Agricola, though he perceived a great desire amongst his souldiers to fight, yet he was not negligent on his owne behalfe to incourage them with most cherefull words and countenance; so that both the armies being thus bent to haue battell, the generals on both parties began to set them in arae. Agricola to the end his armie being the lesser number should not be assailed both a front and on the sides, prouided (by disposing them in a certeine order) a remedie against that disadvan-

tage. On the other side, king Cald by reason of the aduantage which he had in his great multitude and number, ordered his battels thereafter with a long and large front, placing the same vpon the higher ground, of purpose to compass in the enemies on each side. At the first approach of the one armie towards the other, the battell was begun right fiercelie with shot of arrowes and hurling of darts, which being once past, they ioined together to trie the matter by hand-strokes, wherein the Scots & Picts had one disadvantage, for those that were archers, or (as I may call them) kerns, comming once to fight at hand-bloues, had nothing but broad swords and certeine sorte light bucklers to defend themselves with, such as serue to better purpose for men to ride with abroad at home, than to be carried forth into the warres, though the same haue bene so used among the Scottishmen, euen till these our daies.

The Rōmans therefore being well appointed with armor and broad targets, suc downe right a great number of these Scots and Picts thus slenderlie furnished, without receiuing anie great damage againe at their hands, till king Cald appointed his sparemen to step forth before those archers & kerns, to succor them, and therewith also the bilmen came forward, and stroke on so freshlie, that the Rōmans were beaten downe on heaps, in such wise that they were nere at point to haue bene discomfited, had not a band of Germans (which serued amongst the Rōmans) rushed forth with great violence vpon the Scottishmen, where most danger appeared, and so refozed againe the fainting stomachs of the Rōmans, whereby the battell renewed on both sides againe right fierce and cruell, that great ruth it was to behold that bloudie fight, and most brumerfull murder betwixt them, which continued with more violence on the Scottish side than anie warlike skill, till finally the night comming on, toke the daies light from them both, and so parted the fraie. The Rōmans withdrew to their campe: and the Scots and Picts with their confederats the Danes, Norwegians, and Irishmen, such as were left alieue, got them into the next mounteins, hauing lost in this cruell conflict the most part of their whole numbers.

Cornelius Tacitus agreeth not in all points with the Scottish chronicles, in a booke which he wrote of the life of Julius Agricola, where he intreateth of this battell. For he speaketh but of thirtie thousand men (which he comprehendeth vnder the generall name of Britains) to be assembled at that time against the Rōmans, making no mention of anie Scots, Picts, Irishmen, Norwegians, or Danes, that should be there in their aid. The number of them that were slaine on the Britains side (as the same Tacitus recounteth) amounted to about ten thousand men, and of the Rōmans not passing three hundred and fortie. Amongst whom was one Aulus Atticus, a capteine of one of the cohorts. But as the Scottish writers affirme, there died that day of Scots, Picts, and other their confederats at the point of twentie thousand, and of the Rōmans and such as serued on their side, as good as twelue thousand. Moreover, the night following, when Calvus with the residue of his people which were left alieue was withdrawne to the mounteins, and that the huge losse was understood by the wifes and kindsmen of the dead, there began a pitifull noise among them, lamenting and bewailing their miserable case and losses.

But Cald, doubting least the same should come to the eares of some espials, that might lurke nere to the place where he was withdrawne, caused an huge shout and noise to be raised by his people, as though it had bene in token of some reioicing, till the

The armies approach together to fight.

The Scottish men's disadvantage, by reason of their light weapons.

A cohort of Germans rushed the Rōmans side to haue had the victory.

The night severed the armies in disorder & parted the fray.

The Rōmans withdrew to their campe.

See more heretofore in the history of England.

The number of them that were slaine in this battell.

Women be soale the Rōmans.

the women bewailing thus the deeth of their friends, might be removed out of the way. This done, they fell to take counsell what was best to do in this case: and in the end all things considered, it was determined that somewhat before the dawning of the next morning, euerie man should dislodge and withdraw himselfe into such a place as he thought most meet for his safegard, save onelie such as were appointed to attend Gald and Gernard into Atholl, whither they minded with all speed to go.

Thus leaving a great number of fiers to dissemble their departure, they dislodged and made awaie with all speed possible. In the morning when their departure was once discovered, a great number of the Romans followed as it had bene in the chase, but some of them unadvisedly adventuring too farre forward, were inclosed by their enemies and slaine. That which wrought this feat got them to the next hills and so escaped. At length, when all the fields and countries adjoining were discovered, and the same appearing to be quite deliuered of all the ambushments of the enemies, Agricola caused the spoile to be gathered, and after marched forth unto Angus, where (for so much as summer was past) he appointed to winter, and so comming thither and subduing the countrie, he took pledges of the best amongst the inhabitants, and lodged his people about him in places most convenient.

About the same time Agricola heard newes from his nanie (as then riding at anchor in Argile) what mishap had chanced to the same in Midland frith. But herewith being not greatly discouraged, he gave order that the ships that had escaped, should be new rigged and furnished with all necessarie provision, and manned thoroughlie, both with able mariners and men of war. This done, he appointed them likewise to attempt fortune, and to take their course againe to come round about by the Orkneys, and so to go along by the east coast: which enterprise they luckily accomplished, and in the water of Tait they burnt the Danish fleet lying there in harbor.

Here is to be noted, that before the fore-remembered overthrow of the Scots and their confederats at the foot of Cranzbene, there happened manie sundrie vnlike and strange fights in this yle. Amongst other there appeared slieng in the aire: certeine fire visions, much to be wondered at. Also a great pece of Balenbar wood seemed in the night time as it had bene on a flaming fire, but in the morning there appeared no such token. There was in like manner sene in the aire the similitude of certeine ships. And in Angus it rained frogs. At Tuline there was a child borne hauing both shapies, so filthie a sight to behold, that forthwith they rid it out of the way for offending others eyes. These prodigious things were diuerlie interpreted, according to the variable fantasie of man.

After that the prosperous successe of Agricola was once notified to the emperor Domitian, he took such enuie thereat, that shortly after, under a colour to send him into Syria to be lieutenant there, he countermanded him home unto Rome, appointing one Cneus Trebellianus to succeed him in the government of Britaine, but the armie bearing more fauour vnto one Trebellianus being cousin to Agricola, caused no small trouble amongst the soldiours, so that in the end after certeine bickerings betwixt them, Trebellianus took a foot of the best soldiers away with him, and went ouer with them into France.

The Scots taking occasion hereof, joined with the Picts, and entred into Angus. Whereof Cneus Trebellianus being informed, assembled his people, who perceiving no great forwardnesse in their lea-

der, created Caius Silius (brother to the forernamed Trebellianus) their capitaine, but he would in no wise meddle with that charge, though they were herie earnest in hand with him to take it vpon him.

In the meane time came the enemies vnder the leading of Gald readie to giue the onset, wherewith the Romans being sore troubled, by reason of this discord amongst themselves, set forward yet right valiantlie, to giue battell to their enemies: howbeit in the end, because that Silius received a mortall wound, and so departed out of the field, they fell at length to running awaie, the Scots and Picts following in the chase right fiercelie.

This atchieued victorie, after so manie vnluckie enterprises, highlie reioiced the appalled hearts of the Albions, hauing bene continuallie in maner notwithstanding the space of fiftie yeeres through aduerser fortune grieuoullie oppressed by the Romans, who being not a little discouraged by this overthrow, withdrew themselves whole vnto Tuline, and shortly after for their more safegard, they got them ouer the river of Tay, breaking the bridge which they had made there, to the end that by the same the Scots & Picts should haue no passage in that place. But Gald hauing got this notable victorie with the spoile of the Romans campe, thought it best with the aduise of his nobles, to pursue the Romans without delay, not suffering them to haue time to provide for resistance. And here vpon comming to the castell of Calidon otherwise Balenbar, they got ouer the river of Tay, by a bridge of wood laid ouer the same river, which in that place is but narrow, by reason of the rocks & cliffs forcing the banks on either side to a streidnesse.

The Roman captaine also not ignorant of the passage of the enemies, brought forth their armie, and made themselves readie to encounter them, but for that the forernamed Caius Silius was not able to stirre by reason of his wounds received in the last battell, they chose one Titus Celius, a valiant gentleman of Rome to be their leader, and so vnder his conduct setting vpon their enemies they fought right fiercelie for a time, but yet in the end they were put to flight, & chased into Calidon. There were slaine of the Roman part in this encounter to the number of nine thousand, and of the Scots and other the confederats two thousand. After this victorie thus obtained by the Scots, a great number of the Britains revolted from the Roman obedience, as those that inhabit the countrie which we now call Wales, with the marches, slaying & chasing awaie such Romans as lay abroad in those parties.

This done, they sent vnto Gald king of the Scots, certeine messengers with rich iewels and gifts, in token of their reioicing and gladnes for his victories, promising him furthermore such aid as they were able to make against the Romans the common enemies of all the whole Albion nation. Moreover, in this meane while did the Romans within Calidon castell direct their messengers with letters vnto Marius king of the Britains, signifying vnto him the present danger wherein things stood in those parties by the cruell rage of the Scottishmen and Picts, whom fortune had advanced with the gaine of two foughten fields, insomuch that if timely succours were not the sooner sent, the losse would be irrecoverable. Herevnto Marius answered, that as then a common conspiracie appeared to be in hand amongst his subjects, so far forth that he doubted greatlie the libertie of his owne estate; and as for hope of aid to be sent from Rome, he saw small likelihood; considering the slender provision there through the misgovernement of cruell Domitian, who by reason of the hatred which the people bare him, regarded nothing but how to keepe them from rising

The Scots set vpon the Romans.

The Romans are discouered.

The Romans withdrew vnto Tuline. They retire backe ouer the water of Tay and broke the bridge after them.

The Scots get ouer the water of Tay nere to Calidon castell. The Scots encounter the Romans.

The Romans are againe discouered.

The Britains hearing of the English adventures fallen to the Romans, yet not fro their obedience.

The Romans send vnto Marius king of the Britains for aid.

Marius king of the Britains doubting rebellion of his subjects.

The Scottish men's shutes broke by their campe.

The Romans upon being manfully opposed.

Agricola laboured Angus and wintered there.

Agricola is certified of the assistance of his nanie.

The Romans for safety keep about the rocky point of Calidon.

Strange visions.

Ships sene in the aire. A child borne with two shapies. A prodigious rain of frogs.

Domitian the emperor enuied the prosperous successe of Agricola. Agricola is appointed to be lieutenant there, but the armie bearing more fauour vnto one Trebellianus being cousin to Agricola, caused no small trouble amongst the soldiours, so that in the end after certeine bickerings betwixt them, Trebellianus took a foot of the best soldiers away with him, and went ouer with them into France.

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The historie of Scotland.

60

Marinus coun- rising up in armour against him, and therefore he
sely the thought it necessarie that leaving the north parts to
Romans to the enemies, they shuld all withdraw towards him
leave the into the south parts, to keepe yet the more fruitfull
north parts portion of the Ile in due obedience, sith their pus-
unto the en- sance might not suffice to retein a rule the whole.

These newes greatlie abashed the Romane a-
mie, & so much the more, for that about the same tyme
it was shewed them how king Cald with an huge
armie of Scottishmen and Picts, was come within
ten miles of them. Whereupon the Romans not
knowing at that instant what was best for them to
do, in the end they concluded to withdraw into
Cantire, where being arrived, and perceiving them-
selves as yet to be in no great suertie there, they
went awaie from thence with speed into Galloway.

The Romans
withdrew in-
to Cantire, &
after into
Galloway.

Cald pur-
sued the Ro-
mans.

He
saw
the
Romans
departing
out of
Galloway.

He
saw
the
Romans
departing
out of
Galloway.

He
saw
the
Romans
departing
out of
Galloway.

He
saw
the
Romans
departing
out of
Galloway.

The Romans
determine a-
gainst to fight
with the
Scots.

The Romans
determine a-
gainst to fight
with the
Scots.

The Romans
determine a-
gainst to fight
with the
Scots.

The Romans
determine a-
gainst to fight
with the
Scots.

The Romans
determine a-
gainst to fight
with the
Scots.

Strange dea-
ling in womē,
and contrarie
to their nature

The Romans
sle to their
campe.

The Scots
purpose to as-
saile the Ro-
mane campe.

The Scots
purpose to as-
saile the Ro-
mane campe.

The Scots
purpose to as-
saile the Ro-
mane campe.

The Romans
require a com-
munication.

The Romans
require a com-
munication.

The Romans
require a com-
munication.

The Romans
require a com-
munication.

The Romans
require a com-
munication.

ent Romans clad in right honorable and vertie rich
apparell came forth and were admitted to the pre-
sence of the kings [Cald of the Scots, and Car-
nard of the Picts] unto whome with humble submit-
tion they acknowledged themselves as vanquished,
and that by the iust wrath and reuenge of the chieff
gods, which against them they had conceived for the
wongfull misation of that which in no wise of right
appertained vnto them. Therefore if it might please
those kings to hydle and refraine their displeasure
against them, in licencing them vnder some reaso-
nable condittons of appointment to depart, it shold
be a thing resonable so much to their fame and glo-
rie, as nothing could be more; considering so
humble sute made to them by the orators of those
people, who were reputed as banquishers of the
whole world.

Herewith falling prostrate at the feet of those
kings, they besought them of pardon, in such pitiful
wise, that the hearts of the hearers began somewhat
to molifie, and at length Cald toke vpon him to an-
swer in name of all the residue of the Scottish and
Pictish nations, and in the end concluded, that they
were contented to grant a peace on these conditi-
ons: That the Romans shold recalle from that day
forward in any wise to inset or disquiet by way of
ante inuasion the Scottish and Pictish borders, and
also to depart wholie out of those countries, resto-
ring all such holds and fortresses as they held vnto
in the same: and further, to deliuer all prisoners,
pledges, and fugitives whatsoeuer as then remai-
ning in their hands, together with such goods & spoiles
as they had latelie taken.

These conditions being certified to the Romans
by their orators, were gladlie accepted, sith they saw
no better meane how to deliuer themselves out of
that present danger. And so deliuering sufficient ho-
stages for performance of all the articles of agree-
ment, they departed without protracting time, mar-
ching southwards to come into Bent, where Ma-
rinus king of the south Britains sojourned as then.
Agricola, as the Scottish chronicles report, left at
his departure towards Rome, to the number of
thre score thousand men in the Romane armie, what
of one and other, but vnto their departure out of
Galloway, there remained vnnethi twentie thou-
sand, the residue being dispatched by one meane or
other. By this conclusion of peace then, the Scots
and Picts got againe the whole possession of all such
countries as the Romans had before wonne and
taken away from them, as the Agers, Aouthian, the
marches about Berwick, Fife, and Angus, with
Aile, Cantire, Coningham, and Galloway: all the
Romane garrisons departing out of the fortresses
and holds, and leaving the same vnto the former
owners.

Caldus hauing thus ended the warres with the
Romans, toke order to set god directions amongst
his people for the quiet and peaceable gouernement
of the common wealth, visiting dalle the countries
abroad, the better to vnderstand the state of them,
and to reforme the same where it was needfull. Fur-
ther considering that as warre breedeth god soule-
ers, so peace by iustice riddeth them out of the way,
if they be not the better prouided for. Such as had
serued long time in the last wars, and had not ante
trade now in time of peace whereby to get their li-
uing, he placed in garrisons nere to the borders of
the Britains for defense of the countrie. After this,
he came to an interuiew with Carnard king of
the Picts at Calidon, or Balendar, to repress cer-
teine troubles raised betwixt their subjects bring-
ing borderers, concerning the limits of their countrie:
where perceiuing a sort of euill disposed persons to
be

The Romans
submit them-
selves as van-
quished.

The condi-
tions of peace
prescribed by
the Romans
by the Scots
and Picts.

The Romans
depart out of
Galloway.

The Romans
give by all
their holds
and fortresses
which they
kept within
the Scottish
or Pictish
minors.

Caldus had
order to pacify
his subjects
in god quiet
now after the
warres were
ended.

Such as
sought to
moleste the
peace
secretly

he whole in the fault; upon a naughtie intent to
scale, and trouble the peace, which they had with such
travell and labour sought to restore, they pun-
ished the offenders, and set all things in good qui-
et, and so departed in sunder with great love and
friendship.

Thus Calvus applying all his studie and diligence
to advance the common-wealth and quiet state of
his countrie, lived manie yeres so highlie in the fa-
mour of all his subiects; that the like hath bene but
sometime heard of: finally, to their great griefe and
displeasure he ended his life, more deere to them
than their owne at Epistake, in the 35 yere of his
reigne, which was about the 15 yere of the empire
of Adrian, the 4098 yere after the world's creation,
and from the birth of our Saviour 131, and was
buried with great lamentation in most pompous
manner, and laid in a goodlie tombe which was raised
with mightie huge stones, having a great number
of obelisks set by round about it according to the
maner. Furthermore, to the end his memorie should
ever indure, the countrie where he fought last with
the Romans was called Caldia, after his name,
which by addition of a few letters is now called Cal-
loway, and before that time Brigantia, as the
Scots do hold: but how that seemeth to agree with
a truth, ye may read in the historie of England.

After this famous prince was thus departed
hence, his sonne Lughake succeeded in rule of
the Scottish kingdome, no lesse abhorred of all men
for his detestable and filthie vices, joined with all
kind of crueltie and couctoufnesse, than his father
was beloued for his noble and excellent vertues.
This Lughake went so farre past the bounds of all
continencie in following his sensuall lusts, that he
forced and ravished not onelie aunt, neere, and sister,
but even his owne daughters also. Such as were
honorable personages, and meet to gouerne in the
common-wealth he nothing regarded, but commit-
ted the administration of things vnto vile persons,
and such as could best deuise how to inuent quarrels
against the rich, whereby they might be placed of all
whatsoeuer they had: and oftentimes vpon some
forced cause cruelle put to death. So little did he
prouide to see offenders in anie wise corrected, that
contrariwise he mainteined them in such sort therein,
that iustice was quite banished, and nothing but
spoil and rauenine exercised.

This he continued aboue two yeres, to the
great ruine of the common-wealth. Finally, when
he went about to put vnto death such as in an as-
semble called at Dunstafage spake against the mis-
ordered gouernement of the realme, he was there
murdered amongst the people, with a number of
those also whome he vsed to haue attendant on his
person for safeguard of the same. His owne bodie
was solemnelie buried by appointment of the no-
bles, hauing respect to his fathers benefits, but
the carcases of his gard were cast out into the
fields, there to bee deuoured of beasts and birds of
rauine.

After Lughake was thus dispatched, one Mo-
gall the nephew of Calvus by his daughter was
admitted king in his place. His chiefe studie was
to refoyme the decayed state of his countrie, and first
he caused such wicked counsellors of his predecessors
and vncle Lughake, as had escaped with life (when
their maister was made a waite) to be put to death,
according to their iust desertings. He restored also
the due worshiping of the gods, in part as then neg-
lected, by the wicked counsell of their former rulers.
The Scottishmen in like maner conceiuing an as-
sured hope of a good reuerse in all their griefes and op-
pressions, by the means of such a well disposed prince,

began to beare him incredible loue and fauor, euen
the like as they had done his grandfather Calvus.
In the meane time came certeine ambassadoys from
the Romans, vnto this Mogall, requiring him of aid a-
gainst the Romans and Britains, who by a sudden
invasion had don much hurt in Wiltshire, to the great
distresse of the inhabitants.

At the same time they of Calloway certified him
also by letters, that the same Romans had made a
rode into their countrie, and led a waite a great bottie
of gods and prisoners. Mogall hauing a mind no
lesse giuen to deeds of chivalrie, than to the studie of
ciuill gouernment and religious deuotion, reioiced
that he had iust occasion giuen him to shew some
prose of his valiant inclination, and so herevpon
sent an herald at armes vnto the Romans, requir-
ing to haue restitution and amends for the iniuries
thus by them committed. The herald doing his
message, receiued nothing but scornfull words, and
disdainfull menaces, whereby Mogall being thorough-
ly kindled with despite, assembled his power tog-
ther forth of all the parties of his dominions, and
comming with the same into Calloway, visited his
grandfathers sepulchre, honoring it with great
reuerence and solemne supplications, requiring as
it were his aid against those enemies, which had vio-
lated the league made betwixt him and them, by so-
lemne oths and other accustomed means of ratifi-
cation. This done, he drew into Annandale, where
Constantinus as then king of the Brits abode his com-
ming. There joining their powers together, they
marched forth into Cumberland, and so forward in-
to Westmerland, with fire and sword waiking and
spoiling those countries, as then belonging to the
Romans.

Lucius Antonous the Romane lieutenant, lieng
at the same time at Dorke, being certified hereof by
such as fled for feare out of those parties thus inua-
ded by the Scots, gathered a mightie armie out of
all the countries of Britaine, and hastened forth with
the same towards his enemies; of whose approach Mo-
gall hauing notice, he made a long oration vnto his
people to encourage them to fight manfullie against
the Romans, perswading them effectually thereto
by manie familiar examples brought in of the val-
iant enterpryses atchieued by their elders, in the de-
fense of their countrie and libertie of the same. In
like maner Lucius Antonous for his part exhorted
the Romans, and other his souldiers, to call to re-
membrance the victorious exploits of their predecess-
ors, and how that as then they should fight but with
a rude and barbarous people, running to battell
more vpon a furious rage and violent madness, than
with any discretion or aduised order, sauing further-
more, that it late now in their hands with no great
aduo to recouer that which through the negligent sloth
of Cincus Trebellius was before lost, whereby they
should attaine great honor and famous renowne
for evermore.

By this meanes the armies on both sides being
kindled with desire of battell, in hope of victorie, they
drew nere together, and began the fight right fiercelie
at the first, with throwing and shooting of darts
and arrowes so thicke that one might vnneeth see an-
other. The place was more for the aduantage of the
Scots than of the Romans, because they were com-
pelled to fight as it were by companies and parts,
by reason of bogs and marishes, with such steepling
banks on the sides that they could keepe none arai-
et all these impediments notwithstanding, this bat-
tell was fought so far forth to the utterance, that in
the end, after a wonderfull slaughter on both sides
made, when their swords and other weapons were
spent, they buckled together with short daggers.

F. J.

Finally

Mogall is
beloued of his
subiects. The
Brits desire aid
of the Scots
against the
Romans.

The Ro-
mans inuade
the Scottish
borders.

Mogall re-
quieeth resti-
tution of
things done
by the Ro-
mans. Mogall re-
pareth to the
wars. Mogall visi-
teth his grand-
fathers se-
pulchre.

The Brits
and Scots
ioine their
powers tog-
ther and enter
into the lands
of their en-
emies.

Lucius Ante-
nons lieut-
enant of Bri-
taine. Mogall ex-
horteth his men
to doe valiant-
lie.

The battell
beginneth be-
tweene the
Romans and
Britons.

A cruel fight.

The Ro-
mans retire.

Lucius Ante-
nus is wound-
ed.
The Ro-
mans are put
to flight.

Women as
readie to the
battell as the
men.

Adrian the
emperor pre-
pareth to go
into Brittain.
Adrian trans-
porteth into
Brittaine.

Adrian com-
meth to York

He passeth
ouer the riuer
of Tyne.
Adrian find-
eth nothing
abroad in the
countrie of
his enemies.

What manner
of people he
had to doe
Southall.

Finally the violent charge of the Scots & Picts was such, that the Romans were constrained to retire, which their generall Antenus perceiving, did what he could to save them, and to bring them forward againe, but as he was most busie in the forefront to exhort them herunto, he was wounded with an arrow, and thereupon departed out of the battell, which gave occasion to divers other of his companie to follow him, by means whereof all the residue fell to running awaie, and made toward the next wood, there to save themselves as well as they might, though some companies perceiving that they could not reach thither without manifest danger, closed themselves together and departed by another waie, which they took at adventure, not knowing towards what parts they drev, so that they laie all the night following within two miles of the Scots and Picts, who for that the daie was in manner spent (before the Romans were put to flight) incamped themselves in the selfe-same place where the battell was fought, and in the morning, hearing that part of their enemies were lodged so nere them, & knew not which waie to draw, they sent a number forth of their campe to fight with them, & to kill them if they resisted, or to bring them captiue to the king if they should seeme willing to yeld. Those that were thus sent, found the Romans in verie good order of battell for so small a band, not minding to yeld themselves as prisoners. By reason of which their obstinate wilfulness, they were slaine in the end everie mothersonne.

Lucius Antenus having thus received the overthrow, dispatched a post unto Rome with all hast, signifying unto the emperor Adrian the whole manner of the discomfiture, and how that by reason thereof things stood in great danger here in Brittain, if speedie succours were not the sooner sent, for the enemies were neuer more cruell and fierce, than at this present, not onelie the men, but also the women (as in the last battell he saw plaine proofe) who cared not for the losse of their owne liues, so that they might die reneged.

When Adrian understood these newes, he purposed forthwith to go himselfe into Brittain. Causing therefore an armie to be leuied, he passed forth with the same into France, then called Gallia, and comming to Calice, he transported ouer into Brittain, where he learned how the Scots and Picts were neuer more busie than at this present, having of late waiked and spoiled the countrie euen to the riuer of Tyne. Wherewith Adrian being sore offended, joined the power which he had brought with him frō Rome, with the other which he had caused to be raised in France and Brittain. This done, he removed to York, where sojournig certeine daies to refresh his people, he afterwards drev toward the borders, and coming to the riuer of Tyne, he passed over the same.

The fourth daie after, he came into a countrie wherein was left no kind of earthlie thing serving to mans vse, and so passing forward a daie or two, he found neither come, nor other prouision of vittell, nor any kind of liuing creature, all the people being fled into the mounteins and marish grounds, where no man might come vnto them, as commonlie in case of extreme danger they were accustomed to lie abroad in the same without house or any couerture ouer their heads. Howbeit, for all that he gaue not ouer to pursue them, but finding them out where they lurked in the hilles and woods, he graciously assailed them, and that in sundrie manner. In the end espiong the barrennes of the soile, the rudenes of the people, and that there was no hope left to come by sufficient prouision for the maintenance of his armie, he determined not to spend anie longer time in

such a vaine and fruitlesse travell, and therefore returned vnto Tyne, there to restrain the Scots and Picts from invading such of the Britains as were subiect to the Romane empire, he caused a great trench to be cast ouerthwart the land from the mouth of Tyne to the riuer of Ouse, and a wall to be made on the inner side of the same, of turfe and sods. The Scottish chronicles make mention that it was begun by Adrian, but not finished till the daies of the emperor Seuerus, who made an end of it, and therefore the same chronicles name it the wall of Septimius Seuerus.

Adrianus having thus dispatched in the north parts of Brittain, in his returne visited Wales with the marches of the same, setting an order amongst such as had moued a commotion against the magistrats in those parties, the authors whereof he punished according to their offenses, & so then he came to London, whither at the same time a great number of the Brittain nobilitie resorted to do him honor, according to their duties. And he for his part thewed them such friendlie intertainment, that they could not wish any better. After this he sailed into France, taking Lucius Antenus with him, because he could not alwaie with the aire of Brittain, in whose place he left one Aulus Vitorinus lieutenant there, who disposed diuers garisons of souldiers in places nere vnto the fore-remembered wall, for defence of the inhabitants against the violence of the Scots & Picts. Who seeing this demeanour of the Romans, diuided those lands and countries (which they had lately waiked on the further side of Tyne) in such sort betwixt them, that all what soeuer laie towards the Irish sea, remained to the Scots, and the rest coasting vpon the Almane seas, fell vnto the Picts for their portion.

After this Spogall liued manie yeares in good quiet without anie trouble of enemies. But being puffed by in pride, by such notable victories as he had thus got of the Romans the conquerours of the world, he could not in time of peace master his owne vnrulie appetites; but that drowned in the filthie lusses of the bodie, he spared neither maid, nor widow, nor wife. Againe, he was giuen to such vnrageable couetousnesse, that nothing might suffice him, finding manie forged matters against the rich, whereby to bereue them both of life and substance. He was the first which ordeined that such as were banished or condemned for anie crime, should forfeit all their lands & goods without any consideration but either of wisse or childe, which is obserued at the full euen vnto these our daies, where before it was otherwise in that countrie. But these so notable vices in the prince could not long continue unpunished, for at last a conspiracie was practised against him, whereof he hauing knowledge (whether by witchcraft or otherwise by relation of friends, the certaintie is not known) in the dead of the night he armed himselfe, and with two of his seruants onclied to the next wood, not giuing notice of his departure to anie other of his household.

The morning being come, and knowledge had how he was thus departed, the conspirators pursued after him, who perceiving them to approach, sought waies how to haue escaped their hands; but such was his hap, that he fell amongst other that were as readie as the first to awake their malice vpon him, and so by them he was immediatlie murdered in the 36 yeare of his reigne, being the 4136 of the world, and after the birth of our saviour 169, Antoninus Pius then gouerning the Romane empire, and Philius surnamed Albus reigning amongst the Picts. His head being smitten off, was set vpon a poles end, and caried about in derision; but afterwards in respect of his linage it was buried

Adrian com-
meth to Rome.
Adrian re-
turneth to
Brittain.
Adrian
trans-
porteth
into
Brittain.

The
men &
women
of
Brittain
beyond
the
wall
of
Adrian
through
the
wall
of
Adrian
into
Brittain.

A
conspiracie
and
cruelty
of
Adrian.

A
conspiracie
attempted
against
Adrian.
Adrian
fleeth
out
of
his
household.

Adrian
murdered.
148. H. 8.

ried together with the bodie by appointment of the nobles, notwithstanding the commons thought it most unworthie of any such honor.

Myall being thus dispatched, as ye have heard, his sonne Conarus was admitted king, who (as is reported) was private to the conspiracie devised against his father, and as he came to the government by wicked means, so in the end he used himselfe much what accordingly in the same; for after he had for a time dissembled his naughtie nature, he began at the last openly to shew himselfe in his right colours, committing first of all the administration of publike affaires unto men of base condition and vile nature. His chief delight was altogether in banketting and costly fare, not regarding the ancient temperance in feeding, used amongst his two little ancestors.

In waisting therefore his kinglie revenues upon such riotous excesse, he was nothing abashed to require in an open assemble of his nobles, a subsidie to be granted, towards the maintenance of such roiall chere, as he iudged to stand with his honor to have daillie in his house. And therefore whereas the rents that belonged to the crowne were not sufficient to furnish the charges, he requested a generall contribution to be leuted through the realme, of every person according to their abilities, for the maintenance of such superfluous expences as he daillie used in excessive banketting. The lords matuelling to heare him move any such demand, and considering withall the occasion thereof, they asked respect to make their answer till the next day: which being granted, in the night following they continued secretly together, and in the end concluded, not onlie to denie his request, but also to depose him of all kinglie government, sith his naughtie life required no lesse.

The next day therefore when they were againe set downe in the councill-chamber, one of them in name of the residue toke upon him to speake, declaring that the lords and commons of the realme marvelled not a little how it should come to passe, that the king having no warres wherewith to consume his treasure, should yet be enforced to demand a tallage for maintenance of his estate and charges of his household; but the fault was knowen well enough to rest in such as he most unworthily had preferred to rule things under him, who being come of naught did nothing but devise means how to cause the king to spoile his naturall subiects of their goods and possessions, therewith to enrich themselves, but (saith he) as they shalbe provided for well enough per long, and so advanced as they shall not need to thirst for other mens livings, that is to wit, even to a faire paire of gallowes, there to end their lives with shame, as a number of such other losengers had often done before them: so it is convenient that the king, sith his skill is so small in the administration of his office, should be shut up in some one chamber or other, and such a one to have the gouernance of the realme, as may be thought by common assent of the lords most meet to take it upon him.

The king hearing this tale, started up, & with a loud voice began to call them traitors; adding that if they went about any hurt to his person, they should deserve to abide the bargain. But notwithstanding these words, such as were appointed thereto, caught him betwixt them, and had him forth to a place assigned, where they laid him up, manacle all his resistance. In like manner, all such as had borne offices under him, were attached and had to prison, where the most part of them, upon examination taken of their offenses, suffered death according to their just demerits.

Then was the rule of the realme committed unto one Argadus, a man of noble birth, and ruler of Argile, who under the name of a gouernour toke upon him the publike regiment, untill other aduise might be taken. This mans studie in the beginning was onlie to cleanse the countrie of all misdoers, and to see the peace kept to the quiet of the people; & finally in all his doings shewed himselfe a perfect patterne of an vpright iusticer. But with in a few yeares after (as it often happeneth) prosperous success changed his former mind to an euill disposition, wherby he ordered things after his owne selfewill more than by reason, without the aduise of his peres. And further, to the manifest ruine of the common-wealth, he nourished ciuill discord and sedition amongst the nobles, supposing it to make for his welfare, so long as they were at odds. He also married a richly lade, the better to strengthen himselfe by this his forren alliance.

Whereupon the peres of the realme, understanding what mischiefe might issue by these manifold and sundrie abuses of the gouernour, caused a parliament to be called, where, in presence of the whole assemble, they laid vnto his charge, how that (through his misgouernement and presumption, not onlie in coupling himselfe in marriage with a wife of a strange nation, but also for attempting manie other things preiudiciall to the estate of the realme, without consent of the nobles or commons of the same) he had deserved grieuous punishment; his trespass being so much the greater, in that considering the meane how he came to that dignitie, he answered not their expectation, nor performed the trust and credit which was generallie committed vnto him.

Argadus hearing himselfe thus charged, and not able to laie any likelie excuse, fell upon his knees, & partly confessing his fault with teares gushing from his eyes, besought them of pardon, whole submitting himselfe to be ordered at their discretion. The lords being moued with this humble submission of Argadus, upon promise he should redresse all his former misdemeanours, were contented that he should continue still in the administration. But such as had bene his chiefest counsellors were committed to ward. After this sharpe admonition and warning thus giuen, Argadus did nothing touching the gouernement of the common-wealth, without aduise of his peres; and some after, amongst other things, he toke order for the limiting how far the authoritie of inferiour officers, as bailiffes, boroughmaisters, constables, and such other should extend. But especiallie he travelled most diligentlie for the punishing of theues and robbers, of whome none escaped with life that fell into his hands. Moreover, he ordeined by statute, that no man exercising any publike office, should taste of any drinke that might make him drunken. He also banished all such persons as used with dressing of delicate meats, and (as I may call them) deintie dishes, or banketing there, to allure mens appetites from the old rude fare accustomed amongst their elders, who sought not to follow their delicious appetites, but onlie provided to suffice nature, which is satisfied with a little, & that void of costly furniture. Argadus thus being occupied in reforming the state of the common-wealth, brought manie euill doers into good frame and order, and such as were vpright liuers of themselves, indured still to proceed forward to better and better. At length, in the eight yeare of his gouernement, Conarus being consumed with long imprisonment, departed out of this life, in the fourteenth yeare after the beginning of his reigne.

Argadus is chosen to gouerne the realme.

Argadus an vpright iusticer.

Argadus an euill disposition.

Argadus is rebuked.

Argadus confesseth his fault.

Argadus is permitted to continue in his office.

Argadus admoneth his former misgouernance, and ruleth himselfe by better aduise.

A notable statute.

A fine cokerie banished.

Conarus departed out of this world.

162. H.B.

Ethodius.Ethodius the
nephew of
Hogall is
chosen king.Argadus is
created lord
president of
the counsell.Ethodius discom-
amongest the
lords of the
Isles.
Argadus is
sent forth to
apprehend the
rebels.The Island
rebels are pu-
nished.The Romans
invade the
Pictish and
Scottish bor-
ders.Ethodius re-
quireth restitu-
tion of his
subjects goods
taken away
by the Ro-
mans.Vitorine
answers to
Ethodius re-
quest.Ethodius ex-
horteth the
king of the
Picts to
make warre
against the
Romans.

After whose deccasse, the nobles and other estates of the realme assembling themselves together, chose one Ethodius, nephew to king Hogall by his sister, to reigne over them. But Argadus being highlie rewarded with lands and livings for his faithfull & diligent paines taken in the advancement of the publicke weale, during the time of his government, was thereto some after created as it were lord president of the counsell, thereby to be chiefest in authoritie next to the king, in ordering and ruling of all publicke affaires & causes. Shortly after Ethodius (as the custome of new kings in those daies was) went over into the wellerne Isles, there to take order for the administration of iustice, where immediatlie upon his arrivall, it was shewed him, that not passing two or three daies before, there had bene a great conflict fought betwixt the nobles or clannes of the countrie, by reason of a strife that was stirred amongst their servants, being a companie of naughtie and barulie fellows, to the great disquiet of the inhabitants; whereupon was Argadus sent forth incontinentlie with a power to appeale that businesse, and to bring in the offenders, that they might receive reward according to their demerits. Argadus forthwith hailed towards the place where he understood the rebels to be remaining, and apprehending the whole number of them, some by force, and some upon their humble submission, he returned backe with them to the king, who causing the matter to be thoroughlie heard, such as were the chiefest beginners and most in fault, were punished by death, and the other fined at the kings pleasure. The Island people being thus appeased, the king returned into Albion, where as then Heng at Ciuverlochthe, a towne (as is said) in Louchquaher, word came unto him that the Romans had broken downe the wall builded by the emperor Adrian, and made a great rode into the Scottish and Pictish borders, where meeting with the inhabitants assembled together in defense of their countrie (after a sore conflict) the victorie remained with the Romans; by reason whereof they led a great botie of cattell and other goods away with them to the places where they sojourned.

Ethodius being moved herewith, sent forthwith an herald unto Vitorine the Romane lieutenant, requiring that his subjects might have restitution of their goods wrongfullie taken from them, or else to looke for warres within fiftene daies after. Vitorine answered herunto, that the Scots and Picts had first begun to breake downe the foresaid wall, and to build a towne upon the same, fortifying it with a number of men of warre, who running daile into the British confines, fetched pretes thence from amongst the Romane subjects, and though he had sent diuers times to the Scottish and Pictish wardens for restitution, yet could he neuer haue a nie towardlie answer, so that he was constrained to begin the warre in maner and forme as he had done already.

Ethodius not a little kirkled with this answer, wrote freightwaies to the K. of the Picts, exhorting him in reuenge of such injuries as his subjects had lately received at the hands of the Romans, to invade the wall on that side where it diuided his countrie from the Britains, and to breake in upon the enemies by the same, and for his part he promised shortly after to come, and to ioine with him in such a necessarie enterpryse against the common enemies of both their countries. The Pictish king giuing thanks to the messenger for his pains, promised with all speed to set forward according to the aduise of Ethodius. The Romans in like maner hauing knowledge of the whole intention of the two

things, with all speed made preparation also for the wars, but the Scots and Picts first breaking in upon them, did much hurt abroad in the countries next adjoining. Which when the Romans perceived, they passed by the enemies campe in the night season, and entered into the Pictish borders, burning and spoiling all afore them.

When the two kings understood this, they hasted forth towards them, and were no longer come with in sight of them, but that they made each towards other, and so encountering together, there was fought a sore battell with doubtful victorie, for the right wings on either side vanquished the left; the breasts of both the battels keeping their ground, the one not once turning backe from the other till night, slewed them in sunder, but not without such slaughter made on both sides, that being once parted, they made no great hast to ioine againe together; for as well the one part as the other being thus distressed, drew incontinentlie homewards without abiding for the morning. Neither did they attempt any further exploit of all that yeare following.

In which meane time Vitorine sent letters to Rome unto the emperor Marcus Antonius Aurelius, who as then gouerned the empire, signifying unto him in what state things stood in Britaine; further declaring, that if conuenient succors were not sent in time, it would be hard to resist the furious rage of the enemies, by reason of the small trust he perceived was to be had in the Britains, being no lesse readie upon occasion to make warres in reuerie of their libertie, than the Scots & Picts were to inuade upon them. The emperor upon receit of these letters, thought in his mind that Vitorine was not so ballant a capteine as the case required, and that thereupon the Scots and Picts became the more emboldened to resist, therefore he sent for him home, appointing one Agricola Calphurnius to succeed in his come, who was (as some haue left in writing) the nephew of Julius Agricola, the most famous capteine of the Romans that euer came into Britaine.

This Calphurnius comming into Britaine with an armie, ioined to the same the power which he found there, as well of the Britains, as of other serving vnder the Romane ensignes. Which done, he repaired toward the river of Einc, where being arrived, he marched forth into the borders of his enemies, finding all the countrie round about him so clearelie wasted and burned, that there was not a house left standing, nor a graine of corne, nor one herd of cattell to be found therein. Yet notwithstanding all this, forth he passed thorough Northumberland, and entering into Pictland, wasted all that was before him with fire and sword. And for so much as winter came upon him, when he had done his will in that behalfe, he returned unto Rome, where he sojourned untill the spring.

When summer was once come, hauing made his prouision to warre on the Scots and Picts, word came unto him that the Welshmen were revolted, and began to raise warre against the Romans, so that taking order for the repairing of the wall made by Adrian, which the enemies in diuers places had broken downe, and leauing a sufficient number of men of warre for defense of the same against all inuasions that might be attempted, he turned the residue of his power against those Welsh rebels, whom in the end, though not without much adoe, he reduced to obedience. Immediatlie after this, he heard also how the Britains of the Ile of Wight were up in armour against such Romans as ruled there, sundrie noble men of the maine Ile taking their part, but they also were at length brought againe to

to their former subiection, and the authoꝝ of that rebellion punished by death.

In the meane time the Scots and Picts determined not to attempt any further exploit against the Romans, doubting the verie name and linage of Agricola in the lieutenant Calpurnius, by calling to remembrance the noble atchieved conquests of his grandfather Iulius Agricola, of whose victorious exploits, besides that which ye haue before heard, the English historie also doth make a long rehearfall. Calpurnius being thus at quiet on that side, intended whole to reforme all misorders amongst the Britains, which being brought to indifferent good passe, he was sent for home againe unto Rome by the emperor Antoninus Commodus, the sonne and successeur of the fore-remembered Partus Aurelius sending one Publius Trebellius into Britaine, there to supplie his charge.

This Trebellius comming into Britaine, at the first vsed himselfe verie vprightlie in his office, shewing all honoꝝ and loue towards the Britains, subjects to the Romane empire, and namelie to Lucius, who reigned as king of the land, vnder the name and authoritie of the Romane empire. But after that he had once loaned him a peece of credit amongst them, he changed his maners, or rather discovered his naturall inclination, to whole given to couetousnesse, that his onelie studie was set which way to fill his bags, not caring how vntuaill he forged accusations against the rich, so that either by death or banishment their goods might be confiscat, and so come to his hands. By this wicked gouernement, the Britains began to loze to hate him, that had it not bene for the loue of their king the foresaid Lucius (who holpe to appease them) there had bene some rebellion practised against him in the south part. Now the Scots and Picts hauing knowledge of this misliking in the Britains towards the Romane lieutenant, thought it a time conuenient for them also to be doing, to the end they might reuenge their former iniuries; and hereupon leising an armie, they came to the oft remembered wall, and overthrowing the same in diuers places, they entred into the British confines with great spoile and crueltie. Trebellius being hereof informed, hastened forth with all the power he could make, to resist their inuasions; but finding the enemies readie in the field, and encountering them sooner than he looked for, he was euen vpon the first ioining abandoned of the most part of his whole armie, which consisted of Britains and Frenchmen, then called Galls, so that the residue being beaten downe, he was glad to saue himselfe as well as he might, by setting the spurs to his horse and galloping away.

After this, gathering together his people againe as they fled from the discomfiture, he retired backe with them unto Forke, hauing lost in this bickering a great number of his best souldiours, and men of warre: for the Scots and Picts, missing no small number of their friends in that battell, were not satisfied with those whome they had likewise slaine in the fight, but also fell vpon their prisoners which they had taken, and slue them also in reuenge of their fellowes whome they had lost. Afterwards they harried the countries of Westmerland and Kenball in most cruell wise, Trebellius not being so hardie to fight with them againe for doubt of some traitne that might be practised by the Britains. Neither was his suspicion grounded vpon the credit of any light information, as may appeare by that which followed: for immediatlie after, the commons of the countrie rose against the Romans, in purpose to haue driuen them all out of the land.

Their capteine was one Caldozus a Pict boꝝne.

There were also diuerse of the British nobilitie amongst them not knowne, for they were disguised in strange apparrell, counterfetting themselves to be of the vulgar sort. The furie of these people was great, but yet in the end the politike order of the Romans vanquished them, howbeit not without great slaughter on both sides. Caldozus escaping the hands of his enemies, fled into his native countrie of Pictland, not a little reioicing that he had procured such slaughter amongst the Romans and Britains, both being enemies to him and his countrie. Such prisoners also of the Britains as fell into the hands of the Romans, were hanged by vpon sundrie trees and gibets: whereat other of the Britains being offended, in the night season took down those dead bodies, and hanged by as manie of the Romans in their places, the truth being neuer knowne who were the doers of that act.

The lieutenant Trebellius perceiving thus what danger he stood in on euery part, wrote vnto the emperor Commodus, that without some reformation were had, the Romans were not like to keepe soe long season in Britaine, and therefore required to haue some aid sent ouer vnto him in time. But the emperor doubting least the fault rested most in the lieutenant himselfe, appointed that one Pertinax an ancient gentleman, and one for his high and notable vertues greatlie esteemed both amongst the men of warre, and also in the senat,

should go into Britaine, to be legat there in place of Trebellius. This Pertinax comming into Britaine, according to the emperors appointment, took vpon him the office: and first setting a state among the Britains, by right prudent and well adouled gouernement, he afterwards made a iourneie against the Scots and Picts, drining them by great slaughter beyond Adrians wall, and so constrained them to remaine within their stone confines, pursuing them no further, for that he was sent for home to Rome, where the emperor Commodus being murdered amongst his owne men, he was against his will preferred to his place.

About the same time the state of the Scottish commonwealth was brought into great danger through an other incident, as by reason of a rebellion stirred by them of the western Isles, who not quieted in their stomachs for the death of their friends executed by Argabus (as before ye haue heard) assembled themselves together, and comming ouer into Argile, spoiled and harried the countrie in pitious wise. For redresse whereof, Argabus was sent thither againe with an armie, and in the meane time Ethobius the king with a great host of Scottishmen and Picts lay in campe nere vnto Adrians wall, to resist the inuasion of the enemies on that side, if happilie they should attempt any new exploit against him in those parts. The Island-men hearing of Argabus his approach, drew themselves together to receiue him by battell, if he minded to offer it.

In which meane time two thousand Irishmen were landed in that countrie, in hope of spoile, and hearing that Argabus was comming that waies forth to fight with his enemies, they laid themselves secretlie in ambush by the waie where he should passe, and when he was passed by them, they brake forth vpon his reereward suddenlie, putting his people in such disorder by their violent impulsion at the first hunt, that though he did what in him laie to bring them againe into araic of battell, yet in the end he was there slaine with two thousand of his armie, the residue escaping by flight out of the hands of their wild and cruell enemies. Ethobius hauing knowledge hereof, with an armie of twentie thousand men hastened forth towards Argile, to reuenge

The same commons are vanquished. Caldozus reioiceth at the slaughter as well of the one part as of the other.

The spite of the Britains shewed towards the Romans.

Trebellius writeth to the emperor Commodus for aid.

Pertinax sent as lieutenant into Britaine.

Pertinax drineth backe both the Scots and Picts.

Pertinax is chosen emperor.

Argile infested by the Islandmen.

The Irish men land in Argile.

The Irish men lay an ambush to intrep Argabus.

Argabus is slaine.

The Island-
men paid
themselves.

Execution.

Ethodius be-
sieged his coun-
tries, to see
justice main-
tained.

He giveth him
leave to hun-
ting, & causeth
the lawes for
the mainte-
nance of game
to be well kept
& looked vnto.

Ethodius
murdered by
a musician.
194 H.B.

Septimus
Seuerus. H.B.

the death of his ballant capteine Argadus vpon the rebels. Who hearing of his comming, made to- wards the sea, and would gladlie haue bene gone, but by reason of a contrarie wind they were forced to stay against their wils, so that he finding them still in the countrie, wrought so warlike by closing them vp among the hills and mounteins, that finally constrained through famine, they submitted them selues vpon these conditions, that their head capteine with two hundred others of the chiefest, should payd themselves simple to the kings mercie; and the residue to be licenced to depart againe into their countries.

Those that were appointed to be deliuered to the king with their capteine, suffered death by sentence of the nobles and pæres of the realme. Whereat the other taking indignation, though they had already payd by their weapons, yet began they to fall vpon the Scots with hurling of stones, and other such things as came to hand, till finally they were beaten doونه by the armed soldiers, and a great number of them slaine: the residue escaping as well as they might, fled into the mounteins. The Island-men being thus vanquished, and the Romans attempting nothing against the Scottisshmen or Brits, Ethodius visited all the parts of his realme, taking order for the due execution of iustice amongst his subiects.

And for that he would not spend his time in idleness, being now at rest from warres, he began to exercise himselfe in hunting, and for the better nourishing of game, he took order that all such ordinances as had bene deuised by his elders, should strictly be obserued and kept: as that no man should be so hardie to go about to destitute anie hares with nets, gins or hare-pipes: neither to kill them in their forreins by anie meanes: nor after that they had bene once coursed and escaped, to follow the sute, to the intent to start them againe. Also that none should go about to kill anie hart or hind, during all the winter season, at what time they were accustomed for hunger to leaue the mounteins, for rests and woods, and to come doونه into the fields and courtes neere vnto the tolowes & houses.

He ordeined moreover therevnto, that no man should presume to kill anie hind-caluces, detesting nothing more than to haue such game destroyed, as serued for the exercise and solace of him and his nobles. The other vacant time, whilst he rested from hunting, he spent for the most part in hearing of musike, hauing diuerse cunning plaiers of sundrie kinds of instruments attending in his court. At length setting all his pleasure in hearing of a musician being borne in one of the west fies, he was murdered by him in the night time within his owne chamber. The murdurer being apprehended, and examined vpon that occasion he did that heinous fact, for the which he had deserued the most extreme kind of punishment that might be deuised, he answered: that in reuenge of the death of such his kinsmen and friends as the king had caused to be executed in Argile, he purposed long before to do that deed, and now that he had accomplished his purpose, he was ready to receiue what kind of death they would adudge him vnto. For sure I am of this, saith he, that how terrible soener my execution shall be, yet can it not be so painfull, but that I shall reioyce euen in the verie instant of my death, for that I haue in such notable sort reuenged the deaths of all my kinsmen & friends. Finally by commandement of the magistrates he was dyabone in pæces with wild horses in most violent wise.

Ethodius reigned 33 yæres, vntill the latter daies of Caracalla the emperoz. He was buried at Dun-

casage, with all such pompous ceremonies as was accustomed about the interment of kings in that age. In his daies Lucius the king of Britaine receiued the faith with a great part of his people, being the yære after the birth of our Sauioz, as the Scots chronicles haue 187, but after the Britissh 177.

After the death of Ethodius, his brother Sattrahell or Serrahell (as some write him) was chosen to succeed by the common consent and voices of all the estates of the realme. For although Ethodius left a sonne behind him; yet because he was verie young in yæres, he was thought insufficient to haue so great a charge as the rule of a kingdome committed vnto his hands. This Sattrahell was subtle of nature, and a great dissembler, whose purpose was to defraud the issue of his brother Ethodius from attaining at anie time vnto the rule of the kingdome, and therefore to bying his purpose the better to passe, he found forged matter against all such as were familiar friends vnto Ethodius, thereby to put them vnto death. Neither dealt he anie thing more sincerelie with a great number of other of his wealthie subiects, whose lands and goods he onelie sought to inioy at his owne will. By means whereof such mischæse infused through the realme, and such ciuill sedition daily rose amongst the people, that pittie it was to behold it: the king being not so bold all the while, as once to shew his face abroad for redresse thereof, by reason he understood well enough what hatred the people bare towards him, neither did his keeping within dozes saue his life anie long time, for in the end his owne seruants found means to strangle him, and that before he had reigned full foure yæres.

His place succeeded his brother Donald, a Sprince of a farre contrarie nature and conditions, for he was free, courteous, and without all deceit, more righteous than rigorous, and afore all things desirous that peace and concord might prosper amongst his subiects. Neither bare he with offendings, but such as were disobedient against the lawes and wholesome ordinances of the realme he caused to be duly punished: finally he took such order for reformation of things, that he reduced his subiects as it had bene from a wild and sauage rudenesse, vnto a perfect ciuill trade of humanitie. About the same time Lucius king of the Britains being dead, the Romans perceiuing that a kings authoritie amongst the Britains, did nothing else but diminish the maiestie of the imperiall iurisdiction amongst them, determined not to suffer any more of the Britissh nation to inioy that title.

This thing moued the Britains to such indignation, that by procurement of one Fulgentius, diuers of them rebelled, and choosing the same Fulgentius to their generall, they directed a messenger with letters vnto Donald king of the Scots, requiring him to ioine with them in league against their ancient enemies the Romans, whose endeuor (as he knew) had euer bene from time to time, how to bying the whole Island vnder their subiection, and to ertinguish all the nobilitie and ancient inhabitants of the same: adding furthermore, that if he would now put to his helping hand, the time neuer serued better for the dispatching of them whole out of the Ile, considering the sundrie rebellions attempted as well by the people of Germanie and France, as also of the easterlie nations and countries.

Donald receiued the messenger most friendlie, and being glad to vnderstand of these newes, he promised to aid Fulgentius with all the power he was able to make, and to meet him at such daie and place as he should afterward appoint. The like answer was made also by the king of Brits, vnto the same in semblable

Britaine re-
ceiued the
christian faith
in the yære
187.

Sattrahell,

Sattrahell de-
ceitfully de-
ceitfully de-
ceitfully de-
ceitfully de-

Donald re-
ceiued the
christian faith
in the yære
187.

Sattrahell
strangled
by his
owne ser-
uants.

397 H.B.

Donald.

Donald
rebelled
against
his
subiects
vnto all
con-
tinue.

Lucius king
of Britaine
died.

The
Britains
rebelled
against
the
Romans
to their
cap-
tivity.

Donald
promised
to aid
Fulgentius.

semblable wise Fulgentius had directed his letters. Thus the Britains (being confirmed with hope of great aid from the Scots and Picts) assembling their host together, reposed vnto the wall of Adrian, which they ouerthrew in diuers places, that their friends might haue the more free access and entrie vnto them by the same. Neither were the Scots and Picts slow for their part to make forward: so that they likewise comming thither, holpe to throw down that wall, and to fill vp the trench or ditch that went alongst the same.

This done, joining their powers together, they passed forth towards Poyke, in hope to haue found the Romane lieutenant Trebellius within that citie and to haue besieged him therein: but hauing knowledge how he was withdrawne into Kent, there to gather a power, they left their purpose of besieging that citie, and fell to spoiling & harrieng of the countrie abroad on euery side, confreining the most part of the people to come in and yeld themselves vnder their obedience. Thus they continued in passing from one quarter of the countrie to another, till winter enforced them to breake vp their campe, and to licence the souldiers to depart home into their countreies, till they had new summons to assemble and meet againe.

In this meane time Trebellius certified the emperor Seuerus of all this trouble and rebellion in Britaine: whereupon he with all speed leuied an armie, & set forward with the same himselfe in person toward Britaine, as in the English historie more plainlie may appere. At his comming into Britaine, he lacked no time, but assembling his power, prepared to go against the enemies. Fulgentius doubting the force of his enemy, sent ambassadors vnto him to treat for peace, but Seuerus would not grant to a nie, whereupon Fulgentius confirmed the minds of the Britains with all comfortable words, in the best wise he could, exhorting them to stick to their necessities begun enterprise, for recouerie of their long wished libertie, which he doubted not, but by vanquishing the emperor at that present they should assuredlie attaine: and as for victorie, he was in no doubt, so that they would plucke their harts vnto them, and trie it forth manfully by dint of sword, like fellows and brethren knit in one faithfull band of trustie concord, considering the enemies armie being gathered of so manie sundrie nations & languages that consent in one opinion, the cheefest meane for the obtaining of victorie must needs be wanting among them.

The Britains moued herewith, promised him to liue and die in the quarrell. Whereupon he took aduise with them, which waite to mainteine themselves against Seuerus, of whose comming they were already certified. For Seuerus hauing dispatched the British ambassadors from him, set incontinentlie forward towards Poyke, leauing his yongest sonne Geta in the south parts to haue the gouernance of the same in his absence. His eldest sonne Antoninus he took with him in his iourne against his enemies. At his comming to Poyke, he did sacrifice to the gods, according to the Chynish custome, & also took aduise with his capitaine how to proceed in his enterprise against his enemies.

This done he marcheth forth with his armie towards them, who being already joined with the Scots and Picts, were determined to abide him, in so much that those of the one side came no longer in sight of the other, but that they passed forth to joine together in battell, whereof ensued great slaughter betwixt them, though the British part (notwithstanding their aid of Scots and Picts) were not able long to endure against the great multitude and practiced skill of the Romane souldiers, so that in the end

they were opened perforce and put to flight with the losse of thirtie thousand, what of Britains, Scottish men and Picts.

Fulgentius himselfe, seeing the calamitie and huge slaughter made of his people, had runne in amongst the thickest preale of his enemies, had not those that were about him led him awaie by force, and so at length he got him amongst the troops of the Scottishmen and Picts, and together with them passed ouer Tyne, and so into the borders of his friends where he got together such souldiers as he could, that had escaped from the battell, and retained them with wages so well as he might, in hope vpon occasion to imploie them against his enemies. The Scots also sent into Ireland for aid, and the Picts into Denmarke and Norwaie. Such of the British nobilitie as fell into the hands of the Romans, Seuerus punished most grauously, but the commons he used more gentlie, as it were making excuse for them being procured thereto by their capitaine. After this, when winter was come, he appointed his men of warre to drato vnto places conuenient for them to lodge in, till the next spring. He himselfe wintered at Poyke.

In the next summer there was little done worthy to be spoken of, but that there were certaine skirmishes betwixt the Romans lieng on the borders, and the Scots and Picts, euer as occasion serued, either of the parties to make any exploit for their advantage. But for so much as the Scots had no aid sent them forth of Ireland, they were not minded to impart againe in a foughten field, supposing it sufficient if they might defend their owne, though they gained nothing as then, considering the puissance that was ready bent against them. At length Seuerus fell sicke at Poyke, and his son Antoninus lieng on the borders beyond Tyne, caused the wall afore mentioned, diuiding the Britains from the Scots and Picts, to be repaired. This wall was built (as is before recited) first by Adrian the emperor, to staie the Scottishmen from inuading the lands appertaining to the subjects of the Romane empire, & after ouerthrowne in diuers places as well by Scots and Picts, as by the Britains, in so far as before is partly mentioned. Antoninus caused it to be fortified with bastions, one placed so nere to another, as trumpets being appointed in each of them, the sound might be heard betwixt to warne one another vpon the first deserting of the enemies approach.

Finallie Seuerus dieth, though not so long as his son Antoninus wished, in hope after him to attaine the imperiall dignitie. Concluding therefore a league with the Scottishmen and Picts, and granting peace to Fulgentius, and other such British rebels as were fled with him into Ireland, he receiued sufficient pledges, and then returned towards London, where his mother with his brother Geta as then late. Shortly after both the brethren departed forth of the Ile, & went to Rome, as in the historie of England it appereth. But now to retorne vnto Donald the Scottish king, ye shall vnderstand, that being distressed of foren trouble, he studied how to preserue his people in good peace and perfect tranquillitie. Which mind our Sauour Christ the author of all peace and concord had giuen vnto him, being laste afore conuerted vnto the true faith from his wicked paganism and heathenish idolatrie.

For as we find in Hector Boetius, in the daies of the aboue said emperor Seuerus, he sent a messenger with letters vnto pope Victor (Zepherinus saith Harion) being the 15 in number, as they saie, after saint Peter, declaring vnto him that he was fullie minded to receiue the christian religion, and utterly to forsake the superstitious seruice of the heathenish gods,

Fulgentius is put to flight and his armie discomfited.

Fulgentius withdraweth into Ireland.

Seuerus wintereth at Poyke.

Seuerus sicketh. The wall is repaired.

Seuerus dieth.

Antoninus in hope to be emperor concluding a peace with the enemies.

Donald studious to mainteine his subjects in peace and concord.

Donald conuerted vnto christian he leaue in the daies of the emperor Seuerus.

The Britains come to Adrian's wall, and pull it downe in the places.

The Scots and Picts come to the Britains. The Scots were the Britains to spoile their countreies.

Trebellius certified the emperor of the state of Britaine.

Fulgentius doubting the force of his enemy, sent ambassadors vnto him to treat for peace.

Seuerus leuied forth his armie.

Seuerus commeth to Poyke.

Seuerus is wounded by his enemies.

gods, and therefore instantlie required him to send ouer into Scotland some goodlie learned men, to instruct him in the right beleife. The pope hearing this, and being glad to increase the faith of Christ through all parts of the world, sent with all speed into Scotland such well disposed persons as he thought most meet for that purpose, who at their arrivall there, did their endeuour in such diligent sort, that not onelie the king, but also through his example a great number of the nobilitie were baptised, and charelie forsoke their former errors and idolatrie. This was in the yeare after the birth of our saviour 203, from the creation of the world 4170, & after the first erection of the Scottish kingdome 230, as W. Harison in his chronologie doth manifestlie confirme.

The Scottish men receiued the faith in the yeare of our saviour 203.
5399. H.B.
533 H.B.

Moreouer this Donald was the first as the Scottish chronicles alledge, that caused silver and gold to be coined in his realme. The stampe which he deuised for the same, was a crosse on the one side, and his face on the other. Before that time the Scots used no coine, but either exchanged and bartered ware for ware, either else occupied with British and Romane monie, as diuers marble chests full of the same which haue bene found of late yerres in sundrie parts of Scotland doe verie well witness. Finally K. Donald in the 21 yeare of his reigne departed out of this life, and was buried according to the manner of our christian religion, without any heathenish ceremonies.

Donald departed out of this world.
216 H.B.

Ethodius.

The gouernance of the realme committed to sundrie noble men.

After him succeeded Ethodius the second, and sonne of the former Ethodius, which prince proued so verie a foole, that the regiment of the realme was quite taken from him, and committed unto certeine noble men, who being diuided into sundrie quarters of the realme, toke verie good order for the due gouernment of the parties so to them limited, and used themselves verie vprightlie in all their doings. As for cause of wars they had none, for Seruerus before his death had giuen such order for the gouernment of the Britains, that they durst not once stir by reason of such pledges as were deliuered and conueied to Rome, which were the cheifest of all the British nobilitie. At length Ethodius being apt for nothing but to fill his cofers, as one though dolts, yet naturallie giuen to vniuenchable couetousnesse, was slaine by those that were appointed to the guard of his person, in the 16 yeare of his reigne.

Ethodius being giuen to couetousnesse is slaine by his owne seruants.

Athirco.

Then was his sonne Athirco elected by the generall voices of all the estates, who in the beginning of his reigne shewed himselfe verie sober, gentle, courteous, and friendlie of behauiour, exercising himselfe in all laudable pastimes conuenient for his estate, and herewith he was so free and liberall towards all men, that he won him wonderfull much praise and loue amongst his people. But these his noble vertues increased not in him together with his age, but contrarie decayed, in such sort, that after he had reigned eight yerres, he was quite altered: in place of liberalitie, embracing auarice: for courtelie and amiable countenance, he used sterne and loslie looks: for commendable exercises, he gaue himselfe wholly to filthie pleasures and sensuall lusts of the bodie: and such as could further his purpose most in these his beastlie affections, he cherished and had them most in estimation, not regarding at all the nobilitie of his realme, but was as readie to wrong them by villanous iniurie, as he was arie other of the lowest and meanest degre.

Athirco changed in conditions from good to bad.

Athirco regarded not his nobles.

The villanous act of Athirco in abusing a noble mens daughters.

It chanced that a noble man in Argile (being one of no small authoritie amongst the people of that countrie) named Patholocus, had two faire young gentlewomen to his daughters: now the king being verie desirous to satisfie his lust upon them, forced them both the one after the other, and not so content,

deliuered them afterwards to be abused in semblable sort by his pages and seruants. The father understanding this villanie done to his daughters, by their owne lamentable complaint, sent for his friends, and opening unto them the whole matter, he requested their assistance. They being in a wonderfull farie to heare of such an iniurie done to their blood, promised in reuenge thereof to spend life, lands & goods, and forthwith departing in sundry, they prepared themselves to assemble their powers, procuring a great number of other noble men to ioine with them in so necessarie an enterprize, as to rid the countrie of such a cattie wretch, respecting nothing but the satisfieng of his filthie carnall lusts, and the accomplishment of his most beastlie appetites.

The king and friends of the greatest men conspire against him.

When they were once got together in a companie, they marched forth towards Dunstaffe, where they understood that the king as then did sojourne, a great multitude of people still resorting unto them by the waie, after it was once knowne whereabout they went. Athirco hearing of their approach, called together his power, supposing at the first to haue beaten downe his enemies; but when he had thoughtlie weighed the matter, and considered of what force and power they were, & how feeble his part was through want of good wils in his people, he prouide tole awaye from them, and would haue passed ouer into Fla, one of the Westerne Isles, to haue procured some succor there, but being imbarked and set from the shore, he was by contrarie winds driuen backe againe to land, where doubting to come into his enemies hands, he chose rather to slea himselfe, and so ended his wretched life in such miserable extremitie after he had reigned the space of 12 yerres. His reigne continued till the daies of the emperor Copdian the third, or (as others saie) till the time of the emperor Valerian. But as William Harison hath gathered, he reigned in the daies of the emperor Aurelius Claudius. Doozus the brother of Athirco understanding of the death of his brother, disguised himselfe in beggars weed for doubt of death, and went into Britland with thre of his nephues, sonnes to the same Athirco, whose names were Sindochte, Carance, and Donald.

Athirco doubting to be taken of his owne men came to the trial of his conscience before God among them.

243 H.B. Doozus the brother of Athirco concealing himselfe out of the king.

Howbeit, Patholocus hauing knowledge whether he was fled, sent forth certeine of his seruants, with commandement to search him out, commanding furthermore verie stricte, that if they found him, they should dispatch him out of life, for feare of further mischefe. But they that were sent, finding one in all features and proportion of bodie resembling Doozus, sue the one in stead of the other, and so returning home to their master, they made him verie full of the newes, although indeed they came not nere to Doozus. When Patholocus causing the estates of the realme to assemble, he handled the matter in such wise, by dissuading them to chuse any of Athircos blood to reigne ouer them (for doubt least they should seeke any meanes how to reuenge his death) that in the end this Patholocus was elected himselfe, more by force than by arie common consent of the nobles: for diuers of them doubting the craftie nature, which they knew to be in him, wished rather that the issue of Athirco (hauing deserued nothing why to be defrauded of the kingdome, save onlie in respect of the fathers offenses) might haue inioied that which of right they ought to haue had, that is, either one of them to be king, or else some nere kinsman of theirs to reigne as king, till the eldest of them might come to sufficient yeares to beare the rule himselfe.

Patholocus secretly chusing himselfe to be king.

Patholocus is chosen to be king.

At Patholocus being once proclaimed king by the multitude, and Athircos blood attained of treason,

Natholo- cns.

treason, and so published, according to the custome he took the othes of those that were present, and then repaired unto Dundasfage, there to be intreated according to the manner. This done, he called such as he suspected, and talking with them alone, he exhorted them to be faithfull, promising to be their assured good lord and maister, and for an earnest thereof, he gave unto divers of them verie great rewards. Generallie unto all men he showed himselfe verie gentle and tractable, these were his new ad- chived estate: and here to be impleaded such riches as the former kings had heaped together amongst the nobles, studying by all meanes to avoid all scottish quarels and secret discords amongst them.

Thus ruling the realme at his will for certaine yeeres, at length fortune began to shew a change of countenance after his old accustomed guise. For of Douglas the brother of Athirco (whome as we have heard, Jatholocus suspected to have bene dead) wrote certaine letters, signifying his estate with the welfare of his nephews the children of Athirco unto certaine Scottish lords, whome he knew to favour his cause. Which letters he delivered unto a Scottish woman, appointing her to deliver the same, but the woman apprehended by the waite, and brought unto Jatholocus, he caused her secretly to be sacked and throtled into a river. Afterwards sending for such of the nobles as the direction of the foresaid letters had given him occasion to have in some suspicion, he committed them first to prison, and at length caused them to be secretly strangled.

Which wicked deed being once notified abroad, so moved the hearts of their friends and allies, that they procured the people to rebell: and so gathering them together, they raised open and cruell warres against him. Jatholocus informed of their determinations, withdrew himselfe privatlie into Murray land, there to get together an armie to resist his enemies, and for that he was desirous also to understand somewhat of the issue of this trouble, he sent one of his trustie servants, being a gentleman of that countrie, unto a woman that dwelt in the Ile of Colmekill (otherwise called Jona) esteemed verie skillfull in foretelling of things to come, to learne of her what fortune should hap of this warre, which was already begun.

The witch consulting with his spirits, declared in the end how it should come shortly to passe, that the king should be murdered, not by his open enemies, but by the hands of one of his most familiar friends, in whome he had reposed an especiall trust. The messenger demanding by whose hands that should be: Quert by thine faith she, as it shall be well knownen within these few daies. The gentleman hearing these words, railed against her verie bitterly, bidding her go like an old witch; for he trusted to see her burnt before she should commit so villanous a deed. And departing from her, he went by and by to signifie what answere he had received; but before he came where the king lay, his mind was altered, so that what for doubt on the one side, that if he should declare the truth as it was told him, the king might haplie conceive some great suspicion, that it should follow by his means as she had declared, and therefore upon put him to death first; and for feare on the other side, that if he kept it secret, it might happen to be revealed by some other, and then he to run in as much danger of life as before; he determined with himselfe to worke the surest way, and so comming to the king, he was led aside by him into his private chamber, where all other being commanded to avoid, he declared how he had sped; and then falling forth

with upon Jatholocus, with his dagger he slue him outright, and threw his bodie into a pyre; and afterwards getting out by a backe doore, and taking his horse with he had there ready, he fled with all speed unto the campe of the conspirators, and was the first that brought news unto them of this act thus by him achieved. This chanced in the yeare of our Lord 288, in the eleventh yeare after the first entring of Jatholocus into the estate.

After Jatholocus was thus dispatched, the peers assembled together to ordaine offe for government of the realme, where in the end it was amongst them considered; that the sonnes of Athirco should be sent for into Scotland, with Findocke received to king. The Scotsman that slue Jatholocus was appointed to fetch them; who according to his commission proceeding into Ireland, committed them right honourable into Argile, where Findocke being already chosen king, was placed on the throne of marshallie, all the ceremonies in that case appertaining.

This Findocke was in the flower of his age, of person most beautifull, cleane made, of a goodly stature, with which were joined most excellent gifts of the mind; not so much desirous to seeme as to be virtuous indeed: he was courteous, meeke, full of affabilitie, studying alwaies to win friends by ship and lode, rather by gentlenesse, than by state and menacing words. The leagues with the Britains, Welsh and Romans he firmly observed. But as peace with foraine enemies he both oftentimes still discords at home, so came it then to passe with him at this present: for one Donald of the Isles, a noble man borne, came over with an armie into Rolfe and Murray land, fetching from thence a great spoile and bootie, not without great slaughter of such as enforced themselves for to resist him. The occasion as he pretended was to revenge the death of Jatholocus. But Findocke understanding his doings, prepared an armie with ships, and sailed over with the same into the Ile of Jla, where in countering with Donald and other his enemies, he vanquished and chased them egerlie, without returning once backe, till either the sword or the sea had made an end of them all.

Donald himselfe taking a boat, in hope to have escaped, the pleasure was such at his entring into the same, that before they could get it off from the shore, it sunke by means of the overlading, and so he and all they that were on board were drowned there withall. The king having achieved this victorie, returned into Albanie; but the Isles-men not fully quieted with this slaughter of their fellows, sent over into Ireland, and got from thence certaine Britons, who under the leading of an other Donald, the sonne of the former Donald, made starts now and then into Argile and Cantire, doing manie shrewd turnes in the same, yet they could be suppressed. But Findocke being some informed of these tidings, went over againe into the Isles, and such of his enemies as he found, he caused to be hanged, to give other example what to looke for when they should rebell, but Donald escaped, and got over into Ireland, where he remained, till he heard that the king was returned backe into Albanie, and then he came againe. But perceiving himselfe not able to worke such feats as he hoped to have done, he sent a messenger unto the king, offering to yield himselfe, and to become his true subject if he might get his pardon, and be at his owne libertie. But being answered that he should not be received, unless he would come unto Dundasfage with other of his chiefest complices, and to stand fullie at the kings mercie; he refused thus to do, devising an other meane

Jatholocus murdered.

252. H. B.

The lords of the realme assemble together to chuse a new king.

The sonnes of Athirco are sent for, and the eldest of them named Findocke chosen to reigne.

Findocke.

Findocke his noble qualities and virtuous disposition.

Findocke overcometh the leagues confirmed of former times with his neighbors. Whole of the out Isles made the countreys of Rolfe and Murray land. Findocke maketh a tourne into the Isles, to subdue the rebels.

Donald is drowned.

The Isles-men with aid of the Irish Britons, make often incursions into Argile, and other of the Scottish countreys.

Findocke goeth againe to subdue the rebels of the Isles.

Donald offereth to yield himselfe upon certaine conditions, but is not received.

Donald deu-
seth how to
murder king
Findocke by
two naughtie
persons.

meane how to be reuenged.

Therefore to begin withall, he procured two
naughtie persons to go ouer into Albaine, and to
seine themselves to haue fled from him, where also
he willed them to offer their seruice vnto the king,
and to disclose vnto him certeine light secrets of the
said Donalds, thereby to win credit if it might be,
and in the end to elpe a time to rid him out of the
way. These craftie mates working according to Do-
nalds willed instructions, at length with much adoe
they got credit, and after credit they got place so
nere the king by the furtherance of Carantius the
kings brother (whome they made priue also vnto
their intent) that finding all things correspondent
vnto their purpose (one day as the king hunted) the
one began to feed him with a tale of the hatred which
the Zlanders bare towards him, whereto he gaue
verie good eare, whilst the other smote him to the
heart with a ianeline, & so leauing the iron sticking
in his bodie, he fled away in hast with his traitorous
companion and fellow. Those that were nere, see-
ing what had happened, some of them ran to him, to
see if they might relieue him as then struggling with
the pangs of death; others followed the murderers,
and overtaking them, brought them backe to receiue
their meed according to that which they had iustlie de-
serued; being also examined, they confessed how
they were procured vnto it, not onlie by Donald
of the Isles, but also by Carantius the kings owne
brother, who of set purpose, being out of the way at
that present, and hauing knowledge that he was ac-
cused of the kings death, fled out of the countrie as
a banished man, first into Britaine, from whence
(after he had remained there for a time) he went vnto
Rome, and seruing in the wars vnder the empe-
rours, Aurelius Probus, Carus, and Dioclesianus,
he became a right famous and a verie skillfull cap-
taine.

But if this report be true that Carantius (of whom
Eutropius maketh mention) were descended of so
high parentage, maruell it is, that neither the same
Eutropius, nor anie other of the Romane writers,
could at no time come to the knowledge thereof,
which if they had done, no doubt they would haue
spoken somewhat of the same; for although he might
happilie vpon the consideration aforesaid counter-
feite himselfe to be borne of some base kindred, and so
for a time to dissemble what he was, yet afterwards
that he attained vnto so high degree of honour, as
to surpasse the imperiall robes of purpore, and to pos-
sesse the dominion of Britaine, it is not like but
that to aduance his credit and authoritie roiall, he
would haue set forth to the uttermost the nobilitie
of his birth, if he had bene come of anie, and that
so apparantlie to the world, that aswell his enemies
as friends should both haue knowen and spoken
of it.

Donald.

Findocus being thus slaine in the tenth yeare of
his reigne, and buried with great lamentation
of the people at Dunfalsage, his brother Donald,
the third son to Athurco, was admitted to the king-
dome, who immediatlie vpon his entring into the
estate, prepared to go into the Isles against Donald
that common enemy of Scotland. But this Do-
nald himselfe deliuered the king of a great peece of
that trauell: for so sone as he heard that the mur-
ther by him contriued was executed, he assembled a
mightie power of the Zland-men, and transporting
with them ouer into Kosse, proclaimed himselfe
king, persecuting with fire and sword all such as de-
nied him obedience. King Donald being aduertised
of that attempt of his aduersarie, speedilie mar-
cheth forth with such power as he had already assem-
bled, sending proclamations abroad, that all other

Donald of the
Isles inua-
deth Scot-
land.

appointed to serue, should follow him with speed.

Thus comming into Spurrey land, he pitched
downe his tents, purposing there to abide the com-
ming of the residue of his armie. But Donald of
the Isles vnderstanding all his demeanour and whole
intention, thought it best to assaile him within his
campe, before all his power should come vnto him,
and being thus resolved, he set forward in the night
time, and was vpon his enemies, before that his
comming towards them was once signified in their
campe. The king then vnderstanding his aduersa-
ries to be at hand, byingeth forth his men, setteth
them in arraie, and exhorteth them with many pitie
words to receiue their enemies with manlie sto-
machs. But the Zland-men incouraged also by their
capitaine, gaue the onset so roundlie, that the Sco-
tishmen had not leasure to occupie their shot, but
were enforced even at the first to loine at hand,
blowes, which were bestowed in such furious sort,
that in the end the Scots being appressed with mul-
titude, were constrained to giue backe, some saving
themselves by flight, and some standing at defense
till they were beaten downe and killed in the place.
There were slaine on the kings part three thousand
men, and two thousand taken prisoners; amongst
whome were thirtie personages of honorable estate,
together with the king himselfe being wounded so
soe, that he died within three daies after the battell,
rather through anguish of mind than of his hurts (as
some haue written) in the same yeare that he began
his reigne. Donald of the Isles hauing thus got the
victorie, toke vpon him as king, accordinglie as he
had caused himselfe at the first to be proclaimed.

But because he came to the estate thus by blood, he
continued still in doubt and feare of new conspi-
racies, being guiltie in conscience of his wrong-
full usurpation. Those prisoners also, which he had ta-
ken in the battell, he kept in perpetuall captiuitie,
menacing them present death, if anie of their friends
and allies attempted anie stirre against him. More-
ouer he nourished priue factions amongst the no-
bilitie, supposing thereby that their powers would
be the more feeble in anie publike exploit that was
to be moued against him; finallie, if anie mischief
happened amongst them, he caused the matter
thoroughlie to be looked vpon, but with such regard
that he alwaies enriched his owne cofers with the
forfeitures and penalties which he toke vpon amongst
them. He seldome times went abroad, and when
he stirred forth anie whither, he had his gaird about
him, appointed with weapons in warlike sort for dout
of treason. He aduanced diuers of base condition
to great wealth and honor, and behaued himselfe so
in sundrie sorts with his mistrustfull crueltie, that
manie there were which dread him, and but a few
that loued him, so that in the end being in a manner
run into the deadlie hatred of all men, he was mur-
thered one night at Cnuerlochthæ (whither he was
come to haue passed ouer into the Isles) by certeine
that had conspired his death in the twelfth yeare of
his reigne.

The chiefe of the conspirators was one Crathlint
the sonne of king Findocke, who immediatlie after
the deed done, conueied himselfe secretlie out of the
chamber, and repairing vnto certeine nobles and
gentlemen inhabiting nere hand in the countrie, he
declared vnto them the whole matter, exhorting
them to aid him, in reuenging the injuries done not
onlie to them priuatlie, as he knew verie well; but
also to the whole state of the Scottish common welth,
by the naughtie suggestion of diuers of the kings
complices, who as yet vnderstood nothing of their
maisters death, but were all quiet in their beds, as
men suspecting nothing lesse than that which was
now

Donald of the
Isles secretlie
setteth vpon
the enemies.

The Scots
overwhelmed.

Donald over-
teth this
Scott.

Donald of the
Isles taken
vpon him as
king.

Donald.

A guiltie con-
science.

Donald of the
Isles is mur-
thered.
Anno Christi
273. H.B.

Crathlint
chiefie conspi-
rator to the
murdering
of Donald.

Crathlint per-
suadeth the no-
bles of the
countrie to
apprell the
servants of
king Donald
now

now happened.

The gentlemen hearing the newes, and reioicing greatlie thereat, got them to their weapons, and earlie in the verie dawning of the day, coming upon the kings household meanie, they slue about two hundred of them in the place where they lodged, the residue escaping forth of the house, and thinking to saue themselves, were beaten downe in the countrie as they passed by the people, who bare so deable and mortall hatred vnto the late king, that they not onelie reioiced much at his death, but thought themselves sufficientlie reuenged, when they could kill anie that did belong vnto him.

Crathlint
Crathlint is
the king.

After this, Crathlint being certaine in the knowledge to be the sonne of king Findocke, by such evident tokens as were shewed by him that brought him vp, was (partlie in respect of his lust title, and partlie for consideration of his good seruice in deliuering his countrie of so detestable a tyrant) advanced to the gouernement of the kingdome, by consent of all the estates, and so being confirmed king, he perswaded the people that all the lineage of the late tyrant Donald might be plucked vp, euē as it were a tree by the roots, least anie of them happlie remaining alieue, should find meanes afterwards to disturbe the common-wealth. The people consented lightlie hereunto, as they that beside the mortall hate which they bare towards Donald, were now suddenly in loue with Crathlint, not onelie for his wit and other qualities of the mind, but also by reason of his comelie personage and passing beautie, setting forth all his doings greatlie to his high praise and commendation.

He himselfe
no friends of
Donald of the
Picts are
persecuted.
To settle the
government
of Crathlint.

The issue therefore with other the kinsmen and allies of Donald were fought for, and those that were found, without anie difference or respect of age or sex, were cruellie put to death. Which done, Crathlint appointed forth iudges and other administrators of iustice to see the lawes executed, and the countries gouerned in good and quiet order, euerie man being assigned to his owne proper circuit. These he chose out of the most ancient peres and barons of his realme. The younger sort he referred to attend vpon his person.

Crathlint go-
ing to hunt in
the mountains
of Grangebene,
remained cal-
led Grampicus
mons.
Samballage
was the
Pict.
The Picts re-
turned the
league to be
traced.

When he had taken direction in this wise for the rule of his kingdome, he went vp into the mountains of Grangebene, there to passe the time for a while in hunting the hart, and other wild beasts, whither came vnto him ambassadors from Thelargus king of the Picts, declaring the ioy which their maister had conceived for the daughter of Donald, and the restoring of the right blood againe vnto the estate, requiring that the ancient league betwixt the Picts and Scottishmen might be once againe renewed. Crathlint receiued these ambassadors most iollie, giuing them heartie thanks on the behalfe of their maister for this signification of his good will shewed by their coming, and herewith promised, that during his life he would gladlie obserue the old ancient amitie established betwixt the two nations: according to the tenor of the old league. Moreover, when the said ambassadors should depart, he toke vnto them to deliuer from him as a present vnto their maister certaine hoxses, with hounds and greihounds, such as he thought that king Thelargus wanted.

Crathlint go-
ing to ob-
serue an-
cient amitie
betwixt the
Scottishmen
and Picts.
The present
which Crath-
lint made the
king of the
Picts.
These Pic-
tish kings come
to Crathlint
and make
league with
him.
Peace of the
Scottish dogs.

And shortly after the returne of these ambassadors into their countrie, diuerse young gentlemen of the Pictish nobilitie repaired vnto king Crathlint, to hunt and make merie with him: but when they should depart home wards, perceiuing that the Scottish dogs did fare excell theires, both in fairness, swiftnesse, hardi-nesse, and also in long standing vp and holding out, they got diuerse both dogs and bit-

ches of the best kinds for breed to be giuen them by the Scottish lords, and yet not so contented, they stole one belonging to the king from his keeper, being more esteemed of him than all the other which he had about him. The maister of the leash being informed hereof, pursued after them which had stolen that dog, thinking in deed to haue taken him from them, but they not willing to depart with him, fell at altercation, and in the end chanced to strike the maister of the leash through with their bozspeares that he died presentlie, whereupon a noise and crie being raised in the countrie by his seruants, diuerse of the Scots as they were going home from hunting, returned; and falling vpon the Picts to reuenge the death of their fellow, there ensued a sharpe bickering betwixt them, so that of the Scots there died threescore gentlemen, besides a great number of the commons, not one of them understanding (till all was done) what the matter ment. Of the Picts there were about an hundred slaine.

The Picts
stole one of
the kings best
greihounds.

The Scots
Picts fight
for a grei-
hound.

What mischiefe
ensued vpon
so light an oc-
casion as the
stealing of
a dog.
This chanced
about the pere
of Christ 188,
as lo. Ma.
noteth.

The kinsmen and friends of the Scots that were thus slaine, were wonderfullie moued with the iniurie committed, inso much that without commandement of king or capitaine, they assembled in great numbers together, and entring into the Pictish confines, they began to rob, spoile and kill after the manner of warre, wherewith the Picts being set in a rage, came forth together into the field, and encountering with the Scots, there was fought a sore battell betwixt them, without capitaine, order, or standard, till at length the victorie remained with the Picts, of whom were slaine notwithstanding the day went on their sides, about two thousand men, but of the Scots there died about thre thousand, or more, as was supposed. Thus vpon a light occasion was the league broken betwixt these two nations, who had continued as friends, the one still ready to aid the other, euer sith the daies of king Neutha, being the 7 in number that reigned after Fergus.

The Scots
rob the Pic-
tish borders.
The Scots
Picts encount-
ter in battell.

These two nations being thus fallen at debate, it was wonder to vnderstand with what crueltie the one sought to destroye the other. No pittie might moue their cruell hearts to spare either man, woman or child that fell into their hands: such was their inordinate and like desire which they had to shed each others blood. At last Thelargus R. of the Picts being a verie aged man, and perceiuing what mischiefe was happened through the follie of a few wilfull persons, appointed certaine of his counsell to go as ambassadors vnto king Crathlint, to find some means to haue the matter taken vp, for the auoiding of the imminent danger that was like to insue to both nations. They according to their instructions coming to the place where Crathlint as then sojourned, had much ado to get licence to come vnto his presence: but at length being admitted, they used such humble perswasions grounded vpon reasonable considerations, that although no peace could be fullie concluded, yet a truce was granted them for thre months space, which was but soylie obserued, for deadly hatred and inward desire of reuenge was entred so farre into the hearts of the commons on both sides, that neither commandement nor punishment might staie them from the inuading of one anothers confines, inauer their princes and all their soze restraints.

The Scots
discomfited by
the Picts.
What con-
tinuance the
league was
betwixt the
Scots and
Picts, & now
broken about
a small matter
as begun a-
bout a dog.

Cruell wars

Thelargus
king of the
Picts being
an aged man,
desireth to
haue peace,
and thereupon
sendeth his
ambassadors
vnto Crath-
lint.

A truce
granted.

In this meane time was the estate of the Roman empire in Britaine brought into trouble by Carantius, of whome a little before mention hath bene made. Eutropius nameth him Carantius: he would not be acknowledge at his coming to Rome of what lineage he was descended, and so he was reputed to come of some base stocke, but yet through his worthie seruice in the warres, he attained vnto great

Carantius
named by Eu-
tropius Ca-
rantius, trou-
bleth the
estate of Bri-
taine.

The swille
practise of
Carantius.

Carantius
slewly to come
to make an-
swer to such
matters as he
was charged
with.
Carantius
revolting co-
meth into
westmerland,
& causeth the
people there
to take his
part against
the Romans.

Carantius
slewly in-
fengers unto
king Crath-
lint, in ex-
cusing his fault
for his brother
Findoche's
death.
Carantius
requereth to
be aided a-
gainst the
Romans.

Crathlint re-
solueth to hear
that Caranti-
us was alive.

Crathlint re-
solueth to aid
Carantius, &
certifieth him
of the same.

The king of
the Picts also
promiseth to
aid Caran-
tius.

Crathlint
king of the
Scots and
Carantius
come to talke
together.

Crathlint and
the king of the
Picts come to
a communica-
tion by Caran-
tius his
means, who
travellith to
set them at one

great honor, and was appointed by Dioclesian to have the souereigne regard over the coasts of the French ocean, to defend the same from pirats of the Saxons and other Germans, that soze molested the same in those daies. But for that he used to suffer those rousers to take spoiles and prizes, to the end he might in their returne take the same from them againe, and convert the gaine wholie to his owne use, without restoring that which was due to the owners, or sending anie portion thereof to the Ro- mane emperor, he was complained upon, and sent for; but for that he doubted to come to his answer, as one which knew himselfe guiltie, he furnished his navie with men, vittels and ordnance, and with the same took his course about the west parts of Britaine, and landed in Westmerland, where he easilie procured the people there to submit themselves to be under his rule and obedience, and promised to deliver them from the grievous yoke and bondage of the Romans.

Thus having begun the foundation of that which he purposed to achieve, for his further advancement therein, he sent ambassadoz unto his nephew king Crathlint, both declaring what he was, and also excusing the trespasses furnished against him, for being of counsell touching the murder of his brother Findoche, father to the same Crathlint: and therefore if in putting away all mistrust of his innocencie in that behalfe, he would aid him against the Romans, he doubted not but that he should in short time victorie expell them out of all Britaine, and enjoy all those provinces within the same (which as then they possessed) unto his owne use, and this he said should be more honor and gaine both to the Scottishmen & Picts, if they could be contented to renew friendship, and joine with them in aid against their common enemies, than to seeke to destroy one another, as he latelie understood they had done for a dog.

Crathlint hearing the words of these ambassadoz, refused not a little, that his uncle Carantius was not onelie alive, but also had through his valiance achieved so high renowne as to be accounted one of the worthiest warriors amongst all the Romane capteins. And hereupon with good advise he determined to aid him in that his enterprise for the conquest of Britaine to the uttermost of his power. Adding further, that if it were not for the warres which he doubted to have with the Picts, he would not onelie send him aid of men, but also come with them himselfe: and hereof he assured the ambassadoz both by word of mouth and letters. Who returning with such answer unto their master Carantius, he rejoiced not a little, to understand how well they had sped, and so much the more, for that he received about the same time the like answer from the king of Picts.

Shortlie after he came to an interview with the king of Scots at the water of Elke, where after he had purged himselfe with manie words of excuse, touching the murder of his brother Findoche, there was an assured friendship concluded betwixt them. And at the motion of Carantius, Crathlint was contented to come to a communication with the king of Picts, for the conclusion of a peace, to the intent that both of them might joine their powers together, in aid of Carantius against the Romans. At this communication both the kings met, and Carantius likewise was there, as a man indifferent betwixt them both, to do what he could to linke them both in amitie. And verelie his presence thereunto stood to much in stead, that chieflie through his persuasion grounded upon great reasons and weightie considerations, they agreed to conclude a peace, and to renew the old league in such maner and forme, and with such conditions, as should be thought re-

quisite by the advise and discreet order of eight ancient persons: foure to be chosen on the one part, and foure on the other. Which eight persons taking the matter in hand, did so advise and give order for the avoiding of all causes of grudge and hatred, that both parts held them satisfied with their arbitrement and direction, so that a sofull peace was confirmed, and all variance utterly quenched.

In this meane time Quintus Bassianus the Romane lieutenant in Britaine, understanding how Carantius was thus revolted, and had not onelie caused them of Westmerland to rebel, but also slain and chased the Romans out of that countrie, he was not a little disquieted, and determined with all speed to go against him, and to revenge these injuries. Within a few daies after, having his armie ready, he entered into Westmerland: but hearing that his enemies were already come to Poike, and had wonne the citie by surrender, he turned his force thitherward, in purpose to fight with them, though he understood they were in three great battels, as the Scots in one, the Picts in another, and those of Carantius retinue in the third. He lodged that night within a verie strong place, fenced about with marishes.

But Carantius understanding all the manner of his enemies by his espials, and being in campe within ten miles of them or thereabout, in the same night he raised his field without anie great byute, and by the leading of certeine guides he marched straight toward the place where Bassianus was incamped, so that anon after the flying of the day he came thither: whereof Bassianus being advertised, and perceiving he should have battell, maketh ready for the same, giving the best exhortation he could unto his people to plaine the men: but forsomuch as the most part of his armie were Britains, all his words nothing availed: for they desirous to see the utter ruine of all the Romane power, even at the verie point when the battels should have joined, withdrew themselves apart without anie stroke stricken, and got them by into the next mounteins, to see what would ensue. The residue of the Romane armie, seeing themselves thus forsaken of their fellows, and their sides left bare and open for the enemy to enter upon them, fell to plaine running away, but by reason of the marish ground compassing them in on each side, serving well to purpose for the Scots, and other the confederates, a great number of the Romans, and other of their part were overtaken and slain. Amongst whom Bassianus himselfe was one, and Vircius the emperors procurator another.

The Britains (who as is said refused to fight in the beginning of the battell) yielded themselves unto Carantius, and swore to be his true liege men and subiects. In like maner Carantius appointed all such of the nobilitie as were betwixt twentie yeeres and threescore, to remaine with him in hostage: but the spoile of the field he divided amongst his people equallie, so that as well the Scottishmen and Picts, as also his owne souldiers held them well contented and satisfied therewith. After this victorie Carantius caused himselfe to be proclaimed king of Britaine, usurping the government thereof wholie to himselfe, and retaining two thousand of the Scots and Picts to attend upon the safeguard of his person, sent the residue home laden with riches of the enemies spoile. He sent also with them his ambassadoz, to render thanks unto both the kings for their aid in this so prosperous a victorie, assigning unto them as a portion of the conquest, the countries of Westmerland and Cumberland, with all that region which lay betwixt Adrians wall, and the citie of Poike, to enjoy as their owne proper patrimonie for

Peace con-
firmed againe
betwixt the
Scottishmen
and Picts.

Quintus
Bassianus
enricheth
Westmerland
but hearing
that his ene-
mies were at
Poike he re-
turneth thither.

The Ro-
mans becom
the Romans.

The Ro-
mans are
discouraged.

The slaugh-
ter of the
Romans.

The Ro-
mans yield
themselves
unto Caran-
tius.

Carantius
being gone
Europus ap-
proacheth
him, and
bringeth the
kingdom of
Britaine.

Carantius
being gone
Europus ap-
proacheth
him, and
bringeth the
kingdom of
Britaine.

for euer more. Finallye the said Carantius was
slaine by his companion Aleaus, as in the English
historie ye may find more at large.

After this, Crathlint king of Scots deliuered
from troubles against the Romans, deuised sundrie
good ordinances for the quiet state of the Scottish
common-wealth, causing the peace to be diligentlie
observed betwixt him and the Brits. Also in his
daies the persecution of the christians chanced, which
the emperor Dioclesian commanded to be executed
in most furious wise, so that there were few
partes of the world (where anie christians were
knowne to inhabit) that taked not of that his cru-
ell ordinance and scourge in that behalfe. In Bri-
taine also, as well as in other places, there was no
small quantitie of innocent blood shed, with most
vnmerefull murder committed, to the great tri-
umph of Christs crosse, that glorious ensigne of our
religion.

In which time Constantius Chlorus father to
Constantine the great, was resident in Britaine,
who aduising the Scots to be a people wholie gi-
uen to pillage and slaughter, as they were in dard,
determined with himselfe to haue brought them to
subiection. But per he could atchiue any notable en-
terprisse, he died, leauing behind him the fame of a
right gentle and worthy prince, sauing that in one
point he sore stained his honoz, for that he was one
of the chiefe that persecuted the christian flocke vnder
Dioclesian, forcing no small number of the faith-
full amongst the Britains, to flee vnto the Scots
and Picts to auoid his persecution. Whome Crath-
lint receiued for his part most louinglie, and assign-
ed vnto them (as the Scots say) the Ile of Man
for a place of habitation, destroying all such temples
of the heathens religion belonging to the Druides,
which had continued there since the beginning; and vt-
terlie abolished all the superstitious rites and cu-
stomes of the same Druides, with their whole order
and brotherhod. He erected a temple there, which he
dedicated vnto Iesus Christ our saviour, wherein the
christians might celebrate their diuine seruce, accor-
ding to their profession. This church being richlie in-
dowed, was the first bishops see amongst the Scots,
and thereupon was taken for the mother church of
the realme. It is now called the church of saint Sa-
mour. Finallye Crathlint departed out of this life,
after he had reigned 24 yeeres, being much praised
aftewell for his politike gouernment, as for his great
and earnest zeale which he bare toward the aduance-
ment of the true christian religion.

Fincomarke that was his vnckles sonne, succeeded
him in the kingdome, & was placed on the stone
of marble, to the great reioysing of all the estates,
who wished him a prosperous reigne, and long to
continue therein. There liued in king Crathlints
daies a noble christian called Amphibalus, a Bri-
taine borne, who fleeing from the persecution then
raised in his countrie, came vnto the same Crath-
lint, and by him was created the first bishop of saint
Saviours church in Man: this Amphibalus did be-
ric much good amongst the Scots and Britains in
setting forth the word of life, and rooting out of their
hearts all superstitious errors of blind gentilitie.
There were other also of right famous memorie a-
bout the same time, that ceased not in preaching, and
instructing the people in the right beliefe, as Spodo-
cus, Prycus, Calanus, Ferranus, Ambrianus, and
Carnocus, called by an old ancient name in the
Scottish tong Culdei, that is to vnderstand, Cultores
Dei, as you would say in English, the worshippers
of God.

But now to the purpose touching Fincomarke,
which all vnderstand, that he began his reigne in the

yeere (as W. Harison saith) after the birth of our Sa-
uour 325, after the creation of the world 4292,
and from the first establishing of the Scottish king-
dome 652, and in the 20 yeere of Constantine the
emperor. It chanced that Octavius king of the
Britains was vanquished by Traherus a Romane
capteine, and forced for his refuge to flee vnto this
Fincomarke then king of Scots, who receiued him
as a friend. And further more though he were requi-
red by Traherus to deliuer him into his hands, as
a traitor and a rebell vnto the Romane empire, yet
Fincomarke refused so to do, choosing rather to su-
staine all Traherus his malice, and to haue warres
with the Romane emperor, than to betray his friend
who had put his life into his hands vpon an especiall
trust of safegard.

Herewith Traherus being not a little moued, as-
sembled his power, and entred into Westmerland,
the which countrie had remained in the Scottish
mens hands euer since Carantius deliuered it ouer
vnto them. Fincomarke hearing that the Romans
would thus make him wars, had likewise raised a
puissant armie to resist them, so that he had at the
least 60 thousand persons together in one armie,
as 20 thousand of his owne countriemen, 20 thou-
sand Picts, & ten thousand of such Britains as follo-
wed after Octavius. Fincomarke being thus furni-
shed, hastied forth to encounter with his enemies, be-
fore they should haue time to do any notable da-
mage vnto his subiects, & so comming within sight
of them, sent an herald vnto Traherus, to vnder-
stand the cause why he thus invaded his countrie, but
receiuing fro him an vntoward answer, he brought
forth his people into the field in order readie to giue
battell, and so ioining with the enimie, there was
fought a right fore and cruell conflict, which continu-
ed for a time with vnmerefull murder and slaugh-
ter on both parts.

Finallye, when the Romans were at a point to
haue got the vpper hand, they were suddenlie put in
such feare with the sight of a number of husbands
men, who had got together their cattell and were dy-
uing the same awaie, that supposing they had bene
some new succors comming to aid their enimies,
they immediatlie fled vpon the same, leauing the
victorie to their aduersaries: howbeit of the Scots
side were slaine (as their chronicles report) fiftene
thousand men, and on the Romane part about six-
teene thousand. Traherus himselfe escaped vnto
York, but hearing that Fincomarke and Octavius
pursued after him, he forsoke that citie, and got him
into places of more suertie, so that when the enimies
came thither, the citizens yelded themselves, and
receiued Octavius as their prince, offering from
thenceforth to be vnder his rule and gouernement.
The newes of these atchiued victories being brou-
ted throughout the realme, caused a great number
of the nobles to come in vnto Octavius, who recei-
ued them most thankfullie; & to conclude, wrought
so by their support, that he was shortly after resso-
red to the gouernance of the whole realme, and esta-
blished therein according to his owne wish.

This done Fincomarke returned into his coun-
trie, as well himselfe as other of his nobles and
men of warre, being highlie rewarded for their
paines and trauell sustained in that tourne. There
was also promise made and confirmed by solemn
oath, that the countrie of Westmerland, with such o-
ther parts as were assigned to his predecessor king
Crathlint, by order of Carantius at the time of
their ioining together in league against the Ro-
mans, should for euer remaine vnto Fincomarke, &
to his successors the Scottish kings, without anie
claime or title to be made to the same by any of the
Britains:

322. H.B.
490. H.B.
655. H.B.
First of Con-
stantine. H.B.
Octavius is
vanquished, &
fleeth into
Scotland.

Traherus
invadeth west
merland.

Fincomarke
raiseth his
power.

Fincomarke
joyneth in bat-
telle with
Traherus.

The Ro-
mans flee.

The number
is slaine.

York is yeld-
ed vnto
Octavius.

Octavius
obtaineth the
rule of Bri-
taine.

Westmerland
assigned to the
Scottishman.

Exerci-
cise of the
calling by
Scottish.

Constantius
persecuteth
christians.

One of the
Scots drive
the Scots
and Picts
from per-
secution.

Constantine
destroyeth the
temples of the
idol gods
in Man.

Crathlint be-
gins in
Scotland.
Soderensis
ecclesia.
Constantine de-
parts out of
this world.

Finco-
marke.

Amphibalus.

Soderensis
ecclesia.
Soderensis
ecclesia.

Caldei.

West-
merland
assigned to
the
Scottishman.

**A councell
kept at York.**

**Otauius
couereth to
inlarge his
dominion.**

**The Brit-
tains invade
Wesmerland.**

**Craberus
returneth
into Brittain.
Otauius is
vanquished by
Craberus.**

**Craberus by
a conspiracie
is murdered.
Otauius is
reconciled
with Fin-
comarke.**

**Otauius
entrencheth into
amitie with
the Pictish
king.**

**Otauius be-
commeth
tributarie
vnto the Ro-
man emperour.
17 of Constantine
& Constantine
emperours. H.B.
Fincomarke
deceased.
358. H.B.**

**Eugenius &
Euthodius
sons to Fin-
comarke.**

**Romacus,
Fethelmacus
and Angustianus
sonnes to
thee severall
brethren pre-
tend a right
to the estate.**

Britains: but this promise was not long kept, for shortly after that Otauius had once chased all the Romans south of the British confines, and that Traherus was fled over into France, there was a councell called at York, where it was not onely ordeined, that from thenceforth there should neuer any stranger be suffered to reigne over the Britains, but also that the bounds of the realme should be extended south beyond the wall made (as before is recited) by the emperour Adrian, even vnto the old ancient bounds and limits, expelling south the inhabitants of foren nations.

Such an immoderate lust of enlarging his dominion inflamed the hart of Otauius, that neither regard of his oath, nor remembrance of benefits received, might staie him from seeking to wrong them, whose aid had restored him vnto his former estate and dignitie, as before we haue rehearsed. For hereupon there were ten thousand men of war sent into Wesmerland, to the intent to conquer the same out of the Scottisshmens hands: but being incoun-tered with a powder of Scottisshmen & Picts, they were sharpelie repelled & quicklie put to flight. About the same time also, Traherus returned out of France with two legions of Romans and twentie thousand of other aids: and giuing battell vnto Otauius, he vanquished his armie, and constrained him for his refuge to flee vnto the mouth of Humber, where he got certeine vessels, and sailed into Fforwaite, there to saue his life, because that Scotland was now no sure refuge for him. Thus was Traherus againe in possession of Brittain as lieutenant to Constantine the emperour: but shortly after he was by certeine conspirators in fauour of Otauius murdered, and then Otauius returned againe: as in the English chronicle is mentioned more at large.

Immediatlie vpon his returne, he reconciled himselfe with Fincomarke the Scottissh king, and was contented that he should quietlie inposse the countreies of Wesmerland and Cumberland, with such other territories as Carantius had granted in former time vnto Crathlint. He likewise sent vnto the king of the Picts, and concluded a friendship with him, to the intent he might haue aid from him also, if it chanced the Romans should to invade his countreie, as shortly after they did, not ceasing till they had so wearied him with continuall wars, that in the end to be at rest (as his age and other necessities then required) he deliuered into their hands certeine castles and fortresses, and also became tributarie to the emperour, on condition that he might vse the office and name of a king all the residue of his daies. These things being thus quietted in Albion, the Romans, Britains, Scottisshmen and Picts, continued in friendlie peace without any notable trouble, till the ninth yeare of the reigne of Valentinian emperour of Rome: a first of Damasus the pope. In the which yeare Fincomarke king of Scots departed this life, after he had gouerned the estate about 47 yeeres. This was in the yeare of our redemption 172. His Fincomarke left behind him two sonnes, the one named Eugenius, being as then about 18 yeeres of age; the other hight Euthodius, and was yonger than his brother by one yeare, so that neither of them might succeed their father, by reason they were not of yeeres sufficient to rule, according to the ancient ordinance.

Herevpon a councell was called in Argile, where there was hard hold betwixt the three nephews to king Crathlint, that were begotten by three of his brethren, which of them should gouerne the land: their names were Romacus, Fethelmacus, and Angustianus. Romacus had a Pictish ladie of the blood roiall of that nation to his mother, and for that his

father was eldest brother next vnto Crathlint, he looked to be preferred, though he himselfe was yonger in yeeres than either Fethelmacus or Angustianus. Fethelmacus gaue his consent with such betises as he had vnto Angustianus, therewith Romacus being not a little offended, sought meanes to haue destroyed them both: but his practise being discovered, caused manie to withdraue their good wils from him, whereby his aduersaries were the more encouraged: and therevpon the councell brake vp, either part deuising how to strengthen themselves against the others practises. But forsomuch as Angustianus vsed plaine meanes without any fraudulent dealing, he got the more friends, so that Romacus was constrained in the end to require aid of the king of Picts, who being nere of kin to him, might not denie his request. Angustianus therefore understanding what danger he was in, if he fell into his aduersaries hands, got together an armie of such as fauoured his cause, and incountring with him in battell was put flight, and forced to flee into the wesmerne fles with his consue Fethelmacus, where remaining for a while, at length he was aduertised that the inhabitants had conspired against him, for doubt whereof he got him ouer into Ireland.

Angustianus being thus chased out of the realme, Romacus was receiued by the most part of the nobles and commons for their king. But as the accustomed manner of tyrants, comming thus to the gouernment of a realme through euill meanes, is to rule with crueltie, so did he behaue himselfe, according to that semblable rate, so some as he thought himselfe to be sure of the estate. Wherefore such as had bozne any euill will to Fincomarke, and were out of fauor in his daies, those did Romacus call vnto him, and afterward vsed their councell about all other mens, aduancing them also to most high rule and rich offices. Againe, those which had bene in fauor with Fincomarke, or bare any affection toward his issue, he sought couertlie to bereaue them both of life, lands and goods, so that by such his doings, there was gathered no light suspicion, that he would likewise ver long find meanes to dispatch Euthodius and Eugenius the sons of the same Fincomarke, thereby to be the more assured of the crowne & kingdome it selfe. The two children also fearing as much on their owne behalfe, by the aduise and helpe of their trustie friends, conuicted themselves into Wesmerland, and after ouer into the Ile of Man, where they remained looking for a date.

Then began banishments, confiscations of goods, and slaughter of such as were thought to be fauourers of Angustianus cause, without respect either of sex or age, till the nobles of the realme being not a little moued with such his cruell doings, and tyrannicall gouernment, conspired together by secret meanes how to deliuer their countreie of so pernicious a tyrant. And to bring this their purpose the more speedilie to passe, they wrought so closelie, that they had assembled a great armie, and were come with the same within ten miles of the place where he then laie, yet he had any understanding of their enterprise, so that whereas he (being vnprovided of resistance) assailed by sight towards Pictland to haue escaped their hands, it persecuted him nothing, for he was taken by the waie, and receiued such end as his former passed life had verie well deserued, in the fourth yeare of his reigne: his head was set vpon the end of a pole, and carried about to be shewed vnto the people to their great reioicing. There were slain at the same time beside him, diuers Scots & Picts, of councell with him in all his cruell practises.

After which execution done, they sent for Angustianus, who returned into Scotland, & was proclaimed king,

Romacus
sought meanes
to destroye
them both.

Angustianus
vnto the
kingdome
chasteth the
more loose
they.

Romacus
vanquished
Angustianus

Romacus
Romacus is
receiued by
king.

Romacus
gouerneth
tyrannicall.
Euthodius &
Eugenius
the sonnes
of Fincomarke
are conuicted
into the Ile
of Man.

The Scotch
topes conspire
against Ro-
macus.

Romacus
apprehended
and put to
death.

Angustianus
proclaimed
king.

king, as well by consent of the lordes, as fauour of the commons. About the same time, because the Britains had slaine the Romane lieutenant, the emperor Constantius sent one Marimus thither to chastise the rebels, with whom the same Marimus encountering in battell, gaue them a great overthrow. And within three daies after Otacius king of the Britains, through griefe, age, and long sickness, being consumed to the last point, departed this life. He left a sonne behind him named also Otacius, who doubting to fall into the hands of the Romans, fled into the Ile of Man, and remained there certaine yeeres vnknowne with Eugenius and Etheodius, the sonnes of Fincomarke. The Britains also persisting in their rebellion, were oftentimes discomfited in battell by Marimus, and soze by him persecuted, till he had brought them againe to their full subiection.

While these troubles continued in Britaine, Augustus R. of Scots was soze disquieted by Pectanus king of Picts, who enforced himselfe to reuenge the death of his cousine Romacus, making sundrie rodes & forraies into the Scottish confines, and greatlie indamaged the countrie, by spoiling of goodes, murdering of the inhabitants, and burning of townes with villages; and in the end hauing his power increased by the aid of certeine Scottish men, which had borne good will vnto Romacus, he pressed so soze vpon Augustus, that he had no remedie but to trie the hazard of battell in a pitched field; for no friendlie persuasions to haue peace or anie agreement could be heard, though Augustus made humble sute to haue purchased the same. Wherefore perceiuing no hope of attonement, he prepared an armie, and met his enimie in the field, where (after soze fight and much slaughter) the victorie remained with Augustus and Pectanus with his Picts were chased and forced to saue themselves by flight.

Pectanus himselfe neuer rested till he came vnto Camelon, where he called a councell of his nobles to haue their aduise by what meanes he might be reuenged of the iniuries received by the Scots, where of he was most desirous, not regarding into what danger he brought his owne realme, so he might somewhat ease his rancour and displeasure, which he had thus conceived against his enimies the Scots. Neither wanted there diuers great personages in that assemblie, which (to content his mind and to win fauour of him) set forward the matter in such earnest wisie that (notwithstanding what other could say to the contrarie) it was ordeined that with all speed an armie should be leuied, and led forth into the Scottish borders. Pectanus hauing thus the consent of his nobles to inuade the Scots anew, caused men of warre to be taken vp through all the parties of his dominion, and that of the choicest men that might be got; the which being once assembled, he staied not long but set forward with them, and entred into Kalendar wood, spoiling and destroying all afoze him at his owne will and pleasure.

Augustus vnderstanding his furie, and doubting least the Britains through setting on of the Romans should seeke to ioine with the Picts, to the destruction of the Scots, thought good to assaie if by anie friendlie meanes he might bring Pectanus to fall vnto some reasonable point, rather than by the waies to indanger both the Pictish and Scottish estates, in putting the same in aduerture to fall into the hands of their ancient enimies the Romans and the Britains. Herevpon therefore he wrote vnto Pectanus a gentle letter, declaring therein all such dangers and inconueniences as might insue by this warre thus by him attempted. And againe,

how necessarie it were for both the nations to haue peace together as then, considering how it was not to be thought that Marimus the Romane legat (hauing now all the Britains at his commandement) would rest (if occasion were offered) till that he had fullie subdued both the Scots and Picts: for the auoiding of which perill he offered for his part, to accept anie reasonable conditions of peace, that should by him be prescribed.

But Pectanus in no wise would giue eare to anie treatie of peace, so that Augustus being forced to giue battell for defense of his subiects, brought his people into the field, and exhorting them to plaie the men with sundrie comfortable words, he placed them in order of battell. On the other part Pectanus likewise encouraged his folkes to doe valiantlie, so that the archers on both sides stepped forward, letting their arrowes flie frelie one at an other, vntill at length comming to handblowes they strooke on freshlie, beating downe and killing without sparing on either side, so that a good space the victorie was doubtfull. At length Augustus perceiuing his people to be put to the worst, rushed forth into the thickest of the preale amongst his enimies, where he was quicklie espied, oppressed with preale, and slaine out of hand. The most part of his people missing him, & not vnderstanding what was become of him, supposed that he had bene fled, and therefore fell also to running away; but the residue that stood still at their defense were slaine downe right. Thus the victorie remained with the Picts, but neither part had anie cause to reioise, for the captiues on both sides were slaine, besides manie thousands of other; so that aswell the one nation as the other departed from the place right penitise and sorrowfull, giuing manie a soze curse vnto such as had bene the procurers and nourishers of such detestable hatred betwixt those two nations, which had so long a time bene conioined in the faithfull band of amitie, to the great quiet and wealth of both the countries. After this bloudie battell, aswell the Scots as Picts sat still for a season, not attempting anie enterprize of importance the one against the other.

Augustus reigned not past two yeares before he was slaine thus in the field, as before ye haue heard, in whose place succeeded his cousine Fethelmacus with little better successe: for in the second yeare of his reigne, desirous to be reuenged of the Picts, he assembled an armie, and entring into Angus, began to spoile & slaue downe right all that was before him, without regard to impotent, aged, tender infants, or other. The Picts, also being kindled herewith, gathered their power together, and encountering with the Scots, there was a soze battell fought betwixt them: but the Scots first putting the wings of their enimies host to flight, at length discomfited their maine battell also, being left naked on both sides of all aid or succour, great slaughter was made in the chase of the Picts as they fled hither and thither to saue themselves. So that among other, their king named Pectanus, brother to the aboue remembred Pectanus, being wounded with an arrow, died within thre daies after this cruell conflict was ended. The courage of the Scots now being aduanced with this their prosperous successe, they passed forthwith ouer the riuer of Tate, to rob, harrie, and spoile the countrie of Fife.

The Picts, perceiuing themselves not to be strong enough to withstand their enimies in plaine field at hand-strokes, determined yet with skinnies and light incounterings (if it were possible) to keepe them off from the winning of anie of their fenced townes, castles or strong holdes: And to be the more able to mainteine themselves in this their purposed

Pectanus to
fulfill all of-
fers of peace.

Augustus
and Pectanus
ioine in battell
with their ar-
mies.

Augustus
is slaine.

The Scots
are discom-
fited.

Pectanus is
also slaine.

Fethel-
macus.

The Scots
discomfited the
Picts.

An other
Pectanus
king of the
Picts dieth of
harts recei-
ued in the
fight with the
Scots.

Heirgust is
chosen king
of the Picts.

Heirgust
betrayed
treason.

Fethelmacus
is murdered
in his bed.

In the fifth
yeare of the
emperour
Constantinus.

369. H.B.

Saint Kevle
commeth into
Fife, then a
part of Pict-
land, and now
of Scotland.

The Scots
send into the
Iles of Man,
for Fincomarke
his sonnes.

Eugenius.

Eugenius is
inuested king.

The practice
of Sparinus
to destroy the
Scots.

intention, they did chose on Heirgust to their king, a man of subtil nature and craftie imagination. This Heirgust deuising how to deliuer his countrie of such an intollerable enimie as Fethelmacus was, procured two lie fellows Picts by nation, to counterfeit themselves for Scots, and for that they were cunning throtters of the dart, in which kind of exercise the same Fethelmacus took great pleasure, they were appointed to make sute to be in seruice with him, to the intent that when they might espie their time, they should slea him, by one kind of meane or other.

They (according as they were instructed, comming into Scotland) found meanes not onelie to haue place in the kings house, but also to corrupt one of his musicians an harper, and to bring him to be of counsell with them in this their wicked purpose. By reason whereof, in one night as he late at Carrike, where he was busie to make his prouision there for the warres against the Picts, the same musician (hauing plaid in the kings bed-chamber till he had brought him allaspe) did let in those two Pictish traitors, who forthwith slue him euen as he late so sleeping: but the king growning greuouslie at the deadlie stroke, some of them that watched before the chamber doore perceiuing what was happened, followed after the murderers, who fled with all speed vnto the next mountains, where they sought to defend themselves with hurling stone stones, vpon them that came by towards them: but in the end, being taken, and confessing the deed, with the whole manner of the same, they were draynen in peeces with wild horses: the musician also being apprehended and conuict of the treason, suffered semblable the like kind of death. Fethelmacus came to his end in the third yeare of his reigne, being the second yeare after the death of the emperour Valentinian.

In this season (as in times past hath bene belated) certaine bones of the apostle saint Andrew were brought forth of Achaia, a prouince in Grecia, into Scotland by a Cretish monke named Regulus Albatius, commonlie called S. Kevle, a man in those daies highlie esteemed, for the opinion which the world had conceiued of him for his holie and vertuous life, to whose king Heirgust gaue his palace that stood in that part of Fife, where the same Regulus first landed; at whose contemplation also, he erected a church in old time called Kirkcubell, that is, the church of S. Kevle, afterwards named the old church of S. Andrew, standing in the abbie church-yard, where the charons were wont to be buried. But to leaue this matter to the further report and credit of the Scottish chronicles, we will proceed with our purpose. After the death of Fethelmacus, the nobles and commons of the Scottish nation sent into the Ile of Man for Eugenius the sonne of king Fincomarke, where he with his brother Ethodius had remained, during the daies of the three last re-membred kings, Romacus, Angustianus, and Fethelmacus.

This Eugenius at his comming into Albanie was inuested king of the Scots by common consent of all the nation. About the same season, Sparinus the Romane lieutenant in Britaine, vnderstanding of the late dissention betwixt the Scottishmen and Picts, deuised which waies he might best subdue both those nations, thereby not onelie to enlarge the bounds of the Romane empire, and to deliuer the Britains from inuasions of those so cruell enimies, but also to haue the south part of the Ile more obedient and loiall vnto the same empire than heretofore it had bene. He thought good therefore in the beginning to aslate if he might ioine in friendship with the one of the nations, till he had destroy-

ed the other: for he considered it would be an hard peece of worke to haue to do with them both at one instant. Wherevpon directing his letters vnto Heirgust king of the Picts, he required to renew the old league with him and his people, promising to aid him against the Scots, common enimies not onelie to the Pictish nation, but also to all such people as loued rest and quietnesse, as might easlie be perceiued by their continuall practise and vltage, neuer seeking to disturbe their neighbors with robes & forraies, so that it stood with a generall commonwealth to haue them vtterlie destroyed and extirped.

Heirgust right iollfull of these newes, gaue hartie thanks vnto almighty God, that had moued the Romane lieutenant to make such offer vnto him, whereby the furious rage of the Scots might be once repressed, and put away from his people; & therefore willing to confirme a friendship with the same lieutenant, he promised to renew the league betwixt the Romans and Picts, vpon arie reasonable conditions which he should deuise, not onelie requiring an aid at this time against the said Scots, but also at all other, as occasion should demand. Sparinus hauing receiued this answer, he found means also to come to a communication with Heirgust nere to Forke, where the league was confirmed betwixt them, and therein the Scots not onelie aduoged for common enimies, both to the Romans and Britains, but also to the Picts. And further therewith were certaine orders appointed how the war should be pursued with all expedition against them. These things thus finished, and both the princes returned to their homes, Sparinus sent an herald vnto Eugenius the Scottish king, commanding him on the behalfe of the Romane empire, to make restitution for all wrongs and iniuries done vnto the Pictish nation. And further, to deliuer into the hands of Heirgust the R. of the Picts, the authors of the same wrongs and iniuries to be punished at his discretion, or if he would refuse thus to do, that then he should looke to haue the emperour and the Romane people enimies vnto him and all his nation.

Eugenius for answer herevnto, declared that since he entred into the government of the Scottish estate, he had done nothing that might be thought prejudiciall either to the Romans or to the Britains their subiects: and as for the Picts, he would be glad to haue peace with them, if there might be amends made for all displeasures done on either part, according as should be thought to stand with equite and reason. Neither did he see what cause the Romans should haue to make warres for the Picts against those that had done them no displeasure: but if it were so that he must needs haue wars, he would do what in him lay to defend the libertie of the Scottish nation, trusting chieflie in the succours of almighty God, who used to fauour the cause of the iust and innocent, against such as sought to wrong them vpon feined quarrels; without occasion giuen. Sparinus receiuing this answer from Eugenius, assembled with all speed a strong & mightie armie of Romans, Britains, and Frenchmen, with the which entring into Westmerland, he spoiled that countrie most miserablie, taking diuers castles and strong holds by force, the which he furnished with garrisons of his people, and then passing into Annadale, burned and harried the same; from thence he entred into Galloway, omitting no kind of tyzannie that might be shewed against the inhabitants, so that the feare was great throughout all the countrie: for of manie yeares before, so great an armie had not bene seene in those parties.

Eugenius notwithstanding, gathering his power together, determined to trie the fortune of battell, and

The death
of Heirgust
king of the
Picts.

Heirgust
answers
Sparinus
his message.

Sparinus
and Heirgust
come into
Forke, and
the league
was confirmed
there.

An herald
sent from
Sparinus
vnto Eugenius.

The answer
of Eugenius
vnto the
herald.

Sparinus
reliesh a
mightie
armie.
He inuaded
the Scottish
regions.

Great host

Eugenius
gathering
his power
together.

and so joining with his enemies nere unto the wa-
ter of Cree, his people were quicklie put to flight,
and chased, by reason that they were much inferior
in number. But the Romans pursuing the chase,
happened to light amongst them of Argyle, which
had not bene at the battell, but were comming to-
wards it, and now fiercelie incountring with such
as pursued their friends, they caused them to retire
backe with some losse, ther vpon the other Scots al-
so (which were chased) returned, & gaue a fresh onset,
so that if night had not come on the sooner, there had
bene a far greater multitude of the Romans slaine
in that bickering than they themselves did thinke
of. Wherevpon the Romans, doubting that their en-
emies intended to do, they fortified their campe that
night verie stronglie; but Eugenius vnderstanding
that a multitude of his folks were slaine in the bat-
tell, so that the verie streame of the water of Cree
was stopped up with dead carcasses, he thought best
(with the aduise of the peeres) to licence his people to
depart to their homes, and not to fight with his
enemies any more for that time.

Which being done, he himselfe repaired the same
night vnto Carrike, where he remained for a sea-
son, making prouision for defense of his realme the
best he could deuise. Marimus hauing knowledge
in the morning how the Scots were quite gone
their waies, he determined to haue followed them;
but being certified of a rebellion amongst the
Britains in Kent, he changed his purpose, and re-
turned thitherwards, to appease that tumult, leauing
in Galloway a good part of his armie to keepe such
holds as he had got in that voiage. The yeare fol-
lowing, Marimus was so busied in the south parts
of Britaine, that he could not attend vnto the
warres against the Scots, otherwise than in main-
teining such garrisons as he had placed in their
countrie, by reason whereof sundrie bickerings
happened betwixt them of the same garrisons and
the Scots, who laboured not onelie to deliuer their
owne countrie out of the hands of all forrainers, but
also to invade and despoile Pictland, so that they har-
ried the countrie of Fife, with part of Menteith and
Sterling shire, burning & waisting towne, castles,
and houses most cruellic.

Whereof Marimus being certified, made sem-
blance as though he were sore grieued therewith,
but inwardlie he could haue reioised at nothing
more than to heare of the injuries don by the Scots
vnto the Picts, supposing it to make chiefe for his
purpose; and herevpon preparing an armie against
the next summer, when he had disposed all things in
a quiet order amongst the Britains, he set forward
with the same towards Galloway, where being ar-
riued, there was no kind of crueltie spared against
the poore inhabitants. Eugenius in the meane time
vnderstanding the comming of his enemies, mu-
stered his people, and appointed the assemble to be
made in the countrie of Aile, which way he heard
that his enemies would trauell. Whither came also
not onlie all the able men of the Scottis dominions,
but likewise a great number of lustie & strong wo-
men apt to beare armour according to the old ac-
customed guise of their nation, so that there were
numbered in this armie fiftie thousand persons right
fierce and hardie, desirous either to vanquish the
enemie with dint of sword, or else to die presentlie in
the place.

Marimus hearing that the Scots were thus in-
camped in Aile, marched towards them, and lod-
ged the same night not far off from the river of
Spunda, where knowledge was giuen vnto Euge-
nius, that Marimus was come within fene miles of
him, with a greater armie than he had at his last in-

countreing with him in Galloway. These aduertise-
ments caused no small stir to be raised in the campe,
some being stricken with present feare; where other
contrariwise moued with high indignation, desired
nothing so much as to iaine in battell with the Ro-
mans, whose cruell tyrannie they much detested.
Eugenius himselfe shewed no countenance of feare
at all, but encouraging his people with comfortable
words, he brought them streight in order of battell,
divided into three wards, committing one of them
to the leading of his brother Ethodius, the second
to Modus the gouernour of Argile, & reseruing the
third to himselfe. This done, he made vnto them a
pithie oration, declaring how necessarie it was for
them to plaie the men, considering that in victorie
consisted the onelie hope of libertie; and in being
vanquished, their countrie was indangered to be
brought into perpetuall bondage for ever, for the
onelie marke which the Romans shot at, was to op-
presse the libertie of the whole Iland, and to reduce
the same into the forme of a prouince, to be gouer-
ned at the will of the victors, to the breach of all
their old ancient lawes & long continued customs.

With these and manie other like reasons he went
about to encourage the minds of his subiects, in such
wise, that in manner the most part of them determi-
ned rather to die with honor, than to liue in such mi-
serie as they feared would insue, if the victorie should
rest vpon the Romans side. And as they were in
such talkie together, suddenlie commeth in one of
their scouts with newes, that Marimus with his ar-
mie was euen at hand. This was in the morning,
anon after the same was vp, where he was not lod-
ged for till the euening following, in somuch that the
same his sudden arrivall, chancing so farre contra-
rie to their former expectations, troubled all their
heads, and brought them into a great maze, for that
hereby they were constrained to change the order of
their battels to haue the sunne on their backs, as
they had prouided at the first it should haue bene, if
the enemies had not come vntill the after none. Yet
notwithstanding, they had no longer changed their
place, and gotten themselves into arrais of battell
again, but that with great violence they pressed
forward to giue the onset vpon the Romans. Which
Marimus perceiuing, made all the speed he could to
set his men in order of battell, that he might receiue
his enemies comming thus to incounter him. So
both sides being fullie bent to battell, and approched
within danger of shot, they let flie the same most e-
gerlie, albeit that through halting forth to iaine at
hand-strokes, there was little hurt don with bowes
or darts.

The Scots crying vpon the name of their wo-
thie and famous ancesto king Cald, did laie about
them, most fiercelie, after they came once to the ioi-
ning: and likewise the Romans, being encouraged
with the cheerefull words of the lieutenant Mar-
mus, bollicie incountered them, so that it was doub-
full at the first whether part should haue the worse
end of the strife. But shortly there followed variable
successes, for on the one part, they of Rolfe and Mar-
being appointed vnder Ethodius to incounter that
wing of the enemies where the Picts were, fought
so egerlie and with such fierce wils, that they easilie
put the Picts vnto flight, beating downe a great
number of them as they would haue passed the wa-
ter of Dune, but streightwaies after falling to the
spoile, they were slaine downe right by a legion of
such Romans as were sent by Marimus vnto the
succours of the Picts.

On the other side, in the left wing those of Argile,
Cantire, Aile, and Coningham, who were matched
with the Britains, Frenchmen, and Germans, after
long

Eugenius
comforteth
his people.

The sudden
arrivall of
Marimus.

The Scots
giue the onset.

The battell
is iaine.

Doubtfull
fight.

Ethodius in
northwether
the Picts.

The Scots
hauing van-
quished the
Picts, are
slaine by the
Romans.

The Scottish
battell is ouer-
throwne.

Eugenius is
slaine.

The furious
rage of the
Scottish
carrers.

The spoile di-
uided amongst
the souldiers.

The buriall of
the dead bo-
dies by ap-
pointment of
Marinus.

Ethodius seze
wounded, is
committed to
the cure of
surgeons.

long and cruell fight were there slaine in the place, greatlie to their shame and glorie for euer, so that by this meanes the maine battell of the Scottisshmen, wherein Eugenius himselfe stood amongst his people, was left bare & naked on both the sides. Which Marinus perceiuing, he caused the same to be assailed on each part with such violence, that in the end longer resistance preuailed not, but that their maine battell must needs be opened perforce, by meanes whereof Eugenius choosing rather to die in the place, than either to saue his life by flight, or by rendering himself into his enemies hands to liue in miserie, as was there slaine, together with a great number of his nobles and gentlemen, hauing determined by the example of their maister to die rather speedilie with honor, than longer to liue with shame and reproch. Thus Eugenius lost his life with his kingdom, in the third yere after his first entering to the rule, hauing intoied few good daies in rest during the said time.

Such of the Scots also as were appointed to keepe the cartage and trusse of the field, seeing their lords and maisters thus slaine, rushed forth with such weapons as they had at hand, in purpose to slaue some number of their enemies, not passing though it should cost them also their owne liues, so that they might die reuenged. The slaughter was great which at the first was made, more through an obstinate desire of reuenge, than by any valiant activitie: but this companie being anon broken in sunder, and driven backe, they were finally slaine & beaten to the ground. The Romans that pursued in chase after their enemies, when the battell was done, encountered with great numbers of such women and aged persons as followed a farre off, to vnderstand the successe of the field, doubting what hap might fall to their children and kinsfolks, whose slaughter when they perceiued, like people enraged they slue vpon such Romans as they met with; but being easily vanquished, and refusing to see, they were also slaine and cut in peeces in a most miserable manner.

The Romans hauing thus rid the fields of all kind of enemies, lodged that night abroad here and there at their pleasure, where they might heare the dolefull gronings, and lamentable complaints of them that lay wounded, and as yet not dead, cursing most bitterlie the cruell tyrannie and couetous ambition of the Romans, with that most detestable disloyaltie of the Picts, procuring this murder and destruction of those people that had deserved farre otherwise at their hands. When the morning was come, & the light appeared, Marinus the lieutenant caused the spoile of the dead bodies to be gathered, & equally diuided amongst his men of warre. And such as were found sore wounded and not dead, to shew some token of clemencie, according to the old accustomed manner of the ancient Romans, he commanded surgeons to see to the cure of them. The other being dead, he suffered to be buried, causing the corps of Eugenius himselfe to be interred in most solemn and pompous sort, after the vsage of the Roman princes.

His brother Ethodius being found mangled in most pittifull wise, and in manner halfe dead, was also taken up by commandement of the same Marinus, and surgeons charged to haue the ordering of him, and to shew their diligence for the cure of his hurts in most speedie and gentle wise. The victorie thus achieved, Marinus suruetly the countries of Bile, Carrike, and Contingham, with that also of Calidone, and seized the same into his hands, suffering the inhabitants to enjoy both goods and lands in peace and quietnesse vpon their othes of allegiance, without any further molestation. Heirguist

king of the Picts with other the nobles of that nation, were nothing contented therewith, desirous to see the utter destruction of all the Scottissh race. Wherevnto Marinus at the first would not agree, alledging the ancient custome of the Romans, who sought rather to vanquish by benefites, than by the sword, euer vsing to spare such as submitted themselves, and in no wise to spot the honour or maiestie of their empire with crueltie.

But the Picts not satisfied herewith, went about earnestlie to persuaide him in no condition to suffer the Scots to haue any abiding within the confines of Brittain, if he wished any quietnes in the estate thereof, for their delight (said the Picts) was onelie set to seeke occasion how to disturbe the peace, to liue by the pillage and spoile of their neighbours, and namelye of the Picts, vnto whose confusion (as the propheties spake) they were begotten and borne. Finally when all their earnest sute missed the wished effect, they fell to and assaied if they might bring that to passe by wicked mead and thorough corrupting bribes, the which they could not do by other meanes. And euen as it oftentimes chanceth in such cases, where words are but spent in wast, gifts yet preuaile: so also came it to passe euen here, for at length a proclamation came forth by procurement of the Picts, that all such as were naturall Scottisshmen, should by a certeine date auoid out of those countries that they possessed in Brittain, vpon paine of losing life and goods, & to deliuer by their houses and lands vnto such Britains and Picts as were appointed by the Romans for to inioy the same.

The Scots perceiuing themselves not able to make any resistance, obeyed this commandement, some of them passing ouer into Ireland, some into the western Iles, and some of them got ouer also into Portugal, and Denmarke, and manie there were that got intertainment amongst the Romans souldiers, and went ouer with them into France, as yet Gallia, to serue in the warres there, and in other places vnder the emperors ensignes. The Picts were so cruell and diligent to see all the Scottissh lineage confined, that they would not consent that a certeine number of gentlewomen should remaine behind, who had their husbands slaine in the last warres, and made intercession in most lamentable wise vnto Marinus, that they might be permitted to abide in their native countrie all the residue of their liues, though in seruile estate, to the end that they might be buried after the same were once ended in graues with their slaine husbands.

Wherevnto, where Cartandis queene of the Scots, late wife vnto Eugenius, was brought vnto Marinus, with two gentlewomen and a grome from the towne of hir husband; where she had remained euersith his buriall in continuall mourning, forsomuch as she was a Brittain, and descended by lineage from the princes of Wales; Marinus lamenting hir miserable case, assigned the citie of Carrike vnto hir, with certeine other reuenues for the maintenance of hir estate. But after she had taken leaue of such as had the conduction of hir, and was come into a village not farre from Carrike aforesaid, it chanced that a sort of Pictissh riders, or (as I may call them) robbers, met with hir, small to hir profit, and lesse to their owne case, for they did not onelie slea hir grome, but also beat hir gentlewomen, and stripped both them and hir of all that they had, whereof Marinus being informed, caused them that had done so vile a deed to be apprehended & executed by death, according as they had deserved. The queene herselfe being brought backe vnto Marinus, and honorable intreated, had all hir substance restored vnto hir againe, so nere as it was possible.

But

the pits
lined with
asbestos.

Curandis
anathetis
examine
etc.

The monastic
rule of Zeno
banned by
himself
British
monks.

The time that
 the H.B.
 were thus
 confined.
 1847. H.B.
 1848. H.B.
 1849. H.B.
 The second
 part of Ju-
 lian the Apo-
 state H.B.
 strange
 things.
 weapons and
 weapons seen
 in the air.

It raineth
2:13.

Erasmus con
fession
Denmark.

But the Picts being offended herewith, and speciallie for putting to death of their men, sundrie of their nobilitie came vnto Sparimus, and began to make a foze complaint in that behalfe, declaring that the desertes of their nation had not bene such toward the Romane empire, as to haue their people put to execution for a womans sake, being both an enimie and a prisoner, therefore they required that she might be confined into Britaine, and according to the tenor of the proscription, spoiled of all hir goods. Here Cartandis being present hir selfe, began to make pittifull lamentation, bewailing hir most unhappie state, in that contrarie to the order of hir wretched case and present miserable fortune, she should now be forced to turne againe into hir countrie: wishing rather than she should be enforced so to doe, that she might offer vp hir life as a sacrifice in the place of hir husbands buriall: and therefore holding vp hir hands vnto Sparimus in most pittifull wise, she besought him instantlie, that it might please him, either to suffer hir to passe the residue of hir life after such sort as she thought best agreed with hir widowhood the estate, or else to take the same from hir presentlie by some violent meanes of execution.

There was not a man other than the Picts, that saw and heard hir at that instant, but lamented hir woofull disfreise, so that in the end the request of the Picts was disallowed, & Caradocis hauning lining assigned hir for the maintenance of hir degree, was licensed to depart into what place the thought expedient, there to live as the thought best without let or disturbance. The same time the Scottish bishops and priests, being banished as well as the other sort of the Scottish people, a number of their monks got them into the Ile of Iona, now called Colmekill, where they erected a monasterie for their owne habitation, the worthinesse whereof hath bene right famous, even unto these our daies, as that which was afterward endowed with manie faire reuenues by diuers of the Scottish kings, who had their burials there after the returne of the Scots into Albanie as shall be hereafter expressed.

The yere in the which the Scottisshmen were thus banquished by the Komans and Pixas, and finallic confined out of their seats, was from the creation of the world 4319, after the birth of our savior 351, from the beginning of the Scottisly kingdome 679, and the thirde yere of Spaguentinus. The same yere before Eugenius gaue battell vnto Maximus, manie strange fights were sene in the furthest part of Albion, striking a wonderfull dread in manie mens hearts. In the night season in the aire were sene fierie swords and other weapens mouing in a long ranke, after comming together on a heape, and being changed into an huge flame as it had beene a firebrand, it then banished awaie. The waters of the riuer of Tyne ran with blood, the banks of the same riuer flashed oft times as they had bene all on a fire. There were sene also a number of small birds fall out of the aire so thicke, that it seemed it had rained birds, and incontinentlie came a great number of rauenis that deuoured by the same.

Certain witches and soothsayers, declaring that these things betokened the destruction of the Scottish kingdome, were commanded by the p^{re}sents to hold their peace on paine of death, as they that told nothing but lies & fables, though afterwards their tales proved most true. But to returne to our historie, Ethodius the brother of Eugenius being cured (as is said) by commandement of Martinus, was yet banished amongst the residue, and constrained to take an oth, that he should immediately retire into Denmarke, and hereafter not to approach nether unto the coasts of Albion, for feare of some

new attempt that might be made by the Scots thorough his means, thereby to returne into their country againe, & to recover their former state. But this staied not them of the westerne Isles, but that assembling themselves together, and choosing one Gille to their capitaine, they passed over into Argile, where in the end they were encountered by such Pits as were set there to defend that countrie, and slaine each mothers sonne. Their vessels were also taken
10 and brought into sundrie hauches of the countrie, to serve for defense of the coasts upon any new enterprise which the Scots should chance to make: but the other Scots, perceiving they were not able to furnish forth a new armie in the Isles by any adoe they might purchase there, sailed over into Ireland, where presenting themselves unto the king of that region, they declared unto him from point to point all their unfortunate chances and lamentable calamities, which were happened unto them of late through the tyrannicall puissance of the Romans, and malicious enmie of the Pits, in such sort as nothing could be more miserable than their present estate, considering the ruine of so mightie a kingdome, and the small banishment of the inhabitants from their houses and lands, which had bene in possession of them and their cibers, by the space almost of seven hundred yeeres.

The first king with his nobles moued with pittie
to heare, and vnderstand so dolefull calamities to
30 haue chanced vnto that nation, whose god or bad hap
could not but touch them verie nere, considering
they were descended both of one progenie, comforted
these Scottishmen to the best of their power, and in
the end concluded to aid them with ten thousand
men, and to furnish them forth with ships, vittells,
and munitions to passe into Albanie for recouerie
of their countrie. This aid being put in a readines,
and the ships rigged and decked as was requisite
for such an enterprise, they took the sea, and lauding
40 in Cantire, chanced to meet with Heirdouane bro-
ther to Heirgust king of the Scots, accompanied
with a great number of Scots and Britains assem-
bled to defend the countrie, but being sharpelie as-
sailed of the Scots and Irishmen, they were quicklie
put to flight, & such as were ouertaken died on the
sword, to the great terror of all the new inhabitants
that were planted on their parts.

This victorie thus atchined, there were that gaue
counsell not to attempt foizme ouer farr; but
50 take fuch booties of goods and prifoners as they had
got in the countrey, and fo returne therein into
Irelande. Other were of a contrarie opinion, fup-
pofing it beft to follow the victorie, and either to reco-
uer againe their ancient feats, or elfe to die in the
valiant attempt thereof. Which aduife was follo-
wed as the beft, though it proved otherwife; for be-
foze they could come to any conclufion of that enter-
pife, the Romans, Brits, and Britains gathered
themfelues together, and gaue battell againe to the
60 Scottifh and Irifh companie, therein they ouer-
threw them, to their vtter ruine and deftruction.

The newes of this unfortunate encounter being brought into Ireland, put the king and his nobles there in such feare of the Romans, that they thought it best with all speed to send ambassadors unto *Sparrinus* to sue unto him for peace. They that were sent at the first were soze blamed and checked by *Sparrinus*, for that they had aided the Scotchmen in the last inuasion made into Albion: but at length accepting their excuse, he granted a peace upon certaine conditions, whereof the most principall article was that in no wise they should receiue aid, or succour any enemy to the Romane empire. This *Sparrinus*, hauing got a quiet peace on each side, bled all means possible

Gillo chosen
captaine of the
banished
Scots in the
western Isles
comming into
Argile is bana-
quished by
the Scots.

The Scots
repaired into
Ireland.

The king of
Ireland with
his nobles
lament the
Scotishmens
case.
The Irish-
men conclude
to aid the
Scotishmen.

The Scots
and Irishmen
land in Can-
nare.
The Picts
incounter
with the
Scots and
Irishmen and
are discom-
fited.

The Scots
and Irishmen
are over-
thrown.

The king of
Ireland see-
keth for peace
Maximus
granteth
peace to the
Irishmen.
Maximus
seeketh by his
bountious
liberalitie to
win the peo-
ples fauour.

possible how to procure the love of his souldiours and men of warre, shewing himselfe not onelie gentle, courteous and meeke towards them, but also so liberal and free, that his bounteous gifts passed all understanding: insomuch that (as is reported by writers) he bestowed in one daie more hand as much in rewards, as the reuenues of Britaine yielded to the empire in a whole yeere.

Marinus is chosen emperor in Britaine.

Marinus ruled the estate of Britaine 17 yeeres.

The emperor Gratian is slaine by Maximus.

This franke liberalitie and courteous behauior he vsed not onelie towards the Romans, and his other men of warre, but also towards the Britains and Picts, conforming himselfe so nere vnto their maners & fashions, that at his comming into Scotland, he laid awaite his Romane apparell, and araied himselfe in garments after the Pictish guise. By this manner of meanes therefore he wan him such love and fauor, as well amongst his souldiours, as also amongst the Picts and Britains, that in the end by common consent they chose him for emperor, in the 383 yeere after Christ, protesting generallye that they would owe onelie their obediensce vnto him as to their supreme gouernor. ¶ Here the Scottish chronicles somewhat varie from other writers, who affirme that Marinus was thus aduanced to the imperiall dignitie, rather by constraint of his men of warre, than by any meanes which he of himselfe vsed to attaine vnto the same. Where the said chronicles neuertheless shew, that it came chieflie to passe by his owne seeking, procuring certeine persons to worke for him as instruments to frame other to this his purposed intent. He held the dominion of the empire being thus preferred to the imperiall state, the space of five yeeres, all the countries and people of Albion being at his commandement without contradiotion: which had not chanced vnto any one man before his time, since the Isle was first inhabited. At length desirous of more empire, he passed ouer into France with a great armie, in purpose to subdue all France and Italie, with such other countries as were obedient vnto Gratian as then emperor of Rome. But how prosperously he sped in the beginning, and how at length he was slaine at Aquila in Italie, ye shall find in the historie of England a great deale more at large.

By reason of such trouble in the estate of the Romane empire, Maximus the sonne of Maximus late king of the Britains, the which (as before is said) fled into the Isle of Spain, & after departing from thence, got ouer into France, returned now into Britaine, and did so much there, that the Britains receiued him to their king: but shortly after he was constrained to agree with the Romane emperor Theodosius, so that the Britains should paie their wonted tribute, and liue vnder such lawes as by the emperor should be to them prescribed. In all other respects, Maximus should be reputed during his life for king. Immediately hereupon two lieutenants were sent from Theodosius, of whom the one named Martius sojourned at London, and the other called Victorine at Forke. And with all expedition they began to put the Romane lawes in practise, abolishing the old British lawes, to the great offense of manie that could not well brooke strange ordinances; & namelie the Picts repined sore therat, and bled most an end their owne lawes and constitutions, greatlie to the contempt of the Romane estate. Whereof Victorine, the one of the Romane lieutenants hauing knowledge, gaue straight commandement vnto Heirgust the Pictish king, that in no wise he should suffer the old lawes and rude ordinances of his countrie, to be bled any longer amongst his subiects, vpon paine that might insue for disobedience shewed towards the maiestie of the Romane empire.

Heirgust now perceiuing into what thraldome

and miserie his countrie was brought, by meanes of the warres which he had procured against his neighbours the Scottishmen, as a man sore repenting his passed follie, and seeing no readie meane present how to reforme the same, being aged and sore broken with continuall sicknesse, he got himselfe secretly into his priue chamber, where immediatlie he slue himselfe, to be rid of the sight of that present seruile estate, into the which he saw both him and his whole countrie reduced. Whose death being once knowne, Victorine commanded that the Picts should not choose any other from thenceforth to reigne as king ouer them, nor to obeye any other magistrates but onelie such as should be appointed to haue the gouernment of them, by commandement and commission of the Romane emperor. For it was agreed, as he alleged, by the tenor of the league, concluded betwixt Heirgust and Marinus, that after the decease of the same Heirgust, all his dominions should be gouerned by Romane officers in forme of a province. Howbeit the Picts nothing regarded the wordes of Victorine, but by common agreement did chose one Dursus the second sonne of Heirgust to be their king.

Whereupon Victorine being informed of their doings, raised a power, and made such speed towards them, that he was gotten so nere vnto the citie of Camelon, per they had any knowledge of his approach, that Dursus with other of the nobles, being as then within the same, could not haue space to escape their waies, but being forthwith besieged within it, at length they were taken by force of assault, and the citie sacked, to the great irridging of the Romane armie, and utter vndoing of the poore inhabitants. Dursus with other the chieftest prisoners were first had vnto London, & from thence conueied to Rome, there to haue iudgement by decree of the Senat. The residue of the nobles that were taken there, suffered in the market place at Camelon. Thus was that tumult appeased, and the Picts commanded to paie yearly vnto the emperors procurator, the fourth part of all their reuenues growling of their come and cattell. Beside this tribute he charged them also with diuerse base seruices, as to labor in mettall mines, to dig stoness forth of the quarries, and to make bycche to be sent into Britaine, or into other places whither it pleased him to command it.

The cause why he burdened them in such sort, was (as he said) to teach them to know themselves. For they were become so loslie, since the departure of the Scottishmen out of the Isle, that if they were not restrained in time by authoritie of the Romane puissance, the whole British nation were like to be shortly disquieted by their wilfull meanes and insolent presumptions. Neither was it thought sufficient vnto Victorine, to charge the Picts in manner as is before specified; but to their further graunce he deuised another waie, whereby to bring them in the end vnto utter destruction, which was this: he constrained them together with their wiues, children, & whole families, to remoue beyond the waier of Forth, and to leave all the countries on this side the same waier, as well those which they ancientlie had inhabited, as the other which of late appertained to the Scots, and were assigned to them by Marinus to possesse, after that the Scots were expelled.

All which countries thus by the Picts now left void, were appointed by Victorine to the Britains, as subiects to the empire, to be inhabited. And for a perfect diuision betwixt the Picts and the same Britains, he commanded a wall to be made, & a trench to be cast along by the same, from Abircorne, through the territorie of Glasgow vnto Alclud, or Aldeloch, now called Dunbarton, so running from

Heirgust slain himselfe.

The Picts are forbidden to create a king.

Dursus is chosen king of the Picts.

Dursus is besieged of the Romans.

Dursus is brought prisoner to London.

The Picts become tributaries.

They are put to their base seruices.

The Picts are constrained to remoue beyond the waier of Forth.

A wall made to divide the Britains from the Picts.

the east sea to the west. Wherefore proclamation was made, that if any of the British nation did enter, passe to passe this wall, and to enter into the British confines without licence of the magistrats, he should die for it. Whiles the Picts through their owne fault are thus brought into most miserable subiection of the Romans, the Scottishmen (as is said) being banished the land, liued in other countries by shifting out the time so well as they might, some continuing with their wiues and children, got a poyse liuing with their hands, exercising some science or occupation. Other there were that followed the warres, and serued vnder sundrie worthy capitaines here and there, as occasion serued.

But Ethodius the brother of Eugenius commanded (as is said) to go into Denmarke, was fullie receiued of the king there; who also gaue him an office, therewith to mainteine his degree, so that he liued there certaine yeeres in right honorable estate, and begat of his wiue whome he brought thither with him forth of Albanie, a sonne named Erthus, who after his fathers deceasse had issue by his wiue called Motha (a ladie of high parentage amongst the nobles of Denmarke, as daughter to one Rozichus, second person of the realme) a sonne named Fergus, whose chance was afterwards to restore the Scottish nation againe to their former estate and kingdom. In his young yeeres he was appointed to serue vnder Alarike the Gottish king in that famous voyage which he toke in hand against the Romane empire. For such was the hate as then of all the northerne regions & kingdoms towards the Romane name, that by generall agreement they conspired together to the bitter ruine and finall destruction thereof. And so each of them sent forth a power in aid of the said Alarike, chosen by common consent as generall of the whole enterprise.

Fergus being set forth by the king of Denmarke with a power of Danes, and with a chosen number of such Scottishmen as were withdrawne into those parties, went with the better will, for that beside the common quarrell, he bare a priuate grudge towards the Romans for the vsing of his ancestors so cruellie in expelling them out of their owne homes and native countrie. This Fergus was present with the Gottish at the winning of Rome, in the sacking thereof, amongst other spoiles, he got (as is reported) a certaine chest full of booke, the which some hold opinion he brought afterwards into the westerne Isles, and caused them to be kept in Iona, now Colmekill, within a librarie there builded for the same intent. Which booke (as is to be supposed) were certaine histories or monuments of old antiquities. But the same were so defaced in the daies of Hector Boetius (who, as he himselfe writeth, caused them to be brought ouer to him to Aberdine) that it could not be vnderstood of what matter they intreated.

It is written moreover of Fergus, that he continued with Alarike in all his enterprises, so long as he liued, and afterwards serued vnder his successor Athaulfus, to his great fame, and in such honorable estimation, as few were found comparable vnto him in those daies. At length requiring a safe conduct to returne into Denmarke, he was licensed to depart with high and right bountifull rewards, as in part of recompense of his good and faithfull seruice he shewed, during the time of the warres, as well in the life time of the said Athaulfus, as also in the daies of his predecessor the foresaid Alarike. About the same season, the bishops se of Candida casa, or therwise called Whitteburne, was first instituted by one Pinian a preacher, that toke great paines (as the report hath gone) to instruct the Picts and Britains in the christian faith. He was afterwards re-

puted a saint, and the place of his burfall had in such veneration, that manie used to resort thither for deuotion sake, as the manner in times past was when pilgrimage-goings were used.

But now to returne where we left touching the Picts, and to shew the maner how the Scots returned againe into Albanie; ye shall vnderstand, that the Picts being brought into seruite bondage (as before we haue partly declared) and doubting daile of worse to ensue, they sent secret messengers vnto such Scots as remained in exile in the westerne Isles, in Forwaie, and in other parts of the world, promising them, if they would giue the attempt for recouerie of their ancient dwelling places in Albanie, they should be sure of all the aid that in them late, being ready to spend their liues to reuenge the injuries which they daile sustained at the Romans hands, whose continuall practice euer was, how to oppresse the ancient liberties of all such nations as came vnder their subiection. The experience whereof they now felt to their insufferable graunce, looking for nothing else but hostlie to be expelled out of their countrie, and driven to go sake them other places to inhabit in strange countries after the manner of outlawes, as it had chanced already to the Scots by commandement of Sparimus, as before is expessed.

Fergus, vnto whom amongst other this message was chiefly directed, reioiced greatly of the helmes; and first conferring with the king of Denmarke, of whose aid he knew himselfe assured, by his aduise he sent letters abroad forthwith into Forwaie, Dalmie, the westerne Isles, and into Ireland, vnto such of the Scottishmen as dwelt in those places, to vnderstand their minds herein. And being certified that they were vniuersallie agreed, not onlie to trie their chance for recouerie of their former state and kingdom; but also had chosen him to be general and capitaine in that enterprise; he prepared partly at his owne cosse, and partly at the charges of the king of Denmarke and other of his friends and allies there, a great multitude both of men of warre and ships, in purpose to passe ouer into Albanie to recover his grandfather's estate, which as it was thought might now be the more easilie brought to passe, sith the Picts would aid him thereto, vpon an earnest desire which they had to reuenge their owne injuries receiued at the Romans hands, and to deliuer themselves from such thraldome as they daile felt themselves oppressed with, doubting withall hostlie to be quite expelled out of their whole countrie, as they had bene forced to forgo a great and the better part thereof already.

In this meane time, one Gratian descended of the British bloud, by consent of the Romane legat Spartus (both of them going against their allegiance) usurped the gouernance of Britaine by his owne priuat authoritie; but hostlie after, they two falling at variance together, the one of them slue the other. And then the soldiers not staling till they vnderstood the pleasure of Honorius the emperour, chose one Constantine to succeed in the place of Spartus, who passing ouer into France, was slaine there by Constantine one of the capitaines of the said Honorius. Victorie the other of the Romane legats hearing of the death both of Spartus and Constantine, removed from Forke into London, the better to provide for the safe keeping of the land to the emperour Honorius his vse; for that he doubted sundrie dangers which might chance, by reason the countrie was as then vniuersallie of men of warre, the most part of them being transported ouer into France with the foynamed Constantine, and not againe returned.

The Picts sent into other countries to call home the Scots.

Fergus sent vnto the Scots dispersed.

Fergus passed himselfe to warre.

Gratian usurped the gouernance of Britaine.

Spartus slaine.

Constantine succeeded Spartus. Constantine is slaine. The lieutenant of the north cometh to London.

The

The Picts
sent speidie
vnto Fer-
guse.

Ferguse arri-
ued with his
ships in Mur-
rey firth.

The Picts
to sicke re-
ceiue Ferguse.

The Picts
crave pardon
excusing
themselves.

Ferguse.

The Picts
punished for
their vn-
truthes.

The ancient
league renew-
ed againe be-
twixt the
Scots and
Picts.

The Scots
rechoyced to
their coun-
tries.

Ferguse.
Ferguse is
conueied into
Argile, and
there inuested
king.

The Picts informed of these things, sent word with all speed vnto Ferguse, requiring him to make hast, sith if he should haue wished for a conuenient time, a better could not be deuised; considering the present state of things as well in Britaine, as in other parts of the Romane empire, the people euertie where being readie to moue rebellion. Ferguse vnderstanding the whole, by such messengers as still came one after another vnto him from the Picts, he hastied to depart with all diligence; and when all things were readie, he toke the sea with his armie, and within eight daies after, he arrived in safetie within the firth of Murrey land with all his vessels and people; where taking land, & wood thereof being brought into Ireland, into Denike, and into the westerne Isles, all such of the Scottish linage as liued in those parties in exile, came with their wives, children, and whole families in most speedie wise vnto him, as though the countrie had bene alreadie recovered out of the enimies hands, without all doubts of further perill or businesse.

The Picts also reioysing greatlie at the newes of his comming, repaired vnto him, and shewed him all the honoz that might be deuised, beseeching him to pardon and forget all iniuries and displeasures by them wrought and contriued in times past against the Scottish nation, sith now they were readie for the aduancement thereof to spend their liues against such as were enimies to the same. Neither was the fault theirs, in that Heirgust had consented with the Romans to banish the Scottish people, but in their ancestors, who being blinded through the faire words and sweete promises of the Romans, saw not the mischief which they brought vpon their owne heads and their posterities. Wherefore they desired him to renew againe the league betwixt the Pictish and Scottish nations, with such conditions of appointment as it should please him to prescribe.

Ferguse by consent of his nobles answered, that he was content to establish the league with them, even according to the tenor of the ancient agreement, and to ioune his power with theirs to helpe to restore them vnto their former estate and liberties, so that they would be contented to surrender vp into the Scottishmens hands, all such towne and countries, from the which they had bene expelled by great fraud and iniurie. And as for the displeasures done to the Scottishmen in times past by aiding the Romans against them (as he thought) the Picts had felt punishment enough for the same alreadie, being reduced into most seruile & miserable bondage, as iustlie rewarded by almightie God for their great vniuites, used and shewed towards their neighbours, faithfull friends and allies. The Picts were throughlie pleased and satisfied with Ferguse his words, so that within few daies after, their king (whome they had latelie chosen since the time that the Scottishmen were thus returned) came vnto Ferguse, and ratified the league with him, according to the articles of that other which in time past had bene obserued on the behalfe of the Scottish and Pictish nations, with such solemne othes and assurance, as betwixt princes in semblable cases of custome is requisite and necessarie. Then were those countries restored to the Scottishmen againe, out of the which they had bene expelled by the Romane power.

And Ferguse then being conueied with a right honorable companie of lords, gentlemen, and commons into Argile, was there placed on the chaire of marble, and proclaimed king with all such accustomed pompe and ceremonies as to him appertained. This was in the 45 yeare after the Scots had bene driven forth of Albanie, and after the birth of our sauour 424, in the yeare after the death of Ho-

nosius the emperour, and from the first erection of the Scottish kingdome 750 yeares complet. All such castles also and fortrellies as the Picts held within anie of those countries, which belonged vnto the Scots, were surrendered into their hands in peaceable wise; but the residue which the Romans kept were earnestlie defended for a while, though at length through want of victuals and other necessities, they likewise were deliuered. ¶ If I should here say what I thinke, and that mine opinion might passe for current coine, I would not sicke to asseme that either now first (or not long before their late supposed expulsion from hence) the Scots settled themselves to inhabit here within this Ile, and that they had no certeine seats in the same till then: but that comming either forth of Ireland, or from the westerne Isles, where they before inhabited, they used to make often inuasions into this land, greatlie molesting as well the Britains, the ancient inhabitants thereof, as the Romans that then held the Ile vnder their subiection. For I can neither persnade my selfe, nor with others to beleue, that there was anie such continuance in succession of kings, as their histories do make mention; as we haue here before set downe in following the same histories, because we will not willinglie seeme to offer iniurie to their nation, which peraduenture are otherwise persnaded, and thinke the same succession to be most true, where other perchance may coniecture (and not moued thereto without good reason) that such kings as in their histories are enouch to reigne one after another here in this Ile, either reigned in Ireland, or in the out Isles, and that verelie not successiue, but diuerse of them at one season, and in diuerse places. Which mistaking of the course of histories hath bred errors, not onelie amongst the Scottish writers, but even amongst some of the British and English writers also, as to the learned and well aduised readers may plainelie appeare. And as for Cald, and some other happilie which they take to be kings of Scots, although they reigned in that part of this Ile which afterwards was possessed by Scots, and after them named Scotland, yet were they mere Britains, and had little to doe with Scots; except perchance we may thinke that they held the out Isles in subiection, where the Scots were then inhabiting, far longer time perhaps (before their settling in Britaine) than their histories make mention.

But now to returne where we left. After that Victorine the Romane legat was aduertised of all the fore-remembred doings of the Scottishmen and Picts, he caused an armie to be leuied with all speed, and hastied forth with the same vnto Forke, where being arrived, he attempted by an herald at armes to persnade the Picts to forsake their confederacie latelie concluded with the Scots: but perceiving he could not bring it to passe, he determined to pursue both those nations with open warre: and so there, vpon setting forthward, he passed forth till he came nere Camelon, where he encamped with his whole armie, hauing therein (as the report went) about fiftie thousand persons at the least. Ferguse being aduertised hereof, & hauing in like maner alreadie assembled a mightie huge host both of Scottishmen and Picts, came therewith ouer the Forth, & marched forth with all speed in the night season, in purpose to haue set on his enimies verie earlie in the dawning of the next morning. But Victorine hauing knowledge thereof, commanded his men to be arranged and set in order of battell by the third watch of the same night, so that being readie to receiue the Scots vpon their first approach, there was fought a right sore and cruell battell, with such slaughter on both parts, that the riuer of Carron (nere vnto the

422. P.R.
156. lo. M.
The 15 yeare
of the emper-
our Honorius.
755. H.B.

when the
Scots first
got certeine
seats here
this Ile of
Britaine as
some thinke

Victorine
parly an
armie to go
against the
Scots.
Victorine
sent to per-
suade the
Picts from
taking part
with the
Scots.

Victorine
encamped
vnto Cam-
elon
with 50000
men.

Ferguse
sent the
Scots
Ferguse
passed
with all
speed in the
night
dawning of
the day.

which their battels joined) was well nere filled with dead bodies, and the water thereof so changed into a reddie hue, that it seemed as though it had run altogether with bloud.

In the end (whilost as yet it was doubtfull to whether side the victorie would incline) there came such a sudden shower of raine, mixed with such great abundance of hailestones, that neither part was able to haue sight of other, so that by reason of the violent rage of that huge storme and tempest, either side was faine to withdraue from the other. There were slaine in this battell such great numbers of men, as well on the one side as the other, that they had small lust to ioin in battell againe for certaine yeeres after. For the Roman lieutenant understanding what losse of people he had sustained, without attempting anie further exploit, appointed certaine of his companies to lie in garrison within sundrie fortresses in Pictland, & with the residue he returned into Kent. In like sort the Scots with their confederates the Picts, perceiving themselves not able as then to make anie further attempt against their enemies, brake up their armie, and deuised onelie how they might defend that which they had already in possession.

And so much as the Pictish nation was increased vnto a greater multitude of people, than those countries which they then held were able to find with sufficient sustentance (considering what a great portion of their ancient seats the Britains and Romans kept from them) it was agreed by the Scots that they should inioy the countrie of Athole, with other lands bordering nere vnto the same, lying without the compasse of the mountaine of Cranzben. The Picts then being placed in Athole, increased there wonderfullie, and builded manie faire castles and towers in those parties, to the great beautifying of that countrie. In which meane while, Victorine the Roman lieutenant commanded the Britains to make haile with the wall (whereof ye haue heard) made of turfe, and sustained with certaine posts of timber passing ouerthwart the borders betwixt them and their enemies, beginning (as ye haue heard) at Abercorne, and so stretching forth by Glasco, and Kirkpatrick, euen vnto Aldeluch, now Dunblith, 80 miles more northward than the other wall, which the emperor Adrian caused (as is said) to be made.

Whereof the Scots and Picts being informed, they assembled themselves together, & vnder the leading of a noble man called Graime, they set vpon the Britains, as they were busie in working about the same, and slue not onelie a great number of labourers and souldiers, which were set to labour and defend the worke, but also entering into the British borders, fetched from thence a great bootie of cattell and other riches, which they found dispersed abroad in the countrie. This Graime (who as I said was chiefe in this enterprise) was brother vnto the Scottish quene, the wife of king Fergus. He was borne in Denmark (as some hold opinion) in the time of the Scottish mens banishment, and had a Scottishman to his father descended of a noble house, and a Danish ladie to his mother. He himselfe also married a noble woman of that nation, and had by hir a daughter, whom Fergus by the perswasion of the king of Denmark took to wife, and had issue by hir (afore his coming into Scotland) three sonnes, Eugenius, Dongarus, and Constantius, of whome hereafter in their place mention shall be made, as occasion seruch. Wher there be, that affirme how this Graime was a Britaine borne, & that through hate which he bare towards the Romans for their cruell government, he fled forth of his native countrie,

and continued euer after amongst the Scots, as first in Denmarke, and afterwards in Albion, euer ready to do what displeasures he could deuise against the Romans & other their friends or subjects. Whis Graime these Scots, which vnto this day beare that surname, are said to be descended.

But now to the purpose. Ye shall vnderstand, that after that it was knowne in forein countries, how the Scots had got fort againe within those regions in Albion, which their elders in ancient time had possessed, there came daile diuerse companies of that nation out of Spaine, France, Germany, and Italie (where during the time of their banishment they had serued vnder sundrie captains) vnto Fergus to aid him, in recoverie of their countrie and ancient seats; out of the which they had bene most cruellie expelled. So that Fergus now seeing his power thus not a litle augmented by their coming, entered into the borders of Bile, Carike, and Coningham, spoiling and harrieng those countries on euerie side: but shortly thereupon commeth the armie of the Romans, with whom the Scots encountered in battell, receiued no lesse damage than they minded to haue done vnto their aduersaries. Whereupon being forced to leaue that countrie, they drew backe into Argile, where Fergus wintered for that part of the yere which yet remained.

When summer was come, he was counselled to haue assistance offered battell vnto Victorine, who as then was entered Galloway: and rather to trie the uttermost point of fortunes chance against him, than to susteine such displeasures and injuries at the Romans hands, as by them were daile done vnto him and his people. But there were other that gaue other aduice, alleging how the danger was great to leaue againe in battell with the Romans, being men of such skill & practise in the seats of warre, considering what losse had chanced in the two former battels. Again, there was great likelihood, that if he could be contented to forbear for a time, and seeke to defend the borders of his countrie, so well as he might without gaining battell, it must needs come to passe that shortly the Roman empire should be brought vnto such ruinous decay, by reason of the multitude of enemies, which as then invaded the same on each side, that in the end Victorine doubting his owne suertie, would conuete himselfe with his men of warre out of the countrie, and then should it be an easie matter for the Scots and Picts to recover againe all such countries as ancientlie belonged to their elders, and wholie to restore the estates of their common wealths vnto their former dignities.

This aduise was followed as the best and most likeliest, so that making sundrie roads into the borders of their enemies countries so to keepe them still occupied, Fergus and the Scots refused utterly to come to anie foughten field with them. Shortly after also it chanced, that Victorine was accused vnto the emperor Honorius of some secret practise against his maiestie, as to be about to vsurpe the crowne of Britaine, whereunto he was compelled in deed by the souldiers (whose hearts he had wonne through his bountious liberalitie sundrie waies declared towards them) and vnderstanding at this present, that he was minded to haue fled his waies for doubt of the said information made against him, they did moue him with such earnest perswasions to take vpon him the imperiall dignitie, promising euen to liue and die with him in defense thereof, as well against Honorius, as all other, that in the end he consented vnto their desires, and so was proclaimed emperor, and clothed in purpure, being thereto all the other imperiall ornaments, as if he had bene emperor indeed. But afterwards when one Heraclianus was

The Scottish men returned into their countrie.

Fergus inuaded the confines of the Britains.

The Scots put to the sword.

Victorine inuaded Galloway.

Fergus is distressed to fight with the Romans.

The Roman empire invaded by barbarous nations.

Victorine accused vnto Honorius.

Victorine taketh vpon him the name and authoritie of emperor in Britaine.

Heracianus
is sent against
Victorine.

Victorine is
delivered into
the hands of
Heracianus.
Heracianus
is sent into
Affrike.

Placidus
lieutenant of
Britaine.

The warre
renewed by the
Scots.

The Scots
and Picts in-
vade the bor-
ders of their
enemies.

Placidus ga-
thereth a
power.
He encount-
ereth with his
enemies.

Placidus re-
couereth the
overthrow.
He fleeth to
York.

Placidus see-
keth to haue
peace.

A league con-
cluded be-
twixt Scots,
Picts, and
Romans.

Fergus di-
uiddeth the land
in parts.

was sent with an armie by Honorius into Britaine against this Victorine, the most part of the souldiers, with those Britains which had acknowledged him for their supreme gouernor, began to feare the sequel of the matter, and afterward requiring pardon for their offenses, they took Victorine, and deliuered him prisoner vnto the same Heracianus, with diuers other of his confederats, and so by this means was the estate of Britaine recovered vnto the behoofe of Honorius, who shortly after sent for Heracianus, minding to send him into Affrike against one Athalus, who vsurped there against the Romane empire.

At his departure forth of Britaine, he left one Placidus as lieutenant and generall of the Romane armie in those parties: a man of no great courage, and lesse skill, which being perceiued of the Scots, gaue occasion to Fergus their king to renew the warre. And first he procured Durstus king of the Picts, being the third of that name, to ioin with him in that enterprise, according to the articles of the league. Who consenting thereto, when their powers were once assembled, they entered into the marches of their enemies, ouerrunning the most part of Bile, Carrike, and Conningham, and after they had taken their pleasure there, they entered into Galloway, bestroting all before them, which way soeuer they passed. Then turning into Pictland, they subdue the whole region, and expell all such Romans and Britains as inhabit the same.

Placidus being aduertised hereof, gathered a great power, and commeth forward towards them, with whom encountering in battell, after long fight, his horsemen chanced to be put to flight, so that the legions of his footmen being left naked on the sides, were so sore beaten with the shot of arrowes, and hurling of darts, that in the end they were forced to breake their arraie, & so being chased left to the Scots and Picts a great and isfull victorie. Placidus himselfe escapeth vnto Yorke, whither the Scots were minded to haue pursued him, had not the want of such numbers as they had lost at the battell, somewhat abated their couragious intents. In the meane time Placidus not onelie moued with this overthrow, but also lincing with himselfe after what sort the Romane empire was afflicted, with the invasion of the barbarous nations in Germanie, France, Spaine, Italie, and Affrike, thought it good to conclude some peace with the Scots and Picts, for doubt of further mishaps that might insue. And so by such means as he made, shortly after a league was concluded betwixt the Scots, Picts, and Romans, with these conditions: that the Scots and Picts should inioy and keepe their ancient seates and regions, which they had now recovered, & hereafter not to make anie rodes or forreins into the prouince belonging to the Romans, and that the same Romans contenting themselves with the British confines, should not moue anie warre or hostilitie towards the Scots or Picts.

This league being thus concluded and ratified, the Scottishmen and Picts indentured themselves to reduce the state of their common-wealth into the ancient forme and order. Fergus made partition of lands and grounds throughout all his kingdome, and assigned the same forth vnto his subiects the Scottishmen, and to such other strangers as were come into Albion, to serue him in the wars against his enemies, and were minded now to remaine there. The other that were desirous to depart againe into their countries, he gaue them honorable rewards, with safe conducts to passe their waies at their owne pleasures. At this time also were the names of diuerse countries & people changed in the

parties of Scotland, vpon sundrie considerations: as Cornana a part of Scotland, lying in the furthest end of all the countrie, took a new name of one Cathus a valiant capteine, and of the promontorie there shooting forth into the sea called Hesse: so that being compound together, that countrie was cleped Cathesse. Also of certeine Irishmen called Rossians, the countrie of Rosse took that name, being afore named Lugia.

That part of the countrie ancientlie called Thezalia, which lieth on the sea coast, began to be called Buthquhane, of the tribute vsed to be paid there for sheepe, of the which kind of cattell there is great store in that prouince. For Buthane in the old Scottish tongue signified tribute: and Buth, a Locke of sheepe. The other part of Thezalia, lying into the landward, was called Bogdale, of the river named Bog, which runneth through the middelt of it. Loughquhaneber took the name of a great meare or water, into the which the river of Buthane falleth, and passeth through the same, notable by reason of the great plenty of lamons taken therein. Some other countries there be, which keepe their ancient names euen vnto this day, as Athole, and Murray land. And some names remaine a little changed by length of time, as Argile, for Argathile; Spar, for Sparthea; and such like.

Fergus also repaired such temples and churches as the warres had defaced, and restored againe churchmen vnto their former linings: and further increased the same where he saw cause, and builded certeine celles and chappels for religious persons to inhabit in, assigning vnto them large revenues for their finding. He also laid the foundation of that famous abbey within the Ile of Iona, now Colmekill, appointing the same for the buriall of kings, with certeine ordinances and customes to be obserued about the same. Moreover, in the time of peace he was not negligent in providing for the defense of his realme. Such castles as were decayed and overthrowne by the enemies in the warre time, he repaired; and in those which stood towards the borders of the British countries, he placed sundrie garrisons of such souldiers as wanted trades to get their lining now in the time of peace, assigning them sufficient stipends to liue vpon.

In this meane time, Honorius the emperor being dead, and the estate of the Romane empire daily falling into decaye, it chanced also that Placidus the lieutenant of Britaine departed out of this life, by reason whereof the Scottishmen and Picts took occasion to renew the warres, making as it were a claime vnto the countries of Westmerland & Cumberland, which their elders in times past had held and possessed. Entering therefore into those countries, they take, spoile, and destroie all such of the British nation as went about to destroye them; neither spared they impotent, aged, or others, but shewed great crueltie against all such as came in their waies. For an honest woman they rauished and misused after a most villainous maner. The Romane souldiers, after the deceasse of Placidus, ordered one Cassius to succeed in his roome, who being aduertised of this enterprise of the Scottishmen and Picts, doubted least (as the truth was) that Dionethus the sonne of Datulius sometime king of the Britains, in hope to attaine the crowne of Britaine, as due to him by inheritance, would now seeke to aid the Scottish king Fergus, whose sister he had in marriage. Cassius therefore more desirous of peace than of warres, sent forth a messenger at armes vnto king Fergus, requiring him to remember the league made betwixt him and the Romans, and to withdraw his power forth of the prouinces, which

were subiect vnto the same Romans, without proceeding anie further in that vnlawfull attempt, either else he should be sure to feele the puissant force of those people readie bent against him, by whom his elders had bene driuen out of their countries, and banished quite forth of all their dwellings and places of habitation in Albion.

But herevnto was answer made with great indignation, that as for the league thus alledged, ceased by the death of Valacius; and as for peace, there was no cause why he should looke for anie, vntill the whole prouinces, both of Westmerland and Cumberland, were restored againe into the hands of the Scottishmen and Picts, according as of reason they ought to be. The like answer also was made by Dursus king of the Picts, vnto whom Cassius had sent a like message. Wherevntoall the said Cassius being not a little moued, assemblith an armie, and with all speed marcheth forth toward his enimies: but before his entering into Westmerland, where they were as then lodged in campe, he had perfect knowledge how Dionethus with his Welshmen (for his lands laie in Wales) was already iointed with the Scots.

Which newes soe appalled the hearts of the Britains, but yet being encouraged with comfortable words of their capitaine to proceed, forward they go together with the Romans, and within three daies after, they came within sight of their enimies, being ranged in battell readie to receiue them, so that straightwaies buckeling together, there was a right fierce and cruell battell fought betwixt them, till finally the multitude of the Scottish archers and hernes so compassed in the battels of the Romans on each side, and speciallie on the backs, that in the end, and by reason of the losse of their generall Cassius (who was slaine there amongst them) those of the middle ward being discomfited, brake their array and fled. Wherevpon the residue likewise followed: the Scots, Picts, and Welshmen pursuing so egerlie without all order, that there was no small number of them distressed by the Romans, the which in their giuing backe, kept themselves close together, readie to defend themselves, and to beat downe such of their enimies as followed more rashlie than warlike in the chase, not once regarding to keepe any order of battell, but yet by other companies that pursued more orderlie together for their most advantage, there was great slaughter made both of Romans and Britains.

After this victorie thus atchined, Dionethus was proclaimed king of Britaine, and soe warres continued in the land by the pursuit of the Welshmen, Scots, & Picts, to the great hazard of the prouince, and likelie expelling of all the Romans quite out of the same. About this time also there remained in France, one Cetus lieutenant to the emperor Valentinianus, who vnderstanding all these things by letters and messengers sent from the capitaine which yet remained aliue in Britaine, appointed one Sparimianus being of kin to the emperor, to passe with an armie in all hast ouer into Britaine, to aid and succor the Romans, and such Britains there, as still continued in their allegiance which they had promised vnto the Romane empire.

This Sparimianus at his arrivall in the Island was most iollie receiued by the soldiors and subiects of the foresaid empire. All the lords and nobles of the countrey rested also vnto him, shewing themselves most glad of his comming, & promising with what aid soeuer they were able to make, to go with him against their enimies. Wherevpon, procuring them to assemble their powers, and to ioine the same with his, which he had brought ouer with him, he passed through the countrey vnto Doreke, and so from

thence marched forth towards the Scots, being already assembled in campe to defend the countrey of Westmerland against him. There were both the kings of Scots and Picts, Fergus and Dursus, with Dionethus, naming himselfe king of the Britains, who had brought with him, beside the Welshmen, a great number of those Britains that inhabited in the countrees now accounted the marches of Wales, the which onelie amongst all other the Britains acknowledged him for king.

When both the armies were come nere together, they camped for that night the one in sight of the other, and in the morning following they prepared themselves to battell. Fergus first making an earnest oration vnto his people, to encourage them the more boldlie to giue the onset, declared amongst other things how the right was on their sides, which alwaies ought to minister hope of god successe in them that enterpryse anie thing in defense thereof; where contrarie all such as attempted to disquiet or other by iniurie and wrong doing, could not but looke for an euill conclusion of their malicious intents and purposes. Neither were other of his capitaine negligent in their duties, but that both in exhorting their bands, they vsed most comfortable words, and in disposing them in good order of battell, they shewed most readie and earnest diligence.

On the other side, Sparimianus with his capitaine and officers of bands were as buie on their side to array their battels most for their advantage, as they saw cause and occasion, so that both the armies being ready to fight, the onset was giuen, and that in most furious wise, the Romans being at the first soe annoyed with arrowes and darts, which flue so thicke from each side, that their sight was in manner taken from them, the skie seeming as it had been couered ouer with a pentife. So that Sparimianus perceiving this disadvantage, he caused a fresh legion of his soldiors to aduance forward to the succour of their fellows; by reason whereof the battell was forthwith most cruellie renewed, the hindermost wings of the Romans soe preasing vpon their enimies: so that in the end passing quite through their battels, they caused a great disorder and feare amongst those Scots and other their confederats, which were placed in the hindermost ranks. But yet raising themselves in a ring, they made great & stout resistance for a space, and at length a great number euen of the most valiant personages of the whole host, closed themselves together, and with maine force assailed to haue broken through the thickest pike of their enimies, but being inuironed about on each part, they were there slaine each mothers sonne. Whilke the Romans drew together to resist on that side, other of the Scottishmen, Picts, Britains, & Welshmen, found a waie to get forth through their enimies on the other side, and so being gotten past them, made a waie as fast as their feet might beare them: but a great number being notwithstanding overtaken, were slaine and beaten downe right pittifullie.

Fergus the Scottish king, and Dursus king of the Picts were slaine in this mortall battell together, with the most part of all their nobilitie. Dionethus being soe wounded escaped to the sea side, and there getting a ship, passed ouer into Wales. This ouerthrow soe dismayed both the Scottish and Pictish nations, who looked for nothing more than present expulsion out of their countrees, for Sparimianus pursuing the victorie, burst into Galloway, most cruellie wasting and spoiling the same. And when he had made an end there, he entred into Anabdale, and into the Pictish confines, destroying all before him with fire and sword. Camelon was besieged, taken by force, and miserably put to sacke and spoile, with

The Scots and Picts assembled against the Romans.

The armies prepare to battell.

Fergus exhorteth his people to do valiantlie. Right ministereth hope of god successe.

The onset is giuen.

Sparimianus perceiving the disadvantage, prouideth to remedie the same.

The Scots disordered.

The two kings Fergus and Dursus are slaine. Dionethus escapeth.

Sparimianus pursuing the victorie.

Camelon taken by force.

The Scots
and Picts
withdrew be-
yond the wall
of Abircoyne.

diuerse other notable towne and places, as well be-
longing to the Picts as Scots. Neither was there
anie end of these cruell doings, till both the Scots &
Picts for their refuge were generallie constrained
to withdraw themselves beyond the wall of Abir-
coyne, which (as before is said) a few yerres passed
was begun by the Britains, and stretched from A-
bircoyne aforesaid, ouerthwart the land vnto Alcluth
now Dunbretton.

Marimianus hauing thus driuen his enimies be-
yond this wall, caused them to make assurance by
their oth of couenant, neuer to passe the same againe
by waie of hostilitie, either against the Britains or
Romans. There were that counselled Marimianus
either utterly to haue destroyed both the Scots and
Picts, either els to haue driuen them out of the whole
Ile. But he being satisfi'd with that which was already
done, thought good to returne vnto Rome, and
there to winter, that in the beginning of the next
spring he might go into Wales, to chastise Dione-
thus and other of that countrie for their rebellion, in
aiding the enimies of the empire. But when the time
came that he should haue set forward on that iour-
nie, he heard such newes from the parties of beyond
the seas, into what ruinous decaye the empire was
fallen, without anie likelihood of recouerie, that chan-
ging his purpose, he minded to vsurpe the crowne of
Britaine as absolute king thereof himselfe. And to
haue the more fauor of the British nation without a-
nie impeachment in the beginning of his reigne, he
tooke to wife one of the daughters of Dionethus, be-
ing the elder of those two, which he onelie had with-
out issue male, by the sister of king Fergus. She
that was thus coupled in marriage with Marimianus
was called Mithila, & the other daughter named Cle-
sula was professed a nun in an house of religion, to
the intent that the whole right which Dionethus pre-
tended to the realme, might remaine to the wife of
Marimianus. When was Dionethus made second
person of the realme, as well in degree of honor, as
in publicke government.

Marimianus
taketh vpon
him the abso-
lute gover-
nance of Bri-
taine, with the
imperial
title.
He marrieth
Mithila the
daughter of
Dionethus.
Dionethus
reputed for se-
cond person of
the realme.

Eugenius.
Eugenius
created king
of Scots.

420. H.B.
760. H.B.

The bodie of
Fergus is
buried in the
abbie of Iona,
otherwise
Colmekill.

And whilest these things were thus a doing in
Britaine, the Scottish lords had created Euge-
nius the sonne of Fergus, king of their realme, as
due to him by rightfull succession from his father,
who had gouerned the same by the space of 16 yerres
per he was slaine (as before is specified) in the last
mentioned battell. This Eugenius began his reigne
(as we find) in the yere of our Lord 440, after the
first beginning of the Scottish kingdome 767. His
fathers corps, which at the first was secretly buried,
as occasion suffered, whilest the Romans were yet
in the countrie, he caused to be taken vp, and conuei-
ed ouer into the Ile of Iona, otherwise called Col-
mekill, where, with all solemne pompe and ceremo-
nies it was intumulated, according to the ordinance
which he himselfe had deuised in his life time, within
the abbie there.

In like manner Marimianus, to the intent to es-
tablish himselfe the more quietlie in the estate of
Britaine, and to deliuer his subiects the Britains,
which bordered vpon the Scottish dominions, from all
trouble of warres, was contented to make peace
with the Scots vpon light lute made vnto him for
the same. After this also, he being once fullie establi-
shed in the estate of Britaine, coueted also to attaine
to the tyte in government of the whole empire, and
therefore assembling all the forces of the British
youth, sailed into Gallia, causing himselfe to be pro-
claimed emperor, and so vsurped that title: as in the
English and Italian histories you maie find more
largely expressed. He left behind him in Britaine his
father in law Dionethus as chiefe gouernor there,
with one legion of Romane soldiors. After this did

Marimianus
granteth
peace to the
Scottishmen.

Etius the emperors lieutenant in France, send for
such Romans as Marimianus had left in Britaine,
who revolting from their othes of allegiance giuen
vnto the same Marimianus, obried Etius, as one
that supplid the roime of their rightfull lord and mas-
ter the emperor Valentinian. So that in this wise
was Britaine dispurueied of all manner of able men
for defense, whereof the Scots and Picts took good
occasion to invade the British borders, not sparing
to pursue with fire and sword all such of the Britains
as did yet continue in obedience to Marimianus.

They first droue those Britains out of all the coun-
tries, which had bene taken from them by the same
Marimianus, and by other of the Romans and Bri-
tains, as Pictland, Aile, Carrick, and Coningham,
Galloway, the Sparches, and Northumberland. This
done, they entered into Cumberland, Westmore-
land, and Kenball, not ceassing till they had spoiled
and defaced all those countries, with the most part of
all Yorkshire, in such cruell wise, that they made all
those quarters barren both of corne and cattell, which
waie soeuer they passed. The Britains perceiving in-
to what danger they were brought, if some good re-
dresse were not found in time, sent ouer with all speed
vnto Rome for succor to be had at the emperor Va-
lentinians hands, for Marimianus was otherwise
occupied. Valentinian desirous to deliuer the Bri-
tains from such cruell enimies as the Scots & Picts
shelued themselves to be, least through their meanes
all the whole Ile should result from the obedience of
the Romans, appointed one Gallio borne in Rauenn-
na, and as then solozning about Paris in France,
with a legion of soldiors to passe ouer into Britaine,
to driue backe the Scots and Picts from further mo-
lestant the subiects of the empire.

The Scots and Picts, vpon knowledge had of
this Gallios arriual, drew backe into their coun-
tries, not minding to fight with the Romans, whose
force they doubted, and not without cause, hauing
had in times past so manie ouerthrowes and slaugh-
ters at their hands. But Gallio pursued them euen
vnto the water of Forth, where in sunzie skirmi-
shes he slue no small number of them: and for that
he knew he should be sent for hostlie to returne a-
gaine into France, to helpe to resist such barbarous
nations as warred in the same, for the better defense
of the Britains against their enimies the Scots and
Picts (whome he knew would not be anie while in
quiet after he was once gone) he caused the wall to
be newlie made by betwixt Abircoyne & the mouth
of Clude water, thereby to defend the Romane pro-
uince from all sudden inuasions of the enimies. This
wall was earst made of turfe, but now repaired
with stone, and strengthened with great pilles of
wood, driuen in betwixt in places most nee-
full. It was also 8 foot broad, and 12 foot high. And in
certeine turrets cast forth vpon this wall, Gallio ap-
pointed watch & ward to be kept, that vpon the eni-
mies approach towards the same, warning might be
giuen by fire in the night, and by smoke in the day,
vnto such of the Britains as dwelled nere vpon those
borders (commandement being giuen vpon paine
of death for being found in the contrarie) that eu-
erie man vpon such knowledge had, should resort im-
mediatlie to the place appointed, with such armour
and weapon as for him was requisite.

When Gallio had thus giuen order for the surtie
of the Britains, and deliuered them at that present
from the cruell hands of their enimies, he returned
into France with the armie that he brought with
him, according to the commandement which he had
from Etius the emperours lieutenant there. His
departure out of Britaine was no longer knowen of
the Scots and Picts, but that with all their maine
force

The Scots
and Picts
were the
first
of the
Scottish
armie.

The pro-
uince
of the
Scottish
armie.

The Bri-
tains
recor-
d of the
Scottish
armie.

Gallio
borne
in Rauenn-
na, and as
then soloz-
ning about
Paris in
France.

The
armie
of the
Scottish
armie
and
Picts.

Gallio
borne
in Rauenn-
na, and as
then soloz-
ning about
Paris in
France.

The
armie
of the
Scottish
armie
and
Picts.

The
armie
of the
Scottish
armie
and
Picts.

force they determined to set upon the Britains againe. So that assembling their powers together, the kings of both those nations erhoit their men to do valiantlie. Engenius the king of the Scottish men incourageth them through hope of high rewards and spoile. The Pictish king likewise for his part promisseth the lieutenantship of Camelon (an office of most honor amongst them) unto him that first should passe the wall of Abircoyne. Whereupon the Britains being advertised of their enemies intentions according to the ordinance before appointed, drew in defensiblie wise unto that part of the wall, where they understood the Scots and Picts were minded to assault.

At length when the Scottish and Pictish kings were come to the wall, and had their people ready to give the approach, they themselves stood apart somewhat out of danger of shot: and such bands as were appointed to assault, advanced forth of the maine battels under the leading of that Graime, the which (as ye haue heard) was chiefe in expelling the Britains when they had first made the same wall by commandement of Maximine the Romane lieutenant. Whether shewed he lesse proofe of his valiancie at this time than he had don before. For though the Britains made earnest resistance, so far as their power would extend, yet at the length by great force the wall was undermined and thowen downe in sundrie places, so that the whole number of the Scots and Picts entered by the same into Pictland, beating downe the Britains on each side that went about to make resistance, for none escaped their hands, but such as saved themselves by flight.

There came also an other power of Scots and Picts by water out of Fife, and landing in Pictland, pursued the Britains with more crueltie than the kings did themselves. Both houses and people passed by fire and sword, insomuch that all such of the Britains as could get away, withdrew forth of the countrie, not staid till they came beyond the river of Tyne: by reason whereof, all the countrie which lieth betwixt Tyne and Tyne was deliuered by appointment of the kings unto the soldiers, to spoile and vse at their pleasure, whereupon followed manie notorious examples of crueltie, enuie, couetousnesse, wrath & malice. In the meane time, whilst the Scottish and Pictish men of warre applied their market, the Britains with all diligence repaired and newlie fortified the other wall begun (as is said) by the emperor Adrian, shooting ouerthwart the countrie from the river of Tyne, unto the river of Esk.

Howbeit the Scots and Picts, because winter approached, made no further attempt against the Britains at that time, but diuiding those countries which lie by north from the foresaid wall of Adrian, among themselves, according to the order in that behalfe appointed by their kings, they fortified certaine castles and holds for defense of the same countries, as it were to countergarison such Britains as continuallie kept watch and ward upon the foresaid wall. The Britains therefore mistrusting least so soon as the spring were come, the Scots would invade their countries which lay on the south part of the same wall, breaking in by force through it, as they had done the yere before through the other wall of Abircoyne, they sent ambassadors unto Etius the Romane lieutenant, governing Gallia nobis called France, vnder the emperor Valentinian, requiring to haue some aid and succour at his hands, whereby to resist such fierce and cruell enemies, as sought to destroy and expell out of their laides and houses, all such of the Britains as acknowledged themselves in anie manner of wise subiects unto the

empire.

But Etius, whether he would not, or rather because he conuenientlie could not (for that he was otherwise occupied in defense of Gallia against the French men) made a direct answer that he had no men of warre in store to send ouer into Britaine, and therefore willed them to do what they could for their owne defense, for aid of him they might none haue. The messengers returned home with this answer, and made report thereof in a publike assembly of all the British nobilitie, being as then gathered together at London to consult there for the estate and order of their countrie. Where after long deliberation (notwithstanding that they perceived they should haue no more aid from the Romans) it was yet determined, that to resist the enemies, the whole puissance of the British nation should be mustered, as well men as women, being able to do anie feat of seruice available in defense of their countrie, rather to trie the uttermost point of fortunes chance, than to suffer themselves to be ouerrun without resistance. But Conanus Camber, a prince of great authoritie amongst them, as one that was descended of the blood of Mtaulus sometime king of Britaine, went about with earnest persuations to remove the residue of the nobilitie from this determination, aduising them to seeke for peace at the Scottishmens hands, rather than to trie the doubtful chance of Mars his iudgement, considering the feeblenesse of their whole force now, euer since that the tyrant Maximianus had in manner emptied and dispeopled the land of all such able men as were apt for seruice in the warres. But this aduise of Conanus was verie euill taken, & moued the multitude that heard him, to be greatlie offended with his wordes, not sparing to say that he spake like no true man nor louer of his countrie, so that the former ordinance (that is to say, to seeke an end of the wars by dint of sword) was allowed for the best.

Whereupon there were musters taken, armour and weapon provided, and both day and place appointed, where they should assemble together to march forth towards the enimie. Conanus fore lamenting their doings, called almighty God to record, that that which he had said, was spoken onelie for the loue & zeale which he bare to his countrie, & sithence his aduise might not be followed, he doubted greatly least the ruine of the British state by some fatal appointment drew fast upon them. The people hearing him speake thus, some wilfull wicked persons fell upon him, and due him there presentlie amongst them: therewith other being soe moued to indignation, set upon the murderers, there to haue reuenged his death immediatlie. Whereupon began taking of parts, and together they went by the eares in such a furious wise, that sundrie amongst them being slaine, the magistrats had much adoe to appease the fraie.

In this meane time, whilst the Britains were thus busied in sending of their ambassadours to the Romans, & consulting together for defense of their countrie, the Scots first raced downe the wall of Abircoyne, not leaving one piece thereof whole, so that a few tokens excepted, nothing remaineth to be seene at this day of all that huge and wonderfull worke, it is called now in these daies Graime-dike, because that Graime was not onelie (as ye haue heard) chiefe in expelling the Britains from the same, but also at this time in the racing of it to the ground he was the greatest doer. Which being accomplished, the Scottish and Pictish kings assembled their powers, and ouerthrew all such fortresses as had not bene destroyed the yere before: standing on the northside of Adrianus wall, the which wall the Britains

Etius refused to aid the Britains.

The Britains forsaken of the Romans, determine yet to make resistance.

Conanus Camber counsellith the Britains to seeke peace at the Scottish mens hands.

Britaine dispeopled of warlike men by Maximianus.

Conanus counsell is refused.

The Britains make their appointments to go against the Scots.

Conanus is slaine amongst the Britains.

The Scots rase the wall of Abircoyne.

Graime-dike.

The Scottish and Pictish kings invade the British borders.

Britains wall
undermined
and over-
throwen.

tains had newlie fortified, but yet were not able to defend the same from the power of the enimie, who now set upon the Britains with maine force, in so much that undermining the foundations of that wall in diuers places; at length sundrie parts thereof were reuerfed into the ditch, so that the souldiers breaking in by the same, cruelly beate downe the Britains which stood at defense.

Cruellie of
Scots.

The entrie being thus woone, both the kings with their powers marched forth into the south countries, commandement being giuen that no man vpon paine of death should kill anie woman or child, aged person, or otherwise impotent and not able to beare armour. But this commandement in some places was but slenderly obteied; such desire of reuenge was planted in the Scottishmens hearts, by reason of the remembrance of old iniuries, that vnderneath made they anie difference either of age or sex. To be short, all those countries which lie betwixt the riuers of Line and Humber, were wasted & spoiled, the whole number of the inhabitants (such as could make shift to escape the enemies hands) got them ouer the foresaid riuier of Humber, there to remaine as further out of danger. The report of which mischiefe being brought to London, the lordes there (who as ye haue heard were not all of one accord together) they toke new aduise, to redresse the present mischiefe in this manner. First they thought it best to send forth two ambassadores, one to the Scots & Picts to require a peace; & another with letters to Etius the Romane lieutenant in France, for fresh aid and succour. The tenour of which letters as then sent vnto Etius here insuech.

The lordes
of Britaine
take new ad-
uise.

See more
hereof in
England.
The tenour of
the letters
sent vnto Et-
ius from the
Britains, as
is written by
Hec. Boetius.

The lamentable complaints of the Britains vnto Etius thise consull. At what time our elders became subiects vnto the Romans, they vnderstood by worthie proofes and notable examles, that the senate was a most safe refuge and haue, to be wished of all such as fled to the same for support. But we their posteritie by the pernicious working of the legat Martianus, tending wholie to our destruction, being spoiled both of force and substance, and therefore remaining in great danger of losing both kingdome and liues, through the fore and terrible inuasion of our most cruell enemies the Scots and Picts, making humble sute for succours vnto the Romane empire, according to the iollall trust and most assured confidence, the which euer like true and faithfull subiects we haue reposed in the same, are yet neglected, & nothing regarded, but deliuered as a prey vnto the barbarous nations to be spoiled, destroyed, and slaine in most pitious wise, which can not but be an euident signe, that either the Romans haue changed their most commendable maners into the worst that may be deuised, either els their most large empire, thorough the wrath and high displeasure of almighty God, is now giuen for a prey vnto other forren nations. But if it be so, that the fatall force of the time present doth require, that without all remedie the land of the Britains being taken awaie from the Romans, must needs be brought vnder the subiection of some barbarous nation, we neither abhorre nor refuse the gouernement of anie people or nation, the Scots and Picts (the most cruell of all other) onelic excepted, whose crueltie we hauing long since too much tasted, are at this present brought vnto that point by their late increased puissance, that we know not now after the losse of our gods and cattell, which way to safe gard our liues; for the turffe walls being pulled downe, and the ditches filled vp with earth, which sometime did somewhat staie them, now breaking in vpon vs without letting passe anie one kind of crueltie, they haue destroyed our fields, burned vp our houses, townes &

villages, beaten downe & rased euen to the ground our castles and towers, with such other places of defense, not sparing to put to the sword as well the poore innocent children, women, and impotent aged, as such other innumerable numbers of men, which they haue slaine standing at defense with weapon in hand. And as for vs, which are the residue of our decayed nation, they haue giuen euen to the sea side, and from thence (because we cannot passe our) we are put backe vpon our enemies againe. And here of proceed two kinds of our destruction, for either we are drowned in the raging floods, either els slaine most vnumercfullie by our cruell enemies. Therefore if the honor of the Romane people, if our assured iollallie and loue, which we beare to the empire of Rome, now continued for the space of these 500 yeares or thereabout, may moue you to rue on our miseries, we humbly pray and beseech you, not to suffer vs longer to be trodden vnder foot of these our most beastlie and cruell enemies, but send vnto vs some conuenient succours and that with all speed, least we seeme to be more cruelly betrayed of the Romans, than brought to destruction by these barbarous people, and that we be not set forth as a notable example for all other to beware, how they put confidence hereafter either in the rule or friendship of the Romans.

Paulus Diaconus, Beda, Gessray of Monmouth, Veremound, and others make mention of these foresaid letters. Wherevpon Etius answering, declared that those calamities, misfortunes and losses sustained by the Britains were right displeasing vnto him, and so much the more, for that through the sundrie inuasions made, aswell into France as also into Italie it selfe, and into other parties of the Romane empire by people of sundrie nations, he could not as then spare anie men of warre to send ouer vnto them, & therefore he willed the Britains to make the best shift they could to defend themselves for a time, till things were better quieted in other parties, and then should they see such redresse of their iniuries provided, as they should thinke themselves to be well reuenged. About the same time that the ambassadours returned with this answer vnto London from Etius, the other also came backe forth of the north without hope to speed of that about the which they had bin sent, for the Scots & Picts would incline to no reasonable conditions of peace, vntill the Britains would wholie submit themselves as subiects vnto them. The Britains hereat tooke such indignation, that by generall consent they agreed to trie it out with the enemies by maine force; & herevpon made their prouision with all diligence. The Scots and Picts hearing of the Britains intents, gathered their people together with more speed than was thought possible for them to haue done, & forthwith rushed into the borders of their enemies countries in right puissant wise and most warlike order.

In the fore ward went such as came forth of Galloway and Annandale, with those Picts which inhabited about the coasts of Barbowke. Then followed there a mightie battell of those which came forth of Argile, Athole, and other Picts inhabiting nere vnto the parties of Ikalenbar and Camerlone with them of Fife, and Angus. In the midst of this battell both the kings kept their place with their choicest souldiers, and standards borne afore them. Then went the carriages and trulle of the armie, next thereto a great number of noble men of both the nations followed in faire order of battell, with their seruants and men of warre the best they could chose forth. And last of all, (as the maner of those nations hath bene euen from the beginning) there came a great multitude of the commons closing vp the back of the whole

But note
largely as
here is requi-
red.
The tenour
of Etius.

The Scots
and Picts
should agree
vpon some
conuenient con-
ditions of peace.

The Scots
and Picts
prepare to
fight the
Britains.

The order of
the Scots
and Picts
entering into
the lands of
the Britains.

whole afore said armie.

The Britains also comming forth into the field with their whole puissance to encounter their enemies, when they understood by espials the order and maine force of the Scots and Picts, they were halfe discouraged in their minds, and thought good there fore once againe to assaie if anie peace might be purchased. But sending forth their ambassadours unto the confederat kings, to that end their answer was, that except the Britains would yeld themselves, their wives and children, with all their goods and substance into the hands of their enemies, simple without all conditions, there would be no peace granted. When this was knowne abroad in the host of the Britains, what thorough kindeled ice on the one part, and soule despaire on the other, prouoking their minds to displeasure, they generallie upon change of purpose required battell, even all the whole number of them.

Whereof ensued a most cruell and mortall fight: for the Britains (as it were) resolved to die in defense of their countrie, and to reuenge their owne deaths upon their enemies, with more fiercenesse than is credible to be thought, gaue the onset, and so overthrow a great number of their enemies, insomuch that those of Galloway and the Picts fighting in the fore ward with them of Argyle, Athole, and such other as were in the battell with the kings, were in great danger to be put to the worse: which Graime perceiuing (by whome the most part of the armie was ruled, and that by commandment of both the kings) called forth a number of the Island-men, who were appointed to attend the carriage, and sent them with all diligence to the fore ward to the succors of them of Galloway, being then at the point to haue sought refuge by flight. But by the comming of these Island-men to their succors, they took courage afresh, so that the battell was againe most fiercelie renewed, and so continued a space with great slaughter on both parts, till finally the Britains being oppressed with the multitude of their enemies, and not able longer to indure, fell to running awaie, thinking to saue themselves in certeine bogs, moasses, and marish grounds nere unto the place of the battell: but such cofferels, and other as remained with the Scottish cariage, seeing the discomforture of their aduersaries, ran forth and pursued them into those marishes, killing and taking no small number of them. There were slaine in this battell of the Britains, about 15 thousand, and of the Scots and Picts nere hand foure thousand.

The Britains hauing received this overthrow, saw no helpe which waie to recover their losses, but onelie to sue for peace at the victors hands. They sent therefore an orator unto the Scottish & Pictish kings, beseeching them humbly to grant them a peace, even with what conditions it should please them to prescribe. The kings not moued onelie with the present fortune of the Britains, but also partlie with their owne, hauing lost no small number of right worthie personages in the battell, were contented to grant a peace upon these conditions: That the Britains should in no wise receiue anie lieutenant or armic hereafter from Rome, nor suffer anie entrie of the Scottish and Pictish estates, of what nation soeuer he were, to passe through their countrie. They should enter into no league with anie citie or nation, nor be about to make anie warres without consent of the Scottish and Pictish kings, and further should be readie to serue them against all manner of enemies whensoever they should be sent for. Moreover, they should remoue with their wives, children, and whole families out of all those countries, lieng betwixt Line and Humber, resigning

the possession of the same unto the Scottishmen and Picts.

Also they should giue threescore thousand pieces of gold thier current to the Scottish & Pictish kings, towards the dispatch of their soldiers wages, and further should yald as a tribute twentie thousand pieces of gold, to be paid yerelie unto the severall vices of the victors. They should likewise deliuer one hundred hostages of such as the two kings should appoint, betwixt the age of eightene and thirtie yers. These conditions of peace though they seemed verie strict & greuous to the British nobilitie, yet for that they understood not how to make a better bargain, they persuaded the multitude to accept them, and so a league thereupon was concluded amongst those people, and the publike state of the land brought to a more quiet rule than it had bene before. Thus were the Britains made tributarie to the Scottishmen and Picts, about 500 yeres after Julius Cesar had brought them in subiection to the Romans, being in the yere after the birth of our Saviour 446, and of Eugenius his reigne over the Scottishmen the seuenth.

In this season was the Ile of Albion soze infected with the heresie of the Pelagians, and therefore pope Celestine sent one Paladius a learned man unto the Scots, to persueue them from that infection, and ordeined him bishop, the first in Scotland that had his inuestiture from Rome: for all the other before him were ordeined by the voices or suffrages of the people, choosing them forth among the monks and priests called Culdeis, as the Scottish chronicles doe report. Paladius with right good and wholesome exhortations purged the Scots and Picts of sundrie superstitious rites of their old gentillie idolatrie, till those daies used amongst them, whereupon he is named and reputed for the Scottishmens apostle. Walieyth at Fordecne, a towne inernes, where his reliques remained, and were long after had in great estimation.

Moreover he instituted one Seruan bishop of the Orkenies, that he might instruct the inhabitants there in the faith of Christ, which as yet they had not receiued: and one Teruan, whome he himselfe had baptised, he made archbishop of Pictland. In these daies also manie strange sights were sene in sundrie parts of Britaine before the last mentioned overthrow: the moone being in plaine opposition to the sunne, when it should be most round, appeared in a quadrant figure. At Porke it rained blood: and trees in sundrie places being blasted, withered and died. The market place, or rather (if ye will so tearme it) Cheape side in London opened, so that a great hole appeared, and manie houses were swallowed vp. About the same season also (as is supposed) liued that huge personage Finnmacoell, a Scottishman borne of seven cubites in height. He was a great hunter, and soze feared of all men by reason of his mightie stature, and large lims: manie fables go abroad of him, not so agreeable to the likelihood of truth, as ought to be registred in an historie, and therefore here passed over with silence.

The Romane empire being brought into irreuerable ruine by the Vandals, Gothes, Hunnes, Frenchmen, and other barbarous nations, occupieng sundrie parts and portions thereof, put the Britains out of all hope to haue anie assistance from the emperors, which caused them to remaine in quiet certein yeres without attempting any exploit against the Scots or Picts, and so duclie paid their covenanted tribute, though sore against their wills, if they might otherwise haue remedied it. At the last about ten yers after the conclusion of this last peace, it chanced that one Conanus the sonne of the above

60000 pound
Lutty Balan-
tine, after the
rate of Scot-
tish moult.
20000 pound
saith the same
Balan-tine, to
that he offered
meth those
pieces of gold
to be of the va-
lue of French
crownes.

The Bri-
tains tribu-
tary to the
Scots and
Picts.
436. H.B.

The heresie
of the Pelag-
ians.
Paladius
sent into
Scotland.

Of this Pa-
ladius liue
more in Ire-
land.

Paladius ac-
counted the
apostle of
Scotland.

Seruan bi-
shop of Orke-
nie, and Ter-
uan archbi-
shop of Picta-
land.
Unketh
sights and
strange won-
ders appered.

Finnmacoell
the great
hunner.

Conanus a
Britaine go-
eth about to
persuade his
countymen
to breake the
peace conclu-
ded with the
Scots and
Picts.

mentioned Conanus, descended of the blood of the Dictaui, sometimes kings of the Britains, fore assigned to see his countrie thus brought into thralldome of the Scottish nation, and devising how to find some redyes, called together the most part of the British nobilitie, by secret message home to a manour place which he had within a thicke wood in the countrie of Kent, and there opening vnto them a great peece of his mind, perswaded them with the weightiest reasons he could imagine, to leue warre againe: the Scots and Brits, hauing at that present, meanes now since the last warres to mainteine it, as well by reason of their increase both of able men, as also of substance to furnish them withall.

The Britains hauing respect to their sonnes & kindred lieng in hostage should not agree to breake the peace.

The kings of the Scots & Brits offended with the consp. race of the Britains, perscr. be vnto them new articles to be performed.

Impudent seruilitie intruded vpon the Britains by the proud and cru. il Scots, if it be true.

The commons of Britaine offended with their gouernors.

The commons of Britaine conspire against the nobles.

One estate of men cannot liue without helpe of another.

Here the nobles were of sundrie opinions: for some alwearied with the note of bondage, would gladly haue had warres: other hauing regard to their sons lieng in hostage with the enimies, would in no wise consent thereto: by reason whereof this counsell brake vp without conclusion of anie effect. When ech man was returned to his home, there had bene some amongst them, that gaue knowledge to the confederate kings what motion had bene made, and what was intended against them. Whereupon they immediatly determined, not onelie to cause the hostages to be executed, but also to pursue the rebels with fierce and cruell warres. Yet before they practised anie violence, they sent their ambassadoys vnto the Britains, to vnderstand their full meaning, and to declare vnto them further certeine articles which the said kings required to haue performed without all delaies, or else to loke for open warre out of hand.

The chiefest points of which articles were these. First that the Britains should not assemble together in counsell without licence of the Scottish and Pictish kings, notwithstanding that their ancient lawes they might vse at their pleasure, but they should receiue no stranger into their countrie being a Roman or a Frenchman, neither merchant nor other. Their old hostages they should receiue home againe, and deliuer in exchange of them twise so manie in number of the like age and degre, as was couenanted by the former league. The commons of the land vnderstanding what was demanded by these ambassadoys, were in a wonderfull rage, and would haue made a great stirre if they had not bene quieted by the lords, who for their paines taken herein, got them an euill report amongst the inferior sort of people, as though through their want of stomach onlie, the common-wealth was brought into such a miserable estate, that loke what it pleased the enimie to charge the British nation with, no man durst once speake against it.

This grudge of the commons increased so farre forth against their superiours, that after the Scottish and Pictish ambassadoys were returned home, with answer agreeable to their demandes, their arose incontinentlie a great commotion of the people, conspiring together the utter destruction of the whole nobilitie. But their furie was repressed, so that they were ouerthrowne in battell at two severall times with great slaughter and bloodshed, whereupon they withdrew into the mounteins, and there kept themselves, making raises vpon the nobilitie, and fetching booties auaite from the heards and flocks of cattell belonging to the lords and gentlemen: but finally through famine which began to oppresse both parties, they perceived what need the one had of the others helpe, and so they agreed. This ciuill warre fore decreed the force of the Britains, for beside the great slaughter that was made betwixt them, by the auoiding of the commons out of their houses, the ground laie vntilled, whereof ensued a marvellous

great scarcitie and dearth of all things, by reason whereof an innumerable sort of people died. Yet shortly after followed such plentie, that those that were left aloue forgetting the passed miseries, gaue themselves to all kind of vice, which took such root in the hearts of the more part of them, that for anie man to vse anie maner of vertue amongst them, was a readie meane to procure great enie and hatred.

In the meane time liued the Scottish and Pictish kings in god quiet and rest, applying their studies onelie how to instruct their people now after the warres were once ended, in laudable exercises and necessarie occupations, conuenient for the time of peace, whereby their realmes might flourish in welth and prosperitie without dread of anie foreign power. For they saw such tokens of ruine in the British estate, as small likelihood appeared, that the same should at anie time be able to recouer againe the former force and dignitie. Finally the Scottish king Eugenius hauing aduanced the estate of his countrie vnto more felicitie and wealth than anie of his predecessors had euer done before him, after he had reigned thirtie yeeres, he ended his life about the fourth yeere of Leo, that usurped the empire of Constantinople.

But forsomuch as Eugenius left no issue behind him, his brother named Dongard succeeded in the estate. He began his reigne in the yeere 470, and his chiefest studie was, according to his brothers example, to prouide for the maintenance of god order and iustice, appointing in euerie quarter men of god fame and report to haue the administration vnder him, with commandement that they should dispense gentle forese, that euerie man might inioy his owne. He himselfe took vpon him also to see to the repairing of such castles as were decayed, and to the building vp of new in places where he thought most expedient, speciallie nere to the British borders, for he well considered that peace increased riches, riches pride and presumption, with other sinnes, which could not long indure without the plague of wars. Therefore he doubting the changes of scornfull fortune, thought god in time of peace to prouide for the dangers of warre, when the same should happen vnto him.

These ciuill policies and princelie prouisions for defense of his countrie and subiects increased the fame of Dongard mightilie, but that which he did towards the aduancement of religion did most exceedingly set forth his commendation. First, all such religious men as followed the trade of life taught by Paladius and others, which came with him from Rome, he caused them to be highlie reuerenced: and for the maintenance of their liuing, he assigned forth lands, houses, and other kinds of reuenues in diuers places of his realme, and granted not onelie vnto them, but also vnto all other, being within anie orders of clergie, sundrie priuileges, appointing that the churches & abbeies with other holie places should be infranchised and taken for sanctuaries, that all such as fled to the same for safegard of their liues, should be suffered to rest in peace, so long as they kept them within the same.

About the same time also, and whilst these things were thus a doing in Scotland, the Britains being alwearied of their seruile estate, through the setting on of Conanus, conspired together, and took aduise by what meanes they might best sake to deliuer themselves from the thralldome of Scots and Brits, and vpon aduise taken they concluded to send ouer into Britaine Armozike some honorable ambassage vnto Androenus the king of that countrie for aid. Wherewith was the archbishop of London appointed

Shopton was with occasion of vice.

The Scots applied themselves to peace.

The death of Eugenius the Scottish king.

Dongard, Dongard king of Scots.

461. H.B.

The Britons persecuted of iustice and god order.

The repairing of castles by A. Dongard.

The bounds of the libertie of Dongard towards chertem.

Shopton was with occasion of vice.

The Britains sent into Britaine Armozike some honorable ambassage vnto Androenus the king of that countrie for aid.

ted as chiefe ambassado: to go on that message, which archbishop bled such diligence in the matter, that Constantine the sonne of the said Androenus was appointed by his father with a competent power of men to go ouer into great Britaine to the aid of the British inhabitants there. Whereupon, when the men & shippes with all necessarie prouision were once ready, he imbarked at Saint Malo, where the assemblie was made, and taking the sea, sailed forth with prosperous wind and weather, which brought him safelie into great Britaine, where he landed at Eotnes in Devonshire, as you shall find in the chronicles of England. He was receiued with no small ioy, and forthwith proclaimed king of Britaine, whereupon he promised to assaie to the uttermost of his power to recover againe their whole lands and liberties, and to mainteine them in the same according to their wished desires.

For the more speedie accomplishment hereof, commandement was first given, that all able men should be in a readinesse, and come together at a place appointed nere to the riuer of Humber within fortie daies after. Which order being taken by the aduise of the lords and nobles of the realme, the same was put in execution with such diligence, that few or none being apt to beare arms, withdrew themselves, euerie man in manner comming to the appointed place of the assemblie, and offering to go against the enemies, so that it was a wonder to consider the consent of the people now ioined in one mind and will to recover their former libertie. When Constantine beheld such notable numbers of men, he supposed the same would haue sufficed not onelie to vanquish the Scots and Picts, but also vicerlie to destroye & race them out of all the confines of Albion.

When the newes of all this preparation for warres which the Britains made, was once signified to the Scots and Picts, they likewise made their apprestes to meet with them in the field, and thereupon raising their powers, came forth with the same into Poweshire, and pitched their camps within foure miles where Constantine with his people was lodged, and the next day after, vnderstanding how nere unto the enimie they were, they raised and marched forwards till they came within sight of him, as then incamped with his people aloft vpon certeine hils, nere to the aforesaid riuer side. Here both the kings of Scots and Picts lodging with their armies for that night, made readie for battell against the next day, and in the morning Dongard the Scottish king getting him to a little hill, called his men together, & there exhorted them by sundrie comfortable means of perswasion to put awaie all feare, and to fight valiantly, assuring them of victorie if they would keepe the order of battell by him appointed, and not rashly breake forth of the same in following vpon the enemies when they fell to retiring backe.

He had scarce made an end of his words, but that diuerse of the standing watch came in, and declared how the Britains began to anale the hils where they had lodged, and that the Picts were got forth already in order of battell, and were marching forwards to encounter them. Dongard shewing himselfe to be right iofull of these newes, commanded incontinently, that the standards should aduance forth, and euerie man to attend the same according to his appointed order. Also that no man should presume to take anie prisoner before the end of the battell, nor to yeeld himselfe so long as life lasted. So that following with his enemies, there followed a verie fierce and cruell battell. At length both the wings of the Britains gaue backe from the Scottishmen & Picts, the middle ward abiding the hunt verie frontlie. Where Constantine himselfe stood like a balliant

chieftaine, doing his endeuour to the uttermost of his power, vpon whom Dongard earnestlie pressing, and entring into the thickest throng of his enimies, was there beaten downe amongst the Armorelike Britains, and being about to get vp againe by helpe of his weapon, was againe felled to the earth, and slaine with manie a sore wound.

Diuers of the Scots discomfited with this great mishap, fell to running awaie: other kindled with more wrath laid about them more egerlie. The Picts also, for their part fought most constantlie, so that the battell continuing untill none date with doubtfull successe, at length the Britains were constrained something to giue backe, & after taking themselves to fearfull flight, declared that the victorie remained with their enemies. There died in this mortall battell nere to the point of 16 thousand of the Britains, and of the Scots & Picts aboue 14 thousand, with Dongard and the Scottish king. Constantine the day next after the battell, withdrew southwards. The Scots carried away with them the corps of their dead king, and conueieng it into the Ile of Jona, now called Colmekill, there buried it in kinglie wise. Dongard was thus slaine, in the fift yere of his reigne, after the birth of our Saviour 475 yeres, and about the second yere of Zeno the emperor.

After him succeeded in gouernment of the Scottish kingdome Constantine the brother of the aboue rehearsed Eugenius, a prince unlike in noble vertues vnto his brother the said Eugenius. For though in him there appeared some good tokens of commendable towardnesse, as he seemed outwardlie to shew, yet was he giuen more vnto wanton pleasure and lust, than to the regard of the good rule and gouernment of his subiects, a desourer of virgins, a rauisher of honest matrones, and aboue all, a fauourer of backbiters and slanderers; neuer shewing anie iofull countenance amongst his nobles, but amongst scoffing iesters and other vile persons he was as pleasant and merie as the iocundest man alike. Thus though he represented the British king Constantine in name, yet in manners he far differed from him: for the British Constantine studieng to aduance the commonwealth of his subiects, trained them in laudable exercises, & reduced them from their former euill vices vnto ciuill order and good customs. Contrariwise, the Scottish Constantine did nothing worthie praise at all, after he was once instituted king, but followed still his owne inordinate lust and sensuall appetite.

He granted peace vnto the Britains they scarce requiring the same, releasing not onelie the tribute, but also deliuering vp into their hands by secret meanes diuers castles standing vpon the riuer of Humber. Manie other things he was about to haue done to the great preiudice and hinderance of the Scottish estate, had not the nobles of the realme the sooner withstood his rash and vnadvised attempts. Such malice also was ingendred in the hearts of the most part of the nobilitie towards him, that had it not bene through the wholesome admonition & perswasion of Dongall of Galloway, a noble man of right reuerend authoritie amongst them, they had continued ciuill wars against him, but the foresaid Dongall declaring to them the great danger and inconuenience that might thereof insue, restrained their wrathfull minds from enterprising anie thing against him by force, so that for certeine yeres they suffered and bare with this his misordered gouernment.

In the meane while the Picts noting the want of all vertuous qualities thus in the king of Scots, and againe what tokens of valiant courage appeared in the king of the Britains, doubted least if he should

The Britains are put to flight.

465. H.B.
8. of Leo. H.B.

Constantine.

Constantine the first of his name created king of Scots.

Constantine the Scottish king nothing like in noble conditions vnto Constantine king of the Britains.

Peace granted vnto the Britains, and diuers castles deliuered into their hands.

The good counsell of Dongall.

The Picts stand in feare of the king of Britaine.

saie to reuenge old injuries against them, they should be litle able to match him without aid of the Scots (whereof they had small trust now, by reason of the insufficiencie of the Scottish king) they deuised a mirane how to rid the British king out of the waie, and so appointing certeine sic fellowes to go into Britaine for the accomplishment of their deuised purpose, at length the same was brought to passe, as in the English chronicles ye shall find more at large, though in the same chronicles there is mention made but of one bit that should worke this feat, where the Scottish writers record of diuers, which neuertheless were apprehended, and after bound both hand and foot, were cast into a mightie great fire, and therein burnt to ashes in most miserable wise, as by the said Scottish writers it appeareth. The death of this Constantine king of Britains happened in the 15 yere of Constantine king of Scots, neither liued he long after: for hauing rauished a noble mans daughter, borne in the wessterne Isles, he was slaine by his father in the night season, after he had reigned in great infamie for his reprochfull life, the space of 17 yeres.

Constantine the Scottish king is slaine by one whose daughter he had rauished. Anno 481.

Dongall. Dongall the sonne of Dongard is made king of Scotland.

The politike rule of Dongall.

Constantinus a minke elected king of Britaine.

Mortigerns treason. Constantinus murdered.

Cutellus general of the British army

Then was Dongall his nephew, as sonne to his brother Dongard, proclaimed king, a prince of disposition indifferent either to peace or warre, though in the beginning of his reigne he shewed himselfe more desirous of peace than of warres, by reason the state of the common-wealth so required, considering how things stood not all in the best order, through his predecessors negligence. Dongall therefore desirous of a reformation, appointed men of great wisdom and good fame to be iudges and officers vnder him, who in redressing misorders, in punishing transgressions, & in deciding of all strifes and contentions betwixt partie & partie, did so well their endeour, that peace and concord thereupon insuing, the people recovered peaceable rest and quietnesse, to their no small comfort and contentation.

In this meane while that things passed thus among the Scots, by the procurement of one Mortigern, Constantinus the eldest sonne of the late deceased Constantine king of Britains, was taken out of an abbey, where he was shorne a monke, and advanced to the kingdom: but being not meet of himselfe to gouerne. Mortigern had the whole rule committed to his hands, whereupon he first caused the league to be renewed betwixt the Britains, the Scots, and Picts, and appointed a gard of the same Scots and Picts to be attendant on the kings person: in the end also he procured some of them to murder the king, and after put all the said Scots and Picts to death, as well the gillie as the vngillie, and finally made himselfe king, as in the historie of England you shall find more at large expressed.

The Scots and Picts (for displeasure that these countreimen which had bene appointed to gard the person of Constantinus king of the Britains, were maliciouslie circumuented, & the more part of them wrongfullie executed) made sundrie roades and forraies into the British borders, neither sparing fire nor sword where they came. So that the said Mortigern by a greivous report informed hereof, caused an armie with all speed to be leued, and appointed Cutellus the prince of Wales to haue the leading thereof against the enemies: whilke he (doubting least the people would not be ruled by him, for that it was known how he would haue made awaie Constantines children) kept him about London, & durst not commit himselfe so much to the sight of a multitude, as to go forth in that iournie in his owne person.

Cutellus, in respect of the loue which he bare to his countrie, purposing to serue truelie in defence

thereof, chanced vpon his approach to the borders to take the number of five hundred of the enemies, being aduanced from the residue to fetch a bottie. These Cutellus caused to be hanged, as condemned for robbers and pillers of the countrie afore aie ouerture of warre was denounced. Whereupon such other as escaped by flight, and had sene their fellows thus executed, declared vnto their gouernors what had happened vnto their fellowes. The confederate kings, being in a great chafe herewith, gather together their people, and haile forward with all speed toward the enemies, who at the first shewed manifest tokens that they were sore afraid of the Scottish and British power: whereupon Cutellus their generall with comfortable words willed them to be of good courage, and not to doubt of victorie, hauing so lust a cause to fight with truce-breakers, and such as were giuen more vnto pillage and spoile, than to aie or other commendable exercise or practise of warre.

With such and sundrie other the like words the Britains being emboldened, as might well appeare by their change of countenances, Cutellus thereupon remoued his campe more nere vnto his enemies, so that at the first and for certeine daies together, there chanced onelie diuers skirmishes betwixt the parties, as occasion serued. But at length the one being sore moued against the other, they ioinc in a pight field. The beginning of which battell was verie fierce and doubtfull. For on that side where Dongall the Scottish king fought, the Britains shortly began to preuaile, through the faint fighting of his people: which danger Calanus the Pictish king quicklie perceiuing, forthwith provided remedie: for taking with him certeine bands out of his owne battell, willing the residue to stand to it manfully, and in no wise to giue ground to the enemy, he himselfe with the said bands fetched a compasse about, and set vpon the backs of them that so had ouermatched the Scots.

This sudden chance sore disordered the Britains, and immediatlie the Scots encouraged afresh, assailed their enemies with more eger minds than they had done at the first, so that maintainantlie both the wings of the British armie were utterlie discomfited. And herewith a certeine number of the Picts were commanded by their king to make halfe to win the campe of the Britains, that such as sought to escape by flight, should find no refuge in the same. Thus the Britains being chased and slaine on euerie side, they knew not whither to flee: so that in the end a great number of them throwing awaie their weapons, yelded themselves, most humble craning mercie at their enemies hands. There were slaine in this battell about twentie thousand of the Britains, together with their generall Cutellus, and a great number of other of the nobilitie. There died also of the Scots and Picts nere hand foure thousand. The prisoners with the spoile of the field were diuided by appointment of the kings amongst the souldiers. Which done, they marched forth into the countrie to conqueere castles and townes, such as stood in their waie.

In the meane time, the Britains being sore discomfited with the ouerthrow, assembled a counsell at London, there to deuise by what means they might best defend their countrie from the imminent danger in the which it now stood. Mortigern as one gillie in conscience, doubted least through want of god will in his commons, he should not be able to withstand the mightie inuasion of his enemies, whereupon he was minded to haue auoided the realm, but there were of his counsell that aduised him to the contrarie, holding, that better it was for him to trie the bittermost point of fortunes bay, than with

Cutellus was hanged for the enemies to be hanged.

The Scots and Picts gather their people to resist the Britains.

Cutellus encouraged his army with words of comfort.

The Britains put in a pight field with the Scots and Picts. The Scots are put back.

The wings of the Britains put in flight. The campe of the Britains was won.

Cutellus was slaine in this battell.

A counsell holden at London.

Mortigern doubting the hatred of his people, would haue fled out of the realm.

dis Honor so to peld at the first blow of his froward hand, considering the abundance of treasure which he had in store, wherewith he might wage souldiers and men of warre out of Germanie & other places, in number sufficient to match with his enemies. This counsell as the best was folloved, and messengers with commission & sufficient instructions sent with all speed into Germanie, to reclene a number of Sarons, and to bring them over into Britaine, to serve against the Scots and Picts in wages with Clostigerne.

At the same time there were amongst those Sarons two brethren, descended by rightfull lineage of the princes of that nation, who being reputed for valiant captains, appointed with the British commissaries for a certeine summe of monie to take up their prescribed number of men, & to receive charge of them as colonels, aswell for their conuaine ouer into Britaine, as also for their seruice there, after their arrival. The one of these two brethren was called Hengist or Engist, and the other Hozius, who hauing their appointed numbers once filled, concerning about ten thousand souldiers in the whole, they bestowd them abroad in thirtie hulks, hoies, and plaites, and in the same transported them ouer into Britaine, in the 449 yere after Christ, as our histories doe affirme: where they were received with great ioy and gladnesse of Clostigerne, who trusted by their aid to ouercome his fierce and dreadfull enemies.

Therefore when they had refreshed themselves somewhat after their trauell by sea, they were sent forth with an other armie which Clostigerne had assembled of his owne subjects the Britains, to the frontiers of the enemies countrie, where at their first comming they passed ouer the river of Humber, before the Scots or Picts had knowledge that anie such people were come in support of the Britains to bid them battell. They being therefore amazed with the strangenesse of the thing, some of them fled into the inner parts of their countrie, & other that made but soie shift, fell into the hands of the Sarons, who to begin their enterpryse with blood, slawe all such as they could laie hands vpon, without anie respect of person. Great was the slaughter by them committed in all those parties where they passed, namelic about the river of Ene. And when they had made an end there, they entred into Northumberland, and so into the dales about Berwik, next adioining vnto Idland, despoiling all before them with fire and sword.

The Pictish king in the meane time had sent vnto Dongall the king of Scots to come with all speed to support him against the dreadfull invasion of the enemies, whose force being now increased with a power of Sarons, would worke much mischief, if the same were not the more speedilie in the beginning repressed: but hearing that the Sarons and Britains daile approached, he thought not good to tarie for the comming of the Scots, but hastied forth with his owne power to encounter his aduersaries, and rashlie giuing battell, he was overcome, and thereby lost no small number of his people. In this conflict the Sarons wan them a great name for their high valiance, where contrarilie the Britains got them no small note of guiltie cowardise, fighting so faintlie, that their captains had much ado to cause them to keepe their ground, being readie still to haue run awaie: which their faintnesse of stomach being noted of Hengist, euen then put him in no small confidence that it should be an easie matter for him to conquer them at his pleasure, when time and occasion might serue thereto.

The Pictish nation hauing receiued this grieuous

ouerthrow at the hands of their cruell enemies, sent againe an other ambassage vnto the Scottish king Congall, to signifie to him by way of lamentation, what losse had happened to them by that most cruell people the Sarons void of all religion and mercie, and what mischief by the same people was intended, aswell against Scots as Picts, vnto the great danger of the vtter ruine of both nations, if the enemies in time were not resisted. They that were sent, declared all this matter vnto king Congall, and as they had in commission, besought him of speedie succors. Congall not onlie moued for the harms and losses of the Picts his friends and allies, but also much more for the likelihood of the imminent danger and perill towards himselfe and his owne people, determined speedilie to go with all his power, and to ioine with the Picts, as fullie resolved to prevent that mischief which was like to follow, if the violent rage of the enemies were not the sooner resisted.

He sent word therefore to the Pictish king, that if he might keepe off the enemies by light skirmishes and incursions for a small time, he would come to his aid himselfe, with all the whole puissance of his realme. And herewithall he commanded by open proclamation, that all those within his dominions, which were able to beare armour should by the twentieth day after assemble together at the south side of Calidon wood, all and euerie of them bringing then and there with them vittels sufficient to serue them for two moneths. According to the which proclamation, there came together at the day and place assigned, about the number of 40000 able men, fit and meete for the warres. On the morrow after, when Congall had taken the musters & deu of his whole numbers, he set forth towards the place where he understood that the king of the Picts as then lodged, who had likewise assembled his people, and in campe taried for the comming of the Scottish armie.

On the first day after, both the kings met together, and shewed great tokens of intire loue and friendship the one towards the other. After this they go to heare diuine seruice, where they make their devout prayers vnto almightie God for their good speed and luckie successe in that iournie: which being done, they march forth toward the enemies, as then lieng in campe not past ten miles from them. Here at the first sight of the enemies, diuers of the Scots and Picts being stricken with feare to behold so great a multitude, as the like had not bene scene in those parties manie a day before, they stole away and secretly hid themselves in the next woods: But the kings, to giue example to other, caused them that were thus stolne away, to be sought out, & brought againe into the campe, where they were hanged in open sight of all the armie.

The Sarons & Britains also vpon the approach of their enemies gathered their companies together, & maintainantlie herewith the Sarons encouraged with such comfortable speech as Hengist uttered amongst them, required to haue battell without delay: whose example the Britains following, shewed themselves also right willing thereto. Congall the Scottish king perceiving the enemies to make readie for battell, went likewise amongst his folks, and exhorted them in best wise he could, to play the men. He like also did Galanus the Pictish king amongst his people, omitting nothing that might encourage them to fight manfullie. After this, the battell on both sides comming forward to ioine, the arrowes and darts flew freshlie betwixt them, but neither part minding to giue place for all the shot, at length they ioined at handblowes, first the Britains in the right wing with the Scots in the left wing;

The Picts
effronies fol-
lowed the
Scots for aid.

Congall prom-
ised to aid the
Picts.

Proclamation
made by the
Scots to aid
the Picts.

The Scottish
and Pictish
kings assem-
bled together
with their
powers.

The Scots
and Picts
come within
sight of the
enemies.

The Scots
though com-
fort of Hen-
gist's exhorta-
tion before
battell.

The Scottish
and Pictish
kings exhort
their people to
fight valiant-
lie.

The battell
is begun.

The Britains flee.

A great tempest.

The Saxons close themselves together.

The Scots pursue the Britains.

The Saxons assist the Scots and Britons disordered in pursuit of the Britains.

Hengist purposed at the first to make conquest of the Britains.

Hengist returneth to London.

Hengist offereth to send for more aid into Germany.

Hengist offers to assist some of the nobilitie of Britaine.

The honors shewed vnto Hengist by Hlothgerne.

Britains sent to defend the borders, are distressed.

uing; but the Britains not able long to indure against the force of the Scots, gaue backe and fled. In the meane while came a great sholwer of raine, mixt with such a tempest of haile, that the hardiest there wished himselve thence, the storme beating so fast vpon them, that one might vnderneath see another, so that the Scottishmen and Brits wist not whether were better to pursue the Britains that fled, or to keepe their places.

On the other part, the Saxons according to their manner in time of any present danger, closed themselves together and drew nere vnto their chiefesteins standerd. Finally the tempest no longer began to cease, but the Scots and Brits leauing their order of battell, fell to follow the chase of the Britains, supposing the victorie had bene whole theirs. Which the Saxons (now after that the element began to cleare by) plainelie perceiuing, by commandement of Hengist their generall, assailed the Scots and Brits here and there dispersed about the spoile and slaughter of the Britains, and made such murder of them on euery side where they found them, that pittie it was to behold. Those that escaped by flight, neuer staied till they were gotten into places farre enough out of danger. This was a blacke day with the Scots and Brits. Neither was it verie ioysfull to the Britains, of whome no small number died in the place by the enemies sword lamentable to see. Hengist hauing thus gotten the victorie, withdrew to Porke, leauing those countries betwixt Tine and Ewed in the enemies handes, of purpose ceassing from further indamaging them, that the Britains might haue neighbours whome to feare: for that (as he thought) should make much for his purpose, already hauing determined to make a conquest of this Ile.

When summer then was well nere passed, he placed his souldiers in harbrough to lodge for the winter season, and went himselve to London, where he counselled Hlothgerne to send of his owne people to the borders of his enemies, to keepe the same from their inuasions till the next spring, against which time he promised to cause such notable numbers of his countriemen to come to his aid, as should suffice not onelie to vanquish the Scottishmen and Brits, but also utterly to destroy both the nations, or at least wise to drive them forth of the whole countrie. This offer vnto some of the nobilitie was not greatly liked, as euer suspecting that which followed, least in time to come Hengist should seeke the dominion of the realme in placing his owne people, and expelling the former inhabitants. But Hlothgerne did not onelie giue him most hartie thanks for those his offers, but also shewed by the manner of his intertainment, which he vsed towards him, that he thought he could not do vnto him too much honor for such notable seruice as he had done already, and trusted he should do hereafter. According to Hengists aduise also, there was a crue of men of warre of Britains sent vnto the borders to the number of five thousand, who shortly after their comming thither, were quicklie dispatched and made awaie in sundrie skirmishes and encounters with the Scots and Brits, that assailed those places which they were appointed to defend.

Shortly after was sent thither also another company, double in number to the first, to redenge the deaths of their fellows; but they finding fortune as forward vnto them as the former had done before, sped much what a like, for in sundrie conflicts diuers of them being slaine, and diuers other by treason of the borderers themselves deliuered captiue into the aduersaries hands, the residue that was left, perceiving in what danger they stood, thence they

might not trust their owne countriemen, returned backe into the inner parts of the land, and so left the borders altogether unfurnished. In this meane while a new supplie of five thousand Saxons, with their wives and children, came ouer into this land, in eightene hoies, and amongst other came Hengists wife and his daughter the ladie Korena. Shortly after king Hlothgerne gaue vnto Hengist his Saxons a great part of the countrie called Lindseie, with a castell of great strength called Thongcastre. Some haue written that Hengist required of Hlothgerne so much ground as he might compass with an ore hide, and hauing that granted, he toke a nightie ore hide, and cut it into small thongs, and so compassing about a right strong plot of ground with those thongs line wise, began there the foundation of a castell, which toke name of those thongs, wherewith the plot of ground was first measured, and so was it called Thong-castell. But vpon what consideration so euer it toke that name, certeine it is by record of all the Scottish histories, that there the Saxons first inhabited after their entring into Britaine.

When Hengist had set things in order for the placing of his people there in dwellinges (appointed them by Hlothgerne) according as seemed best vnto his politike head and craftie forecass, he toke forth the souldiers and men of warre, ordered vnder certeine capteins and officers of bands, and led them forward by slow iournies as it were staing for the comming of the Britains. Hlothgerne had gathered as then an huge host of his subiects, and appointed his generall lieutenant ouer them his sonne Hlothgerne, a young man of great force and valancie, but so that he should be ordered in all things by the aduise and discretion of Hengist, whose authority for the warres he commanded chiefe to be followed.

When both the armies of Saxons and Britains were met together, Hengist led them ouer the riuer of Humber and Tine, marching directlie towards the place where he thought the enemies laie. The Scottish and Britishe kings, hauing knowledge of such preparation made by the Britains, they gathered their powers together, to the number of 60000 men, furnished with prouision of vittels for a long time. But before their comming to the riuer of Tine, vpon knowledge had that the Saxons and Britains were passed the same, they made straight towards them, in purpose to haue giuen battell without longer protracting of time: howbeit comming to the place where they were lodged, they found them so strongly incamped, that no aduantage could be perceiued which waie they might be constrained to raise and come forth of their strength to receiue battell vpon some euen ground, which Hengist of purpose for a time seemed to deferre.

Between them also and the armies of the two kings there was a vallie, in the botome full of mires and marish grounds, which the Scottishmen and Brits must needs passe, yet they could find meanes to do ante notable displeasure to the enemies. Wherefore at length they determined with turfe and fagots to make passage ouer those mires, which being accomplished in the night following, the next morning they passed ouer and got them vnto certeine hilles lying right ouer against the Saxon and Britishe campes, some of them taking their lodgings vpon the brow of front of an hill sonere to the lodgings of their enemies, that they might throwe a dart into their campe: and hereof they toke no small occasion to worke a feat against their aduersaries, to their great annoiance and vexation.

There was growing in that place, where they were

A new prince of Saxons commeth vnto Britaine.

Throng-castell.

The Saxons first inhabited.

Hlothgerne generall of the Britains.

The Saxons and Britons against the Scots and Brits.

60000 of Saxons and Brits came to meet the enemies.

Hengist prolonged time to give battle.

were thus incamped, verie much of that kind of
beath or ling, which the Scottishmen call hadder. Of
which beath or hadder, they gathered a great quanti-
tie together, and binding it in bundels like unto fa-
gots, in the night season they set the same on fire,
tumbling it downe the hill, on that side where the
Sarons laie. The wind in that instant being some-
what aloft, caused these bundels of ling to blase and
burne vehementlie, and hereto standing that waies
south, droue the flame so fireinable amongst the
tents and cabins of the Sarons, that the fire cat-
ching in the straw and twigs which they had couched
together vnder them in stead of beds, increased the
feare amongst the Souldiours wonderfullie, by reason
that the blasing bundels of the ling or hadder, still
comming downe the hill vpon them, seemed as
though the same had fallen from above; and euen
south of the heauen it selfe.

Great was the tumult and noise throughout the
whole campe, with such roving of beasts, and run-
ning vp and downe both of them and of the horses
which were there in the campe, that if heauen and
earth had gone together, there could not haue bene
a more terrible noise nor clamor. At length, when the
souldiours had done what they could to quench the
fire, and to appease the trouble, not without some vp-
rore and disorder raised on each side, they got them
with their armor and weapons south into the next
field, which Hengist himselfe perceiving (having first
done what he could to stay them) inuironed with a
compante of his choicest men of warre, he got him
vp vnto a little hill next adioining, and there gaue
knowledge by the sound of a trumpet that all his
people should draw thither vnto him. After this,
when they were come together, he disposed them in
order of battell with all diligence, abiding for the
spring of the daie, to vnderstand more certeinlie the
meaning of his enimies.

The Scots and Picts supposing the enimies to be
farre disordered, by reason of the fire descended
downe from the hill, fullie determined to assaile
them in their camps: but vpon their approach to the
same, perceiving how the Sarons were gotten
south, and stood readie in good order of battell, min-
ding to defend their ground, both the kings thought
it best to tarie till the morning, yet they made anie
exploit, for doubt of perils that might befall thereof.
In the breake of the daie Congall came amongst
his people, exhorting them to remember their wor-
thy elders, and by their example to chuse rather to
die in defense of their countrie & ancient liberties,
than by cowardize to saue a dishonoured life, which (if
their chance was to be vanquished) they should passe
in great thraldome and miserie. The Pictish king
also with like words encouraged his men to doe val-
iantlie. Neither was Hengist slow in perswading his
Sarons to plaie the men, that obtaining the victorie
they might deliuer themselves from terroꝝ of all eni-
mies from thenceforth in Britaine.

Whilste he was thus exhorting his people, the
Scots and Picts with great force and violence be-
gan to giue the charge vpon him, which whilste the
Sarons and Britains went about to defend, they
were beaten downe by heaps so fiercelie on each side,
that the discomfiture had light vpon them southward,
had not Hengist by sound of trumpet called south a-
bout thre thousand fresh men to their succors, which
he had placed in an ambush a little before the spring
of the daie within a thicke groue of wood, fast by his
campe, appointing them to remaine there in a readi-
nesse, to come at his call, vpon what danger soeuer
happened. These most fiercelie setting vpon the
backes of the Scots, brought them straight out of all
order: for they being occupied with the other Sar-

ons before, and now assailed of these behind, they had
vnderneath some for anie aduantage to turne their
weapons. In the meane time the Picts being mat-
ched with the Britains did put them to flight, and
chased them out of the field, not ceassing to pursue
them in the chase, till they came to a riuer in the which
a great number of them were drowned, as they re-
spected to passe ouer the same, and to saue them-
selues by swimming. On the other side, the Scots
being sore handled by the Sarons, both before and
behind, were at the length constrained to giue
ground and breake south by flight, & so to escape the
cruell hands of the enimies. Many were slaine in
the chase, and some taken prisoners. The residue get-
ting away, fled straight to the Picts: but Congall
himselfe, through helpe of his household seruants es-
caped to the top of an high hill, and saued himselfe
all wounded as he was.

The Picts returning from the chase, and under-
standing how the Sarons had giuen the Scots the
ouerthrow, and that they were now marching for-
ward to encounter also with them, determined not to
abide their comming at that time. And so night ap-
proching yet the Sarons had got sight of them, order
was giuen by commandement of their king, that
all their carriage, and a great quantitie of logs and
fagots, should be placed and piled together before
them, and in the darke of the night to be set on fire,
which being executed according to the appointment,
when the fire was once kindled, the Picts with the
Scots which were got vnto them, departed as secre-
lie as they might, and staid not to make a waie, till
they were farre enough out of the danger of the Sar-
ons. Hengist hauing thus got the victorie, and per-
ceiving no enimie abroad to bid him battell, muste-
red his men, and found that he had lost in this iour-
nie as good as foure thousand of one and other. Af-
ter this, he withdreweth to Dyke, and leauing his
armie there, went himselfe vnto London, where
he was receiued with ioy inough by king Clo-
tigne.

Shortlie after, vpon knowledge that Aurelius
Ambrose, and Uter, the sonnes of king Constantine
prepared to come ouer with a mightie armie of Ar-
morike Britains, and other Frenchmen, to claime
the crowne of Britaine, as lawfullie descended to
them from their father: the Sarons were sent for
out of the north parts, and had dwellings appointed
vnto them in Kent, to be at hand if need were to re-
sist anie such attempted inuasion. But shortlie after,
for a policie, Hengist caused it to be bzanted abroad,
that the Scots and Picts meant to inuade
the British confines, & therefore was there an other
powder of Sarons called into the land, and placed in
the north parts, to defend the same against the
Scots and Picts. Deca the sonne of Hengist had the
leading of these Sarons, who brought them ouer, be-
ing ten thousand men of warre, in fiftie platts, and
fiftie hoies. They brought with them also their wiues
and children, and settled themselves in the north parts
betwixt the riuer of Humber and the borders of the
Pictish dominions. And euen then it began to take
the name of Northumberland, which is as you would
say, the land by north the riuer of Humber, and so it
doth continue.

Shortlie after, Clotigne forsaking his lawfull
wife, married the ladie Korena or Rowen, Hengists
daughter, to the high offense of God, and great dis-
pleasure of his subiects. And in the meane time, De-
ca not attempting anie exploit against the Scots
and Picts, rather sought to get into his hands all the
fortresses betwixt Tyne and Humber, euen from the
east sea to the west: which his purposed intent he
greatlie advanced, winning castels and fortresses
there

The Bri-
tains put to
flight by the
Picts.

The Scots
forced to die.

Congall was
wounded, but
yet escapeth
through helpe
of his household
seruants.

The policie of
the Picts to
escape out of
danger.

Aurelius Im-
brose & Uter,
sons to king
Constantine.

The Sarons
placed in
Kent.

A new powder
of Sarons
came ouer
with their
captain Decca.

Northumber-
land when it
first began to
be so called.

Clotigne
married Hen-
gists daugh-
ter.

For he in possession of Hengist.

Woztgerne deposed by his subiects. Woztmer chosen to gouerne the Britains. The Britains require aid of the Scots and Picts against the Saxons.

The answer of Congall King of Scots vnto the Britith messengers.

Upon what conditions Congall consented to support the Britains.

A league concluded betwixt Scots Picts and Britains.

there in those parties, some by force, and some by surrender: and amongst other places of importance, he first got possession of Hozke, and feigning accusations against manie of the nobles and gentlemen, surmising that they would betraie the countrie vnto the Scots & Picts, he put diuerse of them to death, some secretlie, and others openlie, as consist of such offenses as were forged and laid against them.

Herevpon the Britains for the stay of such mischiefes as they saw at hand, deposed Woztgerne from his kinglie seat, and placed his sonne Woztmer in his roome, which being done, ambassadores were sent both vnto the Scots and Picts, to require their aid and support against the cruell oppression of the Saxons, who sought not onelie by craftie meanes and fraudulent waies to attaine the dominion of the whole Ile, but also to extinguish and utterlie subuert the faith of Christ, and the vse of his religion throughout the same. Therefore they earnestlie desired the Scottish and Pictish kings, to assist them against such common enemies as had bene called into the realme, not by publike consent of the nobles, but onlie by the priuate commandement and ordinance of Woztgerne, to helpe as well toward the subduing of the Scots and Picts, as also to repress all commotions of the Britains, which they might happlie raise against him for his wicked tyrannie vsed amongst them, as his guiltie conscience might put him still in feare of.

The Scottish king Congall (vnto whome first the ambassadores were sent) for answer declared, that he was lozie to vnderstand into what danger the miserable christians of Britaine were thus fallen, and therefore if nothing else might moue him to ioine with the Britains against the Saxons, yet that were sufficient cause to inforce him to doe the best he could, to helpe to deliuer the whole Ile from such an ethnik generation, as not onelie vsed the rites and ceremonies of their false religion, and that openlie among the christians, with doing sacrifice in the honor and worship of their hellish gods, to the great horroz and terrible offense of the beholders consciences; but also sought by all meanes they could devise, how to destroye and quench vterlie the faith of our Saviour Christ in all places where they might get the vpper hand.

He promised therefore to imploye his whole puissance to recover out of the enemies hands all such countries as laie betwixt the frontiers of his dominion and the riuer of Humber, and further to aid the Britains to driue them quite out of the Ile, if the Britains would assure him, from thenceforth neuer to make claime, title nor interest, to any of the countries aforesaid, lieng betwixt the said riuer of Humber and the confines of his realme; but to leaue the same in the hands of the Scottishmen and Picts, to haue hold and intoy for euermore in quiet: which to performe, the ambassadores had (amongest other things) already promised in name of all the Britith nation, as a recompense or meed to haue the support and succors of the Scots. The like answer the same ambassadores receiued of the Pictish king, and returning therewith vnto Woztmer, declared afoze him and his counsell how they had sped.

Shortlie after, for the moze and better assurance of all promises, covenants and articles passed betwixt the Scottishmen, Picts, and Britains, there was an amitie and bond of peace now renewed, ratified and established, according to the tenor of the ancient league, which had bene concluded in times past betwixt them, with some new conditions of agreement included in the same: all old iniuries being ended and quieted clearelie betwixt them, so that no cause of grudge or displeasure might be

thought to remaine in remembrance. The first enterprize put in execution after the concluding of this league, was made by the Scots against Decca and his Saxons, which (as partlie ye haue heard) had nestled themselves betwixt the riuers of Tine and Humber.

Against those Scots, as they were verie earnestlie occupied in ouerthrowing castles and towres, with slaughter of such Saxons as stood at defense, Decca commeth into the field with an armie readie to encounter with them, but perceiuing the multitude of his enemies to be such, as he doubted least he should not be well able to match with them, he staid a while from giuing the onset: but in the end perceiuing he could not retire backe but to his great disadvantage, he boldlie gaue signe to his people to set vpon their enemies: which they fiercelie executing, it was hard to tell for a while to whether part the victorie would incline. But at length the Saxons not able to susteine the force of the Scots, ouerpressing them with multitude, began to giue backe: which Decca perceiuing, did what he could to hem them in from running awaie, but yet notwithstanding all that he could doe, feare at length ouercomming regard to their captieins commandement, flane of rebulke was quite set apart, and so they toke them to their feet, and fled awaie so fast as they might, the Scots pursuing after them amaine.

Decca yet escaped with diuerse of his nobles, and comming to the mouth of Humber, got a ship, and sailed forth in the same with great danger, till at length he arriued within the Shannecs. The slaughter of the Saxons vpon the discomfiture was great, speciallie in the chafe, for the Scottishmen calling to remembrance that they had to doe with infidels, and with the enemies of the christian faith, were so eger vpon them, that they saued few or none that fell into their hands. About the same time was Woztmer entered into Kent against Hengist and his Saxons there, and encountering with them in battell, slew ten thousand of them, and chased the residue forth of that countrie. Thus Kent returned vnto the Britains, and the countries beyond Humber northwards vnto the Scots and Picts, according to the tenour of the league before mentioned.

Hengist and his sonne Decca (who a little before this battell in Kent was come vnto his father) with the residue of them that escaped, hastied with all speed toward Northumberland, in purpose to remaine in that countrie till they had recovered their strength by some power to be sent ouer vnto them out of their owne countrie: but being repelled with no small slaughter from thence by the Scots and Picts, they withdrew vnto the mouth of Humber, where getting certelie vessels, they passed ouer into Saronie, leauing a great sort of their nation behind them, dispersed abroad here and there in this Ile, as fortune then best serued. Woztmer hauing got the victorie, as before is mentioned, vsed not the same verie cruellie, for taking onelie from the Saxons which were taken prisoners their armes and weapon, he suffered them to depart into their countrie: other of the same nation being but husbandmen, and as it were poore laborers of the ground, he permitted to tarry in the countrie with their wiues & children, as seruants vnto the Britains.

After this, Woztmer gaue order for the repairing of churches, and restoring of the christian religion into the state of the former puritie thereof, as then sore decayed, partlie through the euill example taken by baslie conuersation amongst the Saxons, and partlie also by the infectiue heresie of the Pelagians, as then mightilie spread ouer the most part of Britaine. At length the said Woztmer through treason of his stepmother

The Scots invade the country of Northumberland.

The Saxons encounter with the Scots.

The Saxons vanquished by the Scots.

Decca fleeth into Kent.

The Saxons vanquished by Britains and expelled out of Kent.

The Saxons flee out of Britaine.

Woztmer besteth the Saxons verie modellie.

The heresie of the Pelagians.

Stepmother Korenā was poisoned, and died. Then was Moxtigerne againe restored to the rule of the kingdom, first forced by oth to promise neuer to aid the Sarons, nor to receiue by way of aid anie forreine people into the realme. Moxtigerne then restored thus vnto the crowne, shewed such diligence in causing due administration of iustice without rigor to be executed, and prouision made for the resisting of all inuasions that might be attempted by anie forreine power, that his praise was great amongst all his subiects, who to shew their good willes likewise towards him as to their naturall prince, were not slacke in honoring him aswell by gifts and presents, as by all other manner of waies. He found incanes also to renew the league with the Scots and Brits, with like conditions and articles, as it was concluded lastlie betwixt them and his sonne Moxtimer. But notwithstanding his politike proceeding, thus to auoid all incommenience that might happen; Moxtigerne after Moxgill returned, and what by force and subtilties, at length got possession of the moze part of Britaine, so that the Britains were constrained to flee into Wales, whither also Moxtigerne fled, and remained there a certeine time, till at length Aureliug Ambrosius, and Mox, the sonnes of king Constantine came ouer out of little Britaine, and besieging Moxtigerne in a castell, burnt him with the house and all, when they could not otherwise come by him, according to that which Merlin the British soothsayer had prophesied before. It is folishlie supposed that this Merlin was got by a spirit of that kind which are called *Incubi*, that is to vnderstand, such as conueieng mans seed from him (and therewith by illusion taking vpon them the shape and figure of man) doe lic with women, and vse them after the manner of carnall copulation.

In this place Hector Boetius by the way reciteth a like tale of two, of such illusions of spirits, wrought not long before his time in Scotland, which somewhat abridging the same we haue here insarced. In the yere 1480, saith he, it chanced as a Scottish ship departed out of the fforth towards Flanders, there rose a wonderfull great tempest of wind and weather, so outrageous, that the maister of the ship with other the mariners wondered not a little what the matter ment, to see such weather at that time of the yere, for it was about the middell of summer. At length when the furious pirrie & rage of winds still increased, in such wise that all those within the ship looked for present death, there was a woman vnderneath the hatches, called vnto them aboue, and willed them to throw hir into the sea, that all the residue by Gods grace might yet be saued: and thereupon told them, how she had bene haunted a long time with a spirit, daillie comming vnto hir in mans likenesse, and that euen as then he was with hir, vling his filthie pleasure after the maner of carnall copulation. In the ship there chanced also to be a priest, who by the maisters appointment going downe to this woman, and finding hir like a most wretched and desperate person, lamenting hir great misfortune and miserable estate, vfed such wholesome admonitions and comfortable aduertisements, willing hir to repent and hope for mercie at the hands of God, that at length she seeming right penitent for hir greuous offenses committed, and fetching sundrie sighes euen from the bottome of hir heart, being witness (as should appeare) of the same, there issued forth of the pumpe of the ship a foule and euill fauored blackie cloud, with a mightie terrible noise, flame, smoke and stinke, which presently fell into the sea: And suddenly ther vpon the tempest ceased, and the ship passing in great quiet the residue of hir iourne, arrived in safetie at the place whither she was bound.

Not long before the hap hereof, there was in like manner a yong man dwelling in Careoth, within a village there, not passing 14 milles from Aberdine, verie faire & comelic of shape, who declared by waie of complaint vnto the bishop of that diocesse, how there was a spirit which haunted him in shape of a woman, so faire and beautifull a thing, that he neuer saw the like, the which would come into his chamber at nights, and with pleasant intisements allure him to haue to doe with hir, & that by no maner of means he could be rid of hir. The bishop like a wise man aduised him to remoue into some other countrie, and to glue himselfe to fasting and prayer, so to auoid his hands of that wicked spirit. The yong man following the bishops counsell, within a few daies was deliuered from further temptation.

About the same time also, there was in the countrie of Spar, a yong gentlewoman of excellent beautie, and daughter vnto a noble man there, refusing sundrie wealthie mariages offered to hir by hir father, and other friends. At length she proued with child, and being rigorously compelled by hir parents to tell who was the father, she confessed that a certeine yong man vfed nightlie to come vnto hir, and kept hir companie, and sometimes in the day also, but how or from whence he came, or by what meanes he went awaie, she was not able to declare. Her parents not greatly crediting hir words, laid diligent watch, to vnderstand what he was that had defiled their house: and within three daies after, vpon signification giuen by one of the maidens, that the fornicator was at that verie instant with their daughter, incontinentlie there vpon, making fast the doores, they enter the chamber with a great manie of torches and lights, where they find in their daughters armes a foule monstrous thing, verie horrible to behold. Here a number comming hastlie in, to behold this euill fauored sight, amongst other there was a priest of verie honest life, not ignorant (as was thought) in knowledge of holie scripture.

This priest (all other being afraid) and some of them running their waies, began to recite the beginning of Saint Johns gospel, and comming to these words, *Verbum caro factum est*, suddenly the wicked spirit making a verie sore and terrible roaring noise, flue his waies, taking the roose of the chamber awaie with him, the hangings and coverings of the bed being also burnt therewith. The gentlewoman was yet preserved, and within three or foure daies after was deliuered of such a mishapen thing, as the like before had not bene seene, which the midwives and women, such as were present at hir labors, to auoid the dishonor of hir house, immediatlie burnt in a great fire, made in the chamber for the same intent. Thus much out of Hector Boetius, which, with moze, he hath written to proue that all is not feined which is written of the illusions of diuels and euill spirits, the credit whereof I leaue with the author.

Now to retorne where I left touching Aurelius Ambrose. We shall vnderstand, that he hauing once subdued and dispatched his aduersarie Moxtigerne, determined to make warres against Moxgill and his Sarons, to proue if his chance might be to recover the realme out of their hands, and so to restore againe the christian religion. But first yet he attempted anie exploit against the enimies, he sent ambassadors both vnto Congall the Scottish king, and also vnto one Loth a towardlie yong gentleman, and of verie comelic personage, as then reigning among the Brits, requiring them both to aid him in so needfull an enterprise as he had in hand against the enimies of Christ and his religion. Wherevpon both these kings, weighing with themselves the dutie of all christian princes, in respect of the auancement of

A yong man
haunted with
a spirit.

Aurelius
Ambrose pre-
pared to make
warres a-
gainst the
Sarons.

Ambassadors
sent vnto the
Scots and
Brits to re-
quire their aid
against the
Sarons.

The Scots
and Picts
promise to aid
the Britains
against the
Saxons.
The league
renewed be-
twixt Brit-
tains, Picts,
and Scots.

Aurelius
Ambrose ma-
keth an orati-
on.

Aurelius
Ambrose pro-
claimed king
of Britaine.

Conranus
generall of the
Scots.

Loth king of
the Picts.

Wahschell.

The Pibions
and Saxons
incounter in
battell.

The Armo-
rike Britains

The Saxons
discouraged.

the cause of faith, and suppressing of eynike idolatry, promised their helpe to the uttermost of their pow-
ers against the Saxons, who had in such tyrannike
sort subverted and abolished the christian profession
within the British confines. And therefore the old
league, according to the articles and covenants a-
fore time concluded betwixt the three nations, was
once againe renewed, and an armie prepared by e-
uerie of them, to meet at a place and day appointed,
for the better expedition of this their attempted vo-
age.

First Aurelius Ambrose, with such power as he
brought with him south of France, & joining there-
unto a great multitude of those Britains which had
escaped the Saxons hands, either by withholding
themselves into Wales, or else by conuening them-
selves into the countries of the Scots and Picts, set-
teth forward toward the Scottish armie. But first cal-
ling together those Britains that he had about him,
and going vp to a little hill, where he might be heard
of them all, he made a long oration by waie of com-
plaint, of the great iniuries and cruell practises vsed
by Hengist, against the lineage of king Constantine,
and the whole estate of the British common-wealth:
also of the horrible persecution made by him and his
people the Saxons, against the professors of the chri-
stian religion. All which matter he handled in wordes
so pittie, his talke yet fauoring of the Romane elo-
quence, that the minds of the soldiers being kindled
therewith, required nothing but battell, as men not
doubting but by his wise and politike conduct to at-
chue some glorious victorie. And to the end all thing
might be done in better order, according to his ap-
pointment, immediatlie they proclaimed him king.
Which was by account of the Scottish chronicles, in
the yere 498, after that Vortigern with his sonne
Maximian had reigned 17 yeres in the whole.

Aurelius in this wise being established king of
Britaine passeth south with his people, and within
six daies after met with the armies of the Scots and
Picts. Generall of the Scots at that time was one
Conranus brother to king Congall, who was trou-
bled with the gout, so that he could not come himse-
lf in person. Loth the Pictish king was there himse-
lf amongst his people, verie desirous to shew some
proofe of his manlie prowesse and manhood. Aurelius
Ambrose shewed all the honor that might be deuised,
as well to the one as to the other of those two nati-
ons, promising to requite them with as much friend-
ship when time and occasion should craue the like as-
sistance. These three mightie armies therefore being
thus assembled, marched south towards a place called
Wahschell, where they understood that Hengist with
his power as then did sojorne. Where when both the
camps were pitched, and one lieng not farre from
the other: at the first certeine light skirmishes were
procured by both parts betwixt the light horsemen,
where with at length being the more prouoked to dis-
pleasure, they come into the field with their whole
maine battels, verie fiercelie incounting ech other,
so that (as it appeared) their force was not so great,
but their mortall hate was even as much, or rather
more, if the histories saie right.

The Armoike Britains with a new kind of order
in their fight, sore troubled the Saxons, in perking
their battels, with their mit arched in certeine
wards, broad behind and narrow before, wedgethwise.
The Scots also & Picts bare downe both the wings
of the Saxons, in such manner, that the standards of
all the three nations, Scots, Picts, and Britains,
were at point almost to meet, hauing made waie
thereunto through the middelt of their enemies.
Where with the Saxons (being sore discouraged) be-
gan to giue backe; and finally, notwithstanding all

that Hengist could saie or do to haue staied them,
they fell to running awaie, and fled amaine, which
when he thought he saw, & perceived that there was
no recouerie, he himse- (in manner the last man
that abode) fled likewise his waies out of the field,
with an ambuishment of horsemen about him, but
being pursued by Aurelius verie fiercelie, he was
run through the bodie by him with a speare, and so
was there slaine out of hand, in the 488 yere of
Christ, and 40 after his comming into this Ile. How-
beit the other of the Saxons conueied his sonne De-
ca (being also sore wounded) awaie with them vp in
to the next mounteins, whither they fled for their re-
fuge, leauing the dead bodie of his father Hengist
in the field, to their high reproch, there to be spoiled
and abused of his enemies.

Aurelius Ambrose hauing thus got the vpper hand
of his enemies, hasted south with all speed vnto Lon-
don, where hauing both the citie and towne deliuered
into his hands, he recovered the whole Island from
the possession of the Saxons: and such of them as
were apt men, able to beare armor, and to serue in
the warres, he commanded to depart south of the
land. The other that were minded to tarrie behind
their fellows that were thus forced to depart, be-
came subiects to the Britains, and conuained to be-
come christians. & Thus much haue I written tou-
ching Aurelius Ambrose, according to the report of
the Scottish writers, but more hereof ye may read
in the historie of England, where ye shall find this
matter set forth more at large. For that which we
write here, is but to shew in what sort the Scottish
writers make relation of the warres which their na-
tion had with the Saxons, when they began first to
set foot here in this land.

To our purpose then. In the meane time Aure-
lius hauing thus recovered the land out of the Sax-
ons hands, and now remaining at London, did all
the honor he could imagine, both vnto Loth the Pic-
tish king, and also vnto Conranus generall of the
Scottishmen, acknowledging how that by their aid
chiefly he had got the vpper hand of his enemies, and
so he willed to haue it notified amongst his subiects.
Hereto he caused the league to be renewed betwixt
the Scots, Picts, & Britains, the ancient ordinance
for the countries beyond Humber, being appointed
to remaine vnto the Scottishmen and Picts: also
that the Saxons should be reputed common eni-
mies to all the three nations, and that vpon inuasion
made by any foreyn power, the Scots, Picts, and
Britains, should aid one another as occasion serued.

This league being concluded with these articles
of covenants, was the more stronglie confirmed,
by reason of such affinitie and alliance as then also
inued. For whereas Aurelius had two sisters, the
one named Anne, and the other Ada, virgins both;
Anne being the elder, was giuen in marriage vnto
king Loth, by whome certeine yeares after he had
issue two sonnes, Mordeus, and Maluan or Cal-
wan, with a daughter called Chametes: Ada being
the younger sister was married vnto Conranus, ge-
nerall (as is said) of the Scottish armie. Howbeit she
liued not past two yeares after, but died in trauell of
child, which also died with the mother: and so en-
ded the alliance of Aurelius and Conranus. The
Britains being deliuered through the victorie and
means afore rehearsed from the cruell hands of the
Saxons, inioined to fall peace certeine yeares after,
but in the meane time diuers of those Saxons which
were licenced to remaine in Britaine, counterfey-
ting to become christians, vsed neuerthelesse to
make sacrifice vnto idols, according to the manner
of the gentiles, whereof their priests bring accused
and condemned, suffered death by fire for that ob-
stinate.

senle, accordinglie as the law did then appoint them. Whilest these things were thus in hand, Congall king of the Scots being woone with long sicknesse, departed this life, and was buried in the Ile of Jona, otherwise called Colmekill, with all kingle pompe and accustomed ceremonies. He reigned o-
ver the Scottishmen about 20 yeares in great fame and glorie.

After his deceasse, his brother Conranus with
A great reioicing of all the Scottish nation was
admitted k. in the yeare after the birth of our Sau-
our 512, and the 22 of the reigne of the emperor
Anastatius. This Conranus otherwise called Go-
ranus, being established king, first toke order
that the sonnes of his brother Congall being within
age, should be brought vp in the Ile of Man, under
the gouernance of certeine wise instructors & schole-
maisters, to be trained in learning and vertuous
discipline, according to an ancient ordinance there-
of made and enacted. Also doubting least peace and
quietnesse, now after long warres, should minister
matter to his people of raising some commotion, to
the disturbance of all ciuill order & politike gouer-
nement within his realme, he rode as it had bene in
circuit round about the same, making inquirie of
all maner offenders, on whome he caused due pu-
nishment to be executed, without respect either of
kith or kin.

And amongst other enormities which he under-
stood to be vsed in maner through all his countries,
this (as he thought) was most grieuous, that the
husbandmen and other commons of the countrie, be-
ing euill intreated and misused at the gentlemen's
hands, durst not complaine, nor procure anie redres;
by reason whereof, when they were oppressed, or suffer-
ed anie maner of wrong or iniurie, they were with-
out remedie to haue the same reformed; he ordeined
therefore, that the names of all such offenders, with
the maner of their offenses, should be secretlie regi-
stered in a booke euerie yeare, by certeine inquisi-
tors thereto chosen and appointed. And if it chanced
that those which were thus accused, might after-
wards be found guiltie before the kings iustices by
matter plainelie proued against them; they should
then be sure to be punished according to the measure
of their offenses.

This custome of accusations, commonlie called
indictments, continueth euen vnto these our daies.
Conranus himselfe (as is reported) vsed much to be
present at assises and sessions to see the lawes duclie
ministered, either else to passe the time in hunting
within some forest or chase, nere to the place where
the iustices sat. Now whilest Conranus king of
Scots thus studied for the good gouernement of his
people, Aurelius Ambrose the king of Britaine fell
sicke of a consumption, which brought him to such
weakenesse, that all recouerie of health in him was
despaired; whereof Decca and Pascentius sonnes to
Hengist being aduertised, returned with a mightie
power of Saxons into Britaine, which (as Hector
Boetius saith) they named at that present Hengists
land.

After the brother of Aurelius laie also at the same
time sore sick of a stir in the parties of Wales, so
that to auoid dissention that was raised among the
Britains, about the appointing of a generall to go a-
gainst the enimies, Aurelius euen sick as he was,
caused himselfe to be caried forth in a litter; with
whose presence his people were so encouraged, that
incounting with the Saxons they wan the victorie,
although with such losse on their side, that Aurelius
was glad to take truce for the space of foure mo-
neths, and therewith breking by his campe, went
into Wiltshire, and sent ambassadours vnto the

Scottish and Pictish kings for aid against the time
when the truce should expire, which was granted, and
so he prouided for all things readie for the warres a-
gainst the appointed time of their assemblie. Decca
also sent his brother Pascentius into Germanie for
more aid, but as some write, he was diuen by con-
trarie winds into Ireland, & getting a great power
of men together there, he came backe to his brother
with the same. But whether he had those men out
of Ireland or Germanie, sure it is that the power
of the Saxons was greatlie increased therewith.
In the meane time died Aurelius Ambrose, who
was poisoned by a mischievous monke, a Saxon
borne, named Copa or Cope (as some booke haue)
that toke vpon him to be skilfull in physike, and a
monke by profession. His death was sore lamented
of the Britains: but contrariwise, the Saxons re-
ioiced greatlie thereof, so that immediatlie after,
Decca with his power inuadeth the Britains, vsing
great crueltie in all places wherefoeuer he came.

In the meane time the Scottish and Pictish armies
were come for ward towards Aurelius, according to
promise made vnto his ambassadours; but when his
death was certeinlie knowen amongst them, the
capteins and leaders of both those armies, resolved
to returne home againe, and so they did, for that they
doubted in what state and order things should stand
amongst the Britains now after the deceasse of
their late king. After the death of Aurelius Am-
brose, his brother Uter was made king of Britaine,
and falling in loue with the wife of Gochlois duke
of Cornewall, he did not onelie force hir to lie with
him; but also to the end he might inioy hir the more
freelie, he ceased not to pursue hir husband to rid him
out of the waie, whome at length he toke within a
castell into the which he was fled, & forthwith caused
him to be executed, surmising mater against him, for
that he had forsaken one of the capteins called Pa-
thaliod, in battell against the Saxons. By the wife
of this Gochlois, Uter had issue the great Arthur,
and because he had no legitimat sonne, he appointed
that Arthur should succeed him in gouernement of
the realme. Here with Loth the Pictish king was
not a little moued, disdaining that Arthur being a
bassard, and begot of another mans wife in adulte-
rie, should be preferred before his sons the rightfull
heires of the British kingdome: and therefore by
ambassadours he did what he could to dissuade U-
ter from making anie such ordinance. But when he
saw that he could not remoue him from his opinion,
he thought best to content himselfe with silence, till
the time serued better for his purpose. At length
when the wars were againe renewed betwixt Uter
and Decca the Saxon king, Loth in reuenge of the
iniurie done to him and his children, ioined himselfe
to the Saxons, and was with them at the battell,
in which the Britains got the victorie by the presen-
ce of saint Germane that holie bishop of Auxer, as the
Scottish writers make mention. Which battell as
the same is set forth by Hector Boetius, because it
touched the state of the Picts, we haue thought good
here to expresse.

It was therefore about the feast of Easter, when
the armies came into the field, the Saxons with the
Picts on the one side, & the Britains on the other, of
whom no small number (being either growen to be
idolaters through conuersation with the Saxons,
either els infected with the heresie of the Pelagians)
euen there in campe, by hearing such good sermons
as saint Germane preached amongst them, were
conuerted to the true beliefe, receiuing at the same
time the sacrament of the Lords bodie, together in
companie with other of the faithfull christians. Fri-
nallie when both parties were readie to giue battell,
A. it. saint

Aurelius
Ambrose de-
parteth this
lie.

The Scottish
armie returne
home againe.

Uter beget
Arthur.

S. Germane.
preacheth vnto
the campe.

S. Germane leadeth the fore ward. Their crye was Alleluia.

S. Germane beareth the kings standard.

The Saxons miraculouſlie diſcomfired.

Hyperbole.

Beda diſſenteth from Hector Boetius and his ſayour Veremond.

The Britains giue themſelues vnto all kindes of vice and abominati- ons.

The threaten- ing of vengeance to ſuc- ceed vicious liuing.

The Brit- tains receiue a great over- throw.

King Decca ſaue.

The younger Decca nephew to the former Decca by his brother Diſcus.

Loth contrarie to his oth of credence aided the Brit- tains againſt the Saxons. Colgerne oꝝ Colgerne a Saxon is ſent for by Decca.

ſaint Germane toke vpon him to haue the leading of the fore ward, wherein he had all the preſts and eccleſiaſtical miniſters, giuing commandement, that when he ſhould crye Alleluia, they ſhould all an- ſwere him with one iſtice voice.

Thus proceed they forth to the battell, ſaint Ger- mane bearing the kings ſtandard in the fore front, & vpon the approach to the enimies, he with the reſt of the preſts crying with a loud voice thrice together Alleluia, was answered by all the whole hoſt, utter- ing and crying the ſame crye ſo whole together, that the verte ſound thereof cauſed ſuch an echo on each ſide by reaſon of the hollow mounteines and clifſes hard by them, that the Saxons amazed at this doub- led noiſe, and doubting not onelie another power of their enimies to be hidden priuillie among the hilles which they ſaw on eſch ſide of them, but alſo leaſt the verie rocks & mounteines would haue fallen downe vpon their heads together with the frame of the ele- ment, readie (as it ſeemed to them) to breake in ſun- der, they toke them to their feet in ſuch dreadfull haſt, that their breath was not able to ſuffice halfe the de- ſire they had to continue their courſe. Spanie of them made ſuch haſt, that running to the next river in hope to paſſe the ſame, were drowned therein. To conclude, all of them generallie threw away both weapon and armour, the more lightlie to make away. Thus through the policie of that bleſſed man ſaint Germane, the victorie remained with king Alter and his Britains, without anie bloodſhed.

Saint Beda making mention of this battell, affir- meth the time to be at the firſt coming of S. Ger- mane into this land, where as Hector Boetius follow- ing Veremond, ſuppoſeth it to be at the ſecond time of his coming hither, which was in the daies of king Alter. But at what time ſoeuer this victorie thus chanced, certeine it is, the Britains waring proud thereof, nothing regarded the power of the Saxons, nor toke anie heed for prouiſion of fur- ther deſenſe; but after that thoſe holie biſhops Ger- mane and Seuerus were returned into their coun- trie, they fell to all kinds of gluttonie and exceſſe, in following onelie their ſenſuall luſts and fleſhlie concupiſcence: which abuſes, the biſhops and other godlie men lamenting, ceaſed not moſt earneſtly to reprove, menacing deſtruction to the whole coun- trie, if the people leauing their wicked liuing and moſt heinous offences towards God, did not amend and repent in due time and ſpace.

Neither were they deceiued herein: for within few yeares after, Decca eſſionies began to make warres vpon the Britains againe, and gaue them a notable ouerthrow, ſlaing of them to the number of ſixtē thouſand, with their generall ſathaliad. But yet this victorie was not greatlie pleaſant to the Saxons, for in the chaſe they loſt their king the ſorſaid Decca, being aduanced a good way off from the reſidue of his armie, with ſixe hundred horſe- men and a few ſotmen, in purſute of his enimies, which was the onelie cauſe that as then the Saxons attempted no further exploit againſt the Britains. and yet for that they would not be without a gouer- nour, they created an other Decca to be their k. the nephew of the former Decca by his brother Diſcus: and then turned all their force to make warres a- gainſt the Picts, for that Loth king of the Picts, contrarie to his oth of credence, had aided the Bri- tains in the laſt battell, as by certeine priſoners ta- ken in the ſame they had perfect vnderſtanding.

Decca therfore being fierce of nature, to the end to indamage his enimies the more, ſent into Germa- nie for one Colgerne oꝝ Colgerne, a man of great eſtimation and birth amongſt the Saxons, to come ouer with a power vnto him into England, promi-

ſing for recompence of his trauell and aid againſt the Picts, to deliuer vnto him all ſuch lands as lay beyond the water of Humber, which might be reco- uered out of the hands of the Picts, to inioy vnto him and his for ever. Colgerne accepting the offer, landed ſhortlie after in Northumberland, putting the whole countrie vnto fire and ſword. Which cruell dealing cauſed a great number of Scots & Picts, which held diuerſe caſſels in that quarter, to come forth into the field to defend the countrie, and for- ning battell with their enimies were diſcomfited, their ſlaughter being much increased by the com- ming of Decca at vntwares vpon them. For he firſt taking truce with Alter king of the Britains, halted with all ſped to ioine his power with Colgerne, af- ter he heard once that he was come on land.

Theſe newes being brought by ſuch as fled away into Galloway and Pictland, cauſed both the kings, Loth and Conrann in moſt ſpedie wiſe to aſſemble their forces, and with the ſame to march forthwith towards the Saxons: but being come within fight of them readie to giue battell, great was the feare and terror of both their hoſts, to loine in fight with ſuch a number of fierce people, as they ſaw there be- fore their faces. Which feare aroſe firſt through the Britains, of whome no ſmall number was there, in aid of the Scots and Picts againſt the Saxons, de- claring manie things of the great valure, ſtrength of bodie, and huge ſoyrne of lims of the ſame Sax- ons, being ſo fierce and cruell in fight, as they alled- ged, that they were able to put their enimies to flight euen with their grim lookes and terrible counte- nances. Whereof ſuch feare and terror was ſpread through both the whole armies, that if ſhame had not partlie wrought amongſt the men of warre, manie of them would haue fled their waies befoze anie bat- tell had bene attempted at all.

The kings perceiving ſuch diſcomfite amongſt their men, cauſed them to aſſemble together, and ap- pointed one ſuch as was thought meet for the pur- poſe, to declare vnto them on their behalſes, how they could not but maruell to vnderſtand ſuch feare & lacke of courage, as appeared generallie through both the armies, conſidering there was no cauſe thereof, they being ſuch a number of able heart- ours thoroughlie appointed, and therewithall led by ſuch gouernours and capteins, as there was no reaſon why to be doubtfull of victorie, befoze they had ſene ſome triall and iuſt occaſion of diſaduantage. For as touching the Saxons, they were no ſuch men but that they might be overcome well enough, as it might ſufficientlie appeare, both by proſe of ſuch victories as Hoſtmer the Britiſh king had obtained againſt them: and alſo Aurelius Ambroſe, who had vanquiſhed them in ſuch ſort, that when they durſt not eſſionies incounter with him in battell, they found means by poiſon to make him auaile.

When ſith the Britains (whome the Scots & Picts ſo often had ſubdued) had at ſundrie times vanguarded the Saxons, why ſhould they feare in ſuch wiſe to fight with them in common deſenſe of their coun- trie, and reuenge of ſuch iniuries as they had lately receiued at their hands, ſith the righteous God (as all good men ought to truſt) is euer readie to aduance a righteous quarrell. And where it was huted a- mongſt them, that the Saxons were ſo huge of ſtature, and mightie of lims, that no force was able to withſtand them, it was certeinlie knownen, that the Scots & Picts were indued with no leſſe mig- tynelle and ſtrength of bodie than the Saxons: ſo that if they were not of like ſtomachs, that reſted in their owne ſlouthfull cowardize, & not in natures wayke, hauing done hir part in beſtowing hir gifts vpon them touching bodilie force, in ſuch plentions may-
net,

Colgerne land- ed in North- umberland.

The king of Scots and Picts ſent their power to reſiſt the Saxons.

The Scots and Picts ſent their power to reſiſt the Saxons.

The kings cauſed one ſuch as was thought meet for the pur- poſe to declare vnto them on their behalſes, how they could not but maruell to vnderſtand ſuch feare & lacke of courage, as appeared generallie through both the armies, conſidering there was no cauſe thereof, they being ſuch a number of able heart- ours thoroughlie appointed, and therewithall led by ſuch gouernours and capteins, as there was no reaſon why to be doubtfull of victorie, befoze they had ſene ſome triall and iuſt occaſion of diſaduantage.

ner, as no other nation did lightlye anie waies surmount them.

Spanie other arguments were alledged and laid forth to remoue feare out of their hearts, and to encourage them to fight, insomuch that in the end it appeared the same wrought the wished effect, in such wise, that they generallie required battell, offering to live and die at their captains feet, and to follow them whither soeuer it should please their kings and liege lords to appoint them. Herewith the kings being satisfied, forth they march towards their enemies, whom they found readie to receiue them, and that with such rigorous violence, that in the end, after great slaughter made on both parts, the Scots and Brits were put to flight, the Saxons pursuing in the chase till the darke night caused them to withdraw & returne into their campe. The next day following, the Scottish king with the residue of his armie hastied away with all speed towards Gallo-way, and the British king withdraw into Wales. The Saxons using the victorie most cruelle, slue all such of the British and Scottish nations as they met with, in all places betwixt Line and Tved. Then did Decca create the fozenamed Colgerme duke of Northumberland, who repairing all such castels and strong houses, as he thought expedient to haue kept, placed garrisons of souldiers in the same to defend the countrie against all manner of enemies. After this, Decca turned his power against the Britains, which in the last battell had aided the Scots and Brits, as before is partly touched. The Britains receiving a great overthrow in battell, After the British king was glad with such as might escape the enemies hands, to withdraw into Wales, leaving the residue of his countries unto the Saxons, who thereupon recovered not onelie the citie of London, yielding it selfe unto them for doubt of some long siege, but also all those countries and provinces which belonged the first of the Saxons that reigned as king within the bounds of Albion at anie time, had holden or intoted, and ceased not after recoverie of the same, to bere and disquiet the Scots, Britains, and Brits, with continuall incursions, hoping by such means to keepe them still occupied. In the midst of this trouble Alar of the Britains departed this world, poisoned (as some haue written) by drinking water taken out of a fontaine which the Saxons had inuened. He died in the yeare after the birth of our Saviour 521, and in the eighteenth of his owne reigne. After his decesse, Loth king of the Brits sent his ambassadours unto the lords, and other the states of the British dominions, requiring them, according to the accustomed lawes and ancient ordinances of the realme, to receiue him as king, sith he had married the sister and heire of the two brethren Aurelius Ambrose, and Uter, their two last kings, being as then both deceased, without leaving behind them a true lawfull issue, by treason whereof their estate was fallen unto him, so insay the same during his life, hauing married (as is said) their owne naturall and lawfull borne sister, and after the decesse of him and his wife the said sister, then it ought by course of the lawes of all realmes and countries to descend unto such issue as he had begot of hir, which was two sonnes, the one named Godfred, and the other Maluan, or Maluan, as some doe call him.

The Britains disdainfullie using the British ambassadours that came with this message, refused not onelie to come under subiection of Loth, but also denied that his sonnes begot of his lawfull wife, the sister of Aurelius and Uter, should haue aie rule or gouernement amongst them, as those that were no Britains bozne, but strangers unto them, being

both bozne and byphead in a fozren countrie. Those ambassadours then hauing their answer, and being sent home with reproch, the Britains contrarie to the lawes of all nations, proclaimed Arthur, being a bastard bozne, king of their realme, and forthwith assembling their powers vnder his leading, marched on against the Saxons, in purpose to abate some part of their strength, before the Brits (which was doubted would shortlye come to passe) should soine with them.

Herforse hauing procured aid of the Armoike Britains forth of France, they fought with their enemies within ten miles of London at the first, where the Saxons being at two seuerall times vanquished, were constrained not only to paie tribute, but also to receiue magistrates to gouerne them by the said Arthurs appointment, with other grievous articles of agreement, to the great reioicing of the Britains, for these so luckie beginnings in the first exploits of their late elected king. Afterwards was London easilie won by the Britains, wherein Arthur remaining for a season, took aduise with his nobles how to proceed in his warres against the rest of the Saxons. Finally hauing prepared a nightie armie, he determined to go against those which inhabited beyond Humber northwards, with whom (as he had certaine knowledge) the Brits were ioined: for Loth comming to agreement with Colgerme, concluded a league with him, whereby they were bound to aid one another against the Britains, as common enemies and adversaries to them both.

The Britains at their comming into Northshire pitched their campe not farre off from their enemies, who were alreadye ioined together and incamped abroad in the field. The next day after, knowledge being had that they should haue battell, Arthur appointed Howell leader of the Armoike Britains to encounter with the battell of the Brits, and he himselfe to match with the Saxons. Thus they met together on both parts herie fiercelie, and a foz battell it was doubtfull whether part should haue the aduantage of the day, but at length the Brits were put to flight, which advanced the Britains to the gaine of the whole field. For the Saxons, after they perceived how the Brits were discomfited, dreadding to abide the whole hunt by themselves, betooke them also to their heeles, and made their race towards North, as fast as their feet might beare them.

Arthur pursuing them thither, besieged the citie almost three moneths together, but the Saxons defended the walles so stoutlie, making often issues forth upon the Britains, that till hunger began to constrain them, they reared little for the siege. In the end, when they were determined to haue yielded by the citie, they had knowledge, how there was a huge armie of Brits and Saxons newlie assembled, and readie to come forwarde to their succors, also that king Decca (escaping from the battell wherein he had receiued the overthrow at Arthurs hands, and fleeing afterward into Germanie) was now returned with a new power, and arrived within the mouth of Humber. Which newes caused them to deferre all communication, in hope that if they might abide the siege but for a small time, the Britains should shortlye be compassed in on each side, and oppressed on the hidden.

Arthur heard of the comming of their succours in like manner, and iudging it no wisdome to tarie the comming of his so puissant enemies, considering what a number of diseased and sicke persons he had alreadye in his host, by reason of their lieng abroad in the field, raised his siege, and withdraw himselfe so speedilie as was possible with his whole armie into Wales,

Arthur proclaimed king of Britaine.

Arthur goeth forth against the Saxons.

The Armoike Britains in aid of Arthur.

The Saxons vanquished, are constrained to pay tribute to the Britains.

Arthur raiseth a power against the Brits.

A league concluded betwixt Loth & Colgerme.

Howell leader of the Armoike Britains.

The Brits put to flight.

The Saxons chased, made their race towards North.

York besieged.

Decca returneth out of Germanie with a new power.

Arthur raiseth his siege.

Arthur returneth to London.

Arthur distinctly the Saxons twice in battell & then againe laethly siege to yozke and swimeth it.

Arthur bleth the victorie with gentleness.

The Britains sojourning for the winter time within yozke, giue themselves vnto banquetting & voluptuoussesse.

Christmasse banquets resembling the feasts Bacchanalia.

The Britains through rest and ease became vnapt to susteine the paines of warres. A league concluded betwixt Arthur king of Britains, & Loth king of Picts.

Wales, where he appointed the Armoike Britains to sojorne for that winter. with other of the meaner sort of his owne souldiers: whilst he toke the residue of his chosen bands, and went to London, there to prouide that no rebellion should be raised among the Saxons of Kent, or other of the countries neere about. In the beginning of the next spring, he gathered his host together againe, and with the same went forth against Colgerme and Decca, who being issued forth of Northumberland, were entered into the British confines, spoiling and wasting the countrey with their accustomed crueltie.

Whereupon encountering them twice in battell, he obtained the victorie, and then besieging yozke, at length he entered into that citie, by means of a Britaine, who dwelling amongst the Saxons there, in the night season conuied a sort of Britains into the citie, the which breaking open the gates in the dead of the night, did let in all the whole host. Where Arthur would not suffer his men to make any great murder of the enemies, which were content to yeld themselves, but bled them very gently, thereby to win more praise amongst all those that heard of his worthy victories. The Britains hauing thus conquered the citie of yozke, manie feasts of armes were daily practised betwixt them and the Saxons, which held possession still of the countrey thereabouts. But the Britains lieng in that citie all the summer and winter following, at length began to take their ease, namelie in the depth of winter, and therewith gaue themselves to banquetting, drinking, plate, and other kinds of voluptuous pleasures, so that it seemed they trusted more to their passed victories, than to their present force, not fearing such dangers as was like to follow.

It is thought of some, that about the same time, Arthur first instituted, that the feast of Christmasse should be kept with such excess of meats and drinks, in all kinds of inordinate banquetting and reuell for the space of thirtene daies together, according to the custome used still through both the realmes of England and Scotland euen vnto this day, resembling the feasts which the gentiles used to keepe in the honoz of their drunken god Bacchus, called in Latin Bacchanalia: wherein all kinds of brastlie lust and sensuall voluptuousnes was put in vze. But whence soeuer, or by whom soeuer this insatiable gourmandise came vnto amongst vs, fuerlie a great abuse it is, to see the people at such a solemne feast, where they ought to be occupied in thanks giuing to almighty God, for the sending downe of his onelie begotten sonne amongst vs, to giue themselves in manner whole to gluttonie, and excessive filling of their bellies, with such manner of lewd and wanton pastimes, as though they should rather celebrate the same feasts of Bacchanalia, and those other which the gentiles also kept, called Floralia, and Priapalia, than the remembrance of Christs natiuitie, who abhorreth all manner of such excess.

But now to my purpose. When the next summer was once come, Arthur led forth his Britains against their enemies, but by reason of such ease and pleasure as they had taken whilst they sojourned in yozke, being now come into the field, they were able to abide no paines, so that no good was done of certeine yeers after, till finally Arthur ioyned in league with Loth king of the Picts. The conditions of which league were these. That Arthur during his naturall life should reigne as king of the Britains, and after his decease, the kingdome to remaine vnto Morozed and his issue, if he chanced to haue antic. That the Picts should aid the Britains against the Saxons, and haue all such land as might be recovered of them beyond Yumber. Also the league which was betwixt

them and the Scots, they should duly obserue. Morozed should marrie the daughter of Cabolan a noble man amongst the Britains, and of highest authority next vnto Arthur himselfe: the children of this marriage to be brought vp with their grandfather in Britaine, till they came to yeeres of discretion. Cabolan the brother of the foresaid Morozed, should serue king Arthur, and receiue at his hands large intertainment, and great possessions to mainteine therewith his estate.

Other articles there were comprised in this league, according as was thought requisite for the maintenance of stable friendship betwixt these kings and their nations. So that Arthur hauing concluded this league, and still being desirous to purge the whole Ile of all miscreants and enemies of the Christian faith, he sent vnto the Scottish and Pictish kings, requiring them on the behalfe of that dutie which they owght vnto the advancement of Christs religion, to assemble their powers, & to meet him at Wimmouth, whether he would repaire to ioine with them, at such day as they would appoint, from thence to march forth against the Saxons.

Loth king of the Picts, and Contranus king of the Scottishmen, failed not in this so necessarie enterprise, but agreeable to Arthurs request, within few daies after they came forward, and ioining with the Britains, forth they went against the Saxons, whom they understood to be already in campe, vnder the conduct of their king Decca, in purpose to stop their passage. When both the armies were approached neere together, they prepared to the battell, and first Colgerme duke of Northumberland mounting vpon a light gelding, rode almost euen hard to the face of the Picts, where they stood in their order of battell right skoutlie, and there uttering manie reprochfull words vnto Loth, and other of his nobles, for breach of their promised friendship to him and his Saxons, declared that he trusted hostile to see iust punishment light vpon them for this falshood and vntuths sake, in thus ioining with their former enemies against their most trustie friends and steadfast allies.

The Pictish king not greatly moued herewith, commanded his standards to aduance forward, and the Saxons likewise halted apace towards them, so that the one being come within danger of shot of the other, the Picts let flie their arrowes verie freshlie. Arthur in the meane time hauing set his people in a raie, exhorted them to fight manfullie: and so lone as he perceived that the fraie was begun by the Picts, he in semblable wise commanded the Britains to giue the onset, so that immediatlie there ensued a fore condit, the Scots being in the right wing, & bearing Chelbyke one of the chiefeest capitains amongst the Saxons, quicklie discomfited that wing with the which they were first matched. Colgerme with his Saxons incontring (as is said) with the Picts, placed in the left wing, rushed in amongst his enemies (vpon an earnest desire to be reuenged of his aduersarie king Loth) with such violence, that at their first encounter he ouerthrew the same Loth: but immediatlie thereupon two Pictish hoymen running at Colgerme sidelingwise, bare him quite through.

In the meane time, Loth by meane of his strong habergeon escaping without hurt, was relieved by such as stood about him, and restored againe to his companie: but Colgerme being dead before he could be recovered from amongst the throng of his enemies, his men were so discomfited therewith, that streightwaies thereupon they fell to running awap. The maine battell of the Saxons being thus left bare on both sides, began to giue backe, which Arthur perceiving, the more earnestlie pressed forth vpon them, so that in the end Decca being constrained to flie,

Arthur was with the daughter of one Cabolan a Britaine.

Cabolan the brother of the foresaid Morozed, should serue king Arthur, and receiue at his hands large intertainment, and great possessions to mainteine therewith his estate.

Arthur (scilicet) with the daughter of one Cabolan a Britaine.

Scots, Picts, and Britains, ioine together against the Saxons.

Colgerme duke of Northumberland.

Colgerme was run through by his aduersaries.

The Saxons are put to flight.

flax, and receiuing a fore wound, had much ado to be conuected awaie by some of his horsemen, the Britains pursued so fiercelie vpon him. At length being brought vnto the sea side, he got vessels, and escaped ouer into Germanie. His victorie being thus achieved, constrained the Saxons to yeld vnto king Arthur, simple submitting themselves vnto his mercie, who of his clemencie was contented to pardon them of life and goods, vpon condition they would become christians, and from thenceforth neuer after to make anie warres vpon their neighbors the Britains, Scots, or Picts. But if they would not agree here vnto, then leauing their gods, armes, and weapon behind them, they should auoid the land, & that within 13 daies next ensuing.

Manie of the Saxons that could get passage, sailed ouer into Germanie. Other seining themselves to become christians, remained in the land, looking one day for better hap & fortune. Diuerse that were not able by means of pouertie to get awaie within the time appointed, and yet refusing to be christened, were put to death, according to the proclamation set forth for the same purpose, so that in comparison berie few amongst them receiued the christian faith sincerelie, and with a true meaning mind. Things being thus quieted in Northumberland, Arthur toke order for the repairing of churches abroad in the countrie, which the Saxons had ouerthrowne or defaced; & namelie in the citie of York he bestowed great cost, where the cruell infidels had done much hurt vpon churches, and other religious houses.

In the yere following, Arthur had newes how the Saxons which held the Ile of Wight, iourning with the Kentish Saxons, had done great displeasures vnto the Britains, on that side of the Thames, killing & sleaing an huge number of them with great crueltie, wherewith being fore moued, he drew towards London with his armie, purposing vtterlie to destroe all the east & south Saxons, since otherwise he could not prouide for the surtie of his subjects, being still in danger to be murdered and robbed, so long as anie of that wicked generation of the Saxons remained here amongst them.

By means also of the league, he had with him in this iourne ten thousand Picts, & as manie Scots: Eugenius nephew to king Conran by his brother Congall being generall ouer the Scots, and Morozed the sonne of king Loth by his wife Anne, gouerning the Picts, a lustie yong gentleman, verie wittie and towardlie in all his doings. Further more, Arthur vnderstanding what hurt rest and ease had done amongst his men of warre, caused them to keepe the field in all this iourne, and passing by London, lodged them a little beside the riuier of Thames. But he himselfe with some of his nobles, entred into the citie, causing supplications to be made vnto almightie God three daies together, for good successe to follow against the Saxons. On the fourth day hearing diuine seruice celebrated by the bishop of London, and causing a sermon to be made in the market place, he committed himselfe and his whole armie vnto the tuition of Christ, and his mother the virgin, whose image in stead of a badge he bare in his shield continuallie from that day forward, as diuerse heretofore haue written. After this, issuing forth of the citie, he willed all his men to be of good comfort, as they that fought in a iust quarell against Pagans, and enemies of the faith. Morozed and his father in law Caluolane passed on before the battels with fife thousand horsemen, and being come within fife miles of the Saxons, who likewise were assembled in campe, there came from them vnto Arthur ambassadores, requiring him to staie his iourne, for they were readie (if they might haue libertie to

to doe) to depart out of the land with their gods and substance, without further molesting the Britains, either by one meanes or other.

Arthur would neither consent here vnto, nor yet grant a truce for three daies, for the which they made earnest sute, but had them depart for that time, onelie assuring them that he would not come passing two miles forwards for that day, so that if they thought god, they might returne to him in the morning, and haue answer what the chiefeest gouernors of his host thought touching their request, by whome he would haue the matter more throughlie debated. In the meane time, whilst the Britains were buised with hearing of these ambassadores, and taking aduise what was best to doe touching their demand, the Saxons marched forth with all speed, and comming vpon Morozed and Caluolane at brivares, they gaue the onset fierelie vpon them, and that verie much to the disadvantage of the Britains and Picts, who notwithstanding, through the earnest exhortation of their capitaine, receiued their enemies verie fiercelie, in doing that which was possible for so small a number to doe, notwithstanding in the end oppressed with multitude, they were forced to flee, and so did, not resting till they came in sight of the whole armie. In which sight, Morozed and Caluolane by helpe of their souldiers, being mounted vpon their horses, escaped without hurt, though they lost no small number of their companie, as well in the fight as in the chase.

The Saxons ambassadores being not yet departed out of the British campe, were here vpon staied till the next morning, and then had answer giuen them, that from thenceforth the Britains were not minded to heare anie messengers of the Saxons comming to intreat of peace, since it was manifest enough, they ment nothing but falshood, as well appeared in that they had against the law of armes, whilst their ambassadores were in communication, distressed part of the British armie, and therefore they should assure themselves, to haue at Arthurs hands nothing but cruell war to the vttermost of his power, in reuenge of such their great vntruths and cloked dealings. They had scarce receiued their answer, but that there came from the Saxons fortie other ambassadores, being men of great authoritie amongst them, to excuse that which had happened ouer night, in lasing the fault vpon a sort of indiscreet persons, nothing prouide vnto that which the gouernors of the armie had done, touching the sending of their ambassadores, and there vpon had without their aduise made that skirmish.

But Arthur iudging that there was some new subtil practise in hand, vnder pretense of this new ambassage, commanded as well these that came last, as the other which came first, to be kept in the marshals tent, that in no wise they should escape, whilst he himselfe in the second watch of the night departed out of his campe, with all his puissance, which he diuided into three battels, and hauing marched three miles forward, he was vpon his enemies per they vnderstand anie thing of his comming, in so much that the Britains had slaine and chased the watch of the Saxons campe, before it was certeinlie knowne what the matter ment. Whereof also ensued such a tumult and noise amongst the Saxons, running vp and downe, calling and crieng one to another, as it happeneth in such cases of extreme feare, that the best aduised amongst them wist not well what to doe. Where vpon Morozed desirous to reuenge his last ouerthrowne, brake in also vpon his enemies verie fiercelie.

But some of them hauing gotten them into their armes, stood at their defense awhile amongst their carts and carriages, and so resisted the Britains on that

The Saxons comming vpon Morozed and Caluolane put them with their people to the worke.

what answer the Saxons ambassadores had at Arthurs hands.

The excuse of the Saxons.

The sudden inuasion made by the Britains vpon the Saxons.

The great tumult in the Saxons campe.

Morozed desirous to be reuenged.

The Saxons
are put to the
sight.

The crueltie
of the Wyl-
tains in slay-
ing the Sax-
ons.

Arthurs mu-
nificence.

A conspiracie
practised a-
gainst Con-
rane.

A new offi-
cer.

A presump-
tion act.

The determi-
nation of the
murderers to

that tide for a season: other of the Saxons hauing no
leasure to arme themselves, nor to drab into anie or-
der of battell, by reason of the sudden impression of
the Wiltains, brake forth of the campe on the contra-
rie side, & fled so fast as their feet might beare them.
But being pursued by the Wiltish hoysmen, and
beaten downe, a great number of them ran into the
next riuer, and there were drowned, choosing rather
that kind of death, than so cruellie to be murdered by
the aduersaries hands: verelie the Wiltains shewed
no mercie that day, for so manie as came within
their danger, died without redemption. And this
blondie battell made an end of such an huge num-
ber of Saxons, that it was thought they should ne-
uer haue recovered againe anie puissance able to
haue indamaged the Wiltains in anie manner of
losse.

Arthur hauing thus banquished his enemies, gaue
licence vnto those nobles which he had detained (as
is said) in his campe, being sent vnto him as ambas-
sadors, to depart ouer into Germanie, appointing
the residue of such Saxons as were men of no de-
fence, to remaine still in the land, paying a yereleie
tribute vnto the Wiltains, and also with condition
that they should become christians. The Scottishmen
and Picts which had aided the Wiltains in this tour-
nie, sojourned a while after at London, where Arthur
feasted & banketted them in most roiall wise, shew-
ing them all the honor that might be deuised, and af-
terwards sent them home verie princelie rewarded
with manie great gifts and rich presents. Whilist
such businesse as ye haue heard was thus in hand be-
twixt the Saxons & Wiltains, the estate of the Sco-
tish common-wealth was gouerned by great wis-
dome and policie, without anie notable trouble or
disorder. But finallie, when king Conrane began to
waraged, and that such as had the chiefe doings vnder
him, sought not the execution of iustice, but their
owne commodities, to the hinderance of a multi-
tude, the people began to repine thereat, and to prac-
tise a conspiracie with diuerse of the nobles against
Conrane, and those which ruled by his appointment.

It chanced that there was one Concet, a man of
base birth, assigned by the kings commission to be
chiefe iustice, or as it were chancelor for the admini-
stration of the lawes in Spurrey land, a person pas-
sing full of rigorous crueltie, especiallie in iudge-
ments of life and death, and in gathering vp of all
manner of forfeitures of penall lawes, which he did
onelie to purchase fauor of the king, by the enriching
of his coffers, in respect whereof he had small regard
either of right or wrong, so that there were hope of
somewhat to be gotten. Amongest other the violent
doings of this Concet, he caused diuerse merchant-
men of the towne of Fozes in Spurrey land (as then
the chiefe towne of all that countrie) to be accused
of treason by a light information, and in the end ex-
ecuted without anie apparant matter, onelie vpon a
couetous desire to haue their goods and riches, because
they were men of great wealth and substance. Di-
uerse noble men of the countrie there abouts, and
namelie of the towne of Fozes, being partlie of kin
vnto those merchants, were sore offended with this
act, and hereupon they first came vnto Concet, and
reulled him with manie high reprochfull words, and
afterwards fell vpon him in the place of open iudge-
ment where he sat as then in his iudgement seate, &
there murdered him, getting them forthwith vp in-
to the mounteins, to auoid the danger which they
knewe vnpossible for them to escape, if they should
happen to be taken while Conrane should be liuing.

After this, they deuised how they might increase
their heinous deed and bold enterprize with an other
sarre more horrible and notable, which was to slea

the king himselfe, as the originall cause of all such
mischiefe that then reigned in the realme through the
vntowardie government of his vntrist ministers and
couetous magistrats, hoping withall to obtaine the
fauor of some of the noble men, whome they knewe to
maligne the king and his counsell most extremelie,
and thereby in short time to be assured of their par-
don. Shortlie after it chanced that one Donald also
gouernor of Atholl, a man in great fauor and trust
with the king, had vnderstanding what these out-
lawes intended, and thereupon practised with them
by priuie messengers, that they should come in secret
manner vnto Enuerlochty, where the king sojourned,
promising them by most assured meanes of othe and
vowes, that they should haue all the furtherance he
could deuise towards the atchiuing of their enter-
prize.

Hereupon these outlawes, according to their in-
struitions, came in secret wise vnto Enuerlochty,
and were closelie conueied into Conrans bedcham-
ber by Donalds meanes, who as though he had
knowne nothing of the matter, got himselfe quick-
lie out of the waie when he sawe them once entered
within the doore of the chamber. Conrane the king
perceiuing how he was betraied, and that his en-
emies were got into his chamber ready to murder
him, slept forth of his bed, and falling downe vpon
his knees besought them to take pitie of his age, and
not to defile their hands in the blood of their naturall
lord and king, considering the fault was not his, if
they had bene anie waies wronged. Howbeit they
doubting nothing but least he should escape their
hands, straightwaies dispatched him out of life, and
withall made haste awaie. This was the end of king
Conranus, in the 20 yere of his reigne, being the
16 of Arthurs dominion ouer the Wiltains, the fift
of the emperoz Justinianus, and in the yere after
the birth of our Sauioz 531. But his corps was bu-
ried in the abbey of Fona, otherwise called Colme-
kill, with such funerall pompe and erequies, as in
those daies were vsed.

After him succeeded his nephew Eugenius, the
sonne of his brother Congall, the which Euge-
nius (as aboue is said) was with Arthur in the last
mentioned tourne against the Saxons. There were
that counselled him in the beginning of his reigne
(which he began in Argile, being placed there vpon
the chaire of marble) that he should see in anie wise
the authors of his vnles death duly punished, to the
example of others, that they should not attempt the
like hereafter against their liege lord and crowned
king: but he contrariwise did not onelie forgie the
offense, but also receiued the forenamed Donald
with other the murderers into his seruice, and made
them of his priuie counsell, which caused manie men
to suspect, least he himselfe had bene of counsell
with them in committing that murder. The talke
whereof was so common in all mens mouths, name-
lie amongst the common people, that the queene
Dowager late wife to king Conrane, doubting not
onelie the suertie of hir owne life, but also of hir two
sons (which she had by the said Conrane, the one na-
med Reginan, and the other Aidan) fled with them
ouer into Ireland, where within few yeres after, she
died with the one of hir sonnes, that is to say, Regi-
nan: the other Aidan was honorable brought vp by
the king of that countrie, according to his birth and
degre.

Eugenius in the beginning of his reigne, to win
thereby the peoples fauor, demeaned himselfe most
gentlie in all his proceedings, doing nothing that
tasted in anie part of crueltie. He would oftentimes
sit amongst the iudges himselfe, and if he suspected
least anie man had wrong, he would licence them to
plead

the king
himselfe.

Donald
gouernor
of Atholl.

The outlawes
enter into the
kinges bed-
chamber.

Conrane
murdered
within his
bedchamber
by traitorous
meanes.
35. H.B.
20. H.B.
535. H.B.

Regin
king
ought
to be
punished
Eugenius
suspected
of his
part
in the
death.

The queene
Dowager
fled with
her two
sonnes into
Ireland.

The banne
ric and fau-
rele from
plead

plead their case anelo. And such as he perceived were not of abilitie to follow their sute in anie cause of right, he would helpe them with monie of the common treasure. He ordeined also, that no orphan should be compelled to answer anie action, or otherwise be vexed by sute of law. Moreover, that no wife should be constrained to come pass a mile forth of hir owne doores for anie matter in controuersie betwixt hir and anie other person, to be heard afore anie iudges or publike officers. Robbers, theues, and their receiueurs he caused to be dulle punished, to refraine other from attempting the like offenses. And also he had a speciall regard for the obseruing of the league betwixt his subiects and the Brits, with the Britains, according to the tenor of the same.

About this season should it be also that Arthur did achieve all those worthie victories, which are ascribed unto him against the Scots, Irishmen, Danes, Norwegians, and other northerne people. Moreover it is written by some authors, that he should subdue the most part of Germanie with the low countries, Britaine, Normandie, France, and the Romans, with the people of the east: but the credit hereof resteth with the same authors. Onelie it is certaine (as Hector Boetius affirmeth) that Arthur liued in the daies of Iustinianus the emperor, about which time the Gothes, Vandals, Burgundians, & Frenchmen did invade sundrie parts of the Romaine empire, pitifullie waisting and spoiling the same, where yet such writers as haue set forth those warres, make no mention of Arthur at all. Therefore leaving all doubtfull things passe, I will proceed with mine author, and declare what he hath found written in such Scottish chronicles as he followeth touching the British Arthur, which for that it partlie varieth from the other our common chronicles, namelie Geoffrey of Monmouth, I thinke it worthie to be noted here, to the end that euery man maie iudge thereof as to him seemeth best.

To the purpose then. After that the Britains were deliuered from the terror of the Saxons, and that with quietnesse they began to war wealthie, they repented them of the league, which they had concluded afore with Loth king of the Brits, speciallie for that they could not in anie wise be contented to haue anie stranger to reigne amongst them, and hereupon comming vnto Arthur, required of him, (sith he himselfe had no issue to succeed him, that it might please him yet, to name one of his owne nation to gouerne them after his deceasse. Arthur not gainsaying their request, willed them (sith their pleasure was such, in no wise to haue a stranger to reigne ouer them) to name one themselves, being descended of the blond roiall, and such a one as in whome they had perceived some towardlie pofesse of wisdom and valiantie: and he for his part promitted to ratifie their election. The nobles with great reioicing of the people drawing together to consult for the choise of such a one, as might be acceptable to all the British nation, at length agreed vpon Constantinus, the sonne of Cadogan duke of Cornwall, a goodlie yong gentleman, both for his person and other his worthie qualities much to be commended. Who being brought by the pères of the realme into the counsell chamber, and there presented vnto king Arthur, as one most meete to succeed him, Arthur accepted their election verie gladlie, and caused the same Constantine forthwith to be proclaimed heire apparant to the crowne, by the name of prince of Britaine, which notified him to be successor to the king in gouernement of the realme. Constantine being in such wise preferred, behaved himselfe so honozable, and with such a thew of gentle demeanour, that he won him much praise, with an opinion of high worthinesse amongst all the

British nation.

In this meane time was Loth the king of the Brits deceased, leauing his name as a perpetuall memorie vnto his countrie of Britland, the which euer since as a remembrance of his worthinesse, hath bene called Lothian, or Louthian; but his sonne Moroz, succeeding him in gouernement of the British kingdome, and hearing that Constantine was proclaimed heire apparant of Britaine, was sore moued therewith, and immediatlie sending his ambassadours vnto king Arthur, complained, for that contrarie to the honor of his kinglie estate, he had broken the league concluded betwixt him and his father late of famous memorie king Loth, wherein it was agreed amongst other things, that there should none succeed in the kingdome of Britaine, after Arthurs deceasse, but the children begot betwixt Loth and his wife quene Anne, or such as descended of them; where contrariwise it was notified vnto the British people, that Constantine the sonne of Cadogan was elected prince, and thereby inabled as heire apparant to the crowne.

They required him therefore to call himselfe to remembrance, and not so lightlie to agree vnto the flattering persuasions of the Britains, aduising him vnto that thing which was merelie repugnant to reason, and against both gods lawes and mans, admonishing him withall to obserue the league, according to the oth, which he had solemnelie taken vpon him, and to moue his subiects to do the like, least for the contrarie, they should prouoke the wrath of almightie God against them, who is the iust reuenger of all such as go about to breake leagues and couenanted pactions. Herevnto answere was made by consent of the nobles of Britaine, that the league which was concluded betwixt Arthur and Loth, indured but for the life times of them two onelie, and to cease by either of their deaths: therefore Arthur had done nothing contrarie to ante part of promise made, but according to the duetie of a prince that tendered the weale of his subiects, had provided them one to succeed him of their owne nation, for doubt least the realme after his deceasse should fall into the hands of strangers, which in no wise ought of right to be suffered. Therefore if the Brits loued the suertie of their owne estate, it should be god for them to hold themselves contented with their owne bounds, least if they sought for other mens liuings, they might happlie within short time perceiue, what doth issue oftentimes vpon such rash and vnadvised attempts.

The British ambassadours returning home with this answer, caused the whole nation to take such disdain therewith, that immediatlie they resolved to reuenge their wrongs by open warres; but first they thought good to trie if they might procure the Scottishmen to take part with them, in reuenge of such iniuries as they had in like maner lately receiued at the Britains hands. Moreover, repenting themselves, that they had in times past aided the Britains against the Saxons, they purpose to trie if they might now moue the same Saxons effectnes to make warres vpon the Britains, thereby to be the better able to mainteine their owne quarrell against them. First, such ambassadours as were sent from Moroz vnto Eugenius king of the Scots, found him verie agreeable vnto their requests, and the sooner, for that such Scottish rebels as fled vnto Arthur, were not onelie receiued by him, but also maintained to make rodes and incursions into the Scottish borders.

Arthur hauing knowledge of the deuises of his enemies (the warres being first proclaimed) he furnished all the sea-coasts with notable numbers of men,

Lothian taketh name of Loth the British king.

Moroz succeeded Loth in the kingdome of Britland.

Moroz complained vnto king Arthur, for that Constantine was elected heire apparant.

The answer made to the British ambassadours.

The Brits purpose to be reuenged on the Britains by open war.

The Brits solicit both Scots and Saxons to make warre vpon the Britains.

Eugenius the Scottish king agreeable to the request of the Brits.

Arthur set
teth forward
toward the
Scots and
Picts.
Humber a fa-
tail place for
the Britains
to be vanqui-
shed in.

Bishops tra-
uell betwixt
the parties to
bring them to
communitie
and peace.

Howard and
Eugenius
were persua-
ded unto
peace.

The Bri-
tains would
not consent to
have any
peace talked
upon.

The battell
began.

A cruell bat-
tell.

A craftie po-
licie.
This was
one of the
Picts.

The Bri-
tains put to
flight.

Twentie
thousand of
Scots and
Picts slaine.
Howard is
slaine.

men, to withstand the landing of the Sarons, if they should fortune to attempt any invasion. That done, he passed forth with the residue of his people towards the Scots & Picts, who were already assembled in campe, and were come as farre as the river of Humber, nere to the banks whereof they had pitched their tents, as in a place fatal for the Britains to be vanquished in. Both the armies being brought here into order of battell, the one in sight of the other, there were certaine bishops of those three nations that took great pains to ride to and fro betwixt them, to exhort the kings unto peace and concord, considering what mischief and great bloodshed should ensue, if upon wilfullness they would seek to trie that by dint of sword, which they might make an end of by means of amiable treatie and friendly agreement. Again, they could not do the thing that might more content the Sarons, common enemies to christian religion, than if by their encountering together in battell, they should so infect their whole powers, whereby the Sarons might have ready means and occasion offered to execute their greedy desires to conquer the whole Ile. Howard and Eugenius were persuaded by this earnest travail of the bishops, to put their matter in compromise, and to lay away their armour and weapon, if they might have assurance that the league made with king Loth should in euery point be observed. Arthur likewise at the sute of the same bishops, would have bene contented for his part to have agreed hereunto; but other of the Britains, namely those that were of kin and alliance unto Constantine their prince, could in no wise be persuaded thereunto; but rather with manie reprochfull words rebuked the bishops for their vnkinde sute, seeing the enemies ready ranged in battell at point to giue the onset, so that (as they alledged) it might be doubted what they meant by their motion, unless they went about to betray the armie, under pretense of a cloaked treatie for an vnprofitable agreement. These of such like words were vnneth ended, when suddenly the noise being raised on both sides, the battells rushed together right fiercely. The Britains had the disadvantage of the place, being so incumbered with mires, bogs, and mosses, that they could not well aid themselves, nor handle their weapons to any purpose. Yet did the battell continue a long time, to the destruction of such numbers of men; that the river Humber (nere unto the which this field was fought) was so mingled with blood, that the water thereof being all coloured red, caried no small number of dead bodies downe into the sea. In the midst of the fight, there was one with lowd voice in the British tongue cried out to the Britains (of purpose prompted thereunto) that Arthur with other of the nobles on his side were slaine, and therefore it were but follie to trust any longer upon victory, but rather were it wisdom for euery man by flight to prouide for his owne safetie.

This voice wonderfullie encouraged the Scottish men and Picts, but the Britains were put in such feare therewith, that the most part of them immediately hereupon fell to running away. Others of them iudging this to be but some craftie and subtil practise of the enemies deuised of purpose, as it was in deed, to discomfort them with, abode by it still: manfullie continuing in fight, till they were beaten downe and slaine in maner euery mothers sonne. This victorie being thus hardlie got, cost more mens liues than any other had done of manie yeares before; for of the Scots and Picts being vanquishers, there died in that mostall battell about 20000 men, together with Howard, and a great number of the nobilitie of both the nations. Of the Britains and

such other as were with them in aid, they were slaine, what in battell and what in chase, at the point of 30000, among whom was Arthur himselfe, with Caluan & Caluan (as some books haue) brother unto Howard, who bare such good will and intire loue unto his lord and master the said Arthur, that he fought that day most earnestlie on his side against his owne naturall brother the said Howard. Also there were killed Caline and Caluolan, with the most part of all the residue of the British nobilitie, and manie prisoners taken, by reason that Humber kept them in from fleeing any way forth on the one side, which prisoners also were afterwards slaine, the gentlemen onely excepted.

The day next after the battell, the campe of the Britains was rifled, and amongst other rich spoiles there was found quene Guainore Arthurs wife, with a great number of other ladies and gentlewomen. The whole spoile of the campe and field being equally diuided by lots betwixt them, the Scots had for their parts certaine faire chaires laden with rich stuffe and tewels, also horses and armours, beside sundrie noble men, whom they had to their prisoners. Unto the Picts fell for their portion quene Guainore, with the ladies and gentlewomen, and diuers other of the noble men, besides a great quantitie of other rich preie and booties. These prisoners, which the Picts had, were conueied into a castell in Angus, called Dunbarre, a place of great strength in those daies, though at this present there remaineth nothing but the name with the ruines thereof. In which castell they were detained vnder sure ward, during the residue of their naturall liues. In witness whereof there be remaining vnto this day, the graues and monuments where manie of these captiue Britains were buried, in the fields of a tobone in that countrie called Megill, not past 10 miles from Dundee; but amongst the residue, that of Guainore is most famous.

There goeth a plaine tale ouer all that countrie, told for an assured trueth, that if any woman chance to tread upon that graue, they shall remaine barren without bringing forth any issue more than the said Guainore did. But whether this be true or not, certene it is (as Boetius writeth) that there dare no woman come nere that graue, not onely eschuing it themselves, but also commanding their daughters to beware thereof. This bloodie battell weakened so much the forces both of the Scots, Picts, and Britains, that manie a day after they were not able to recover againe their former states and dignities. The yeare also that these three nations encountered thus cruellie together, was after the birth of our Saviour 542, the 26 of Arthurs reigne ouer the Britains, and the 11 of Eugenius his gouernement ouer the Scottishmen.

In the same yere before the battell, were seene manie strange sights in Albion. Grassie and heards in Poykeshire appeared to bee all stained with blood. Nere unto Carnelon, a colt brought forth a calfe with two heads. Also an ewe brought forth a lambe that was both male and female. The sunne appeared about none daies all wholie of a bloodie colour. The element appeared full of bright starres to euery mans sight continuallie for the space of two daies together. In Wales there was a battell betwene crows and pies on the one side, and rauen on the other, with such a slaughter of them, as before that time had not bene heard of.

But to proceed. Eugenius king of the Scots at his returne from the battell, gaue to those that had escaped with life, and abid by him in the chiefe danger of the fight, manie bounteous & large rewards. The sonnes and next kinsfolke of such as were

Arthur took
30000 Bri-
tains slaine.
Caluole
slaine.

Caline and
Caluolan
slaine.

Quene
Guainore
taken.
The spoile
of the
camp diuided.

Dunbarre
Angus, not
that in
Angus.

The tale of
quene
Guainore
greatly
buried in
the
ground.

542.
8. H.B.

Strange
and
wonderful
things.

Eugenius
rewarded
his
soldiers.

slaine

name, he also aduanced to sundrie preferments of land & livinges, that they imioeing the same, might be a witnesse in time to come of the god service of their ancestors. Theye in defense of their king and countrie, and also of his princelie liberallitie, in rewarding the same upon their issue and progenie. By which noble beneuolence, he won him such loue amongst his people, that afterwards it seemed how he governed the state of his kingdome more by clemencie, than by anie rigour of lawes. The Britains immediatlie vpon knowledge had that Arthur was slaine, crowned Constantine his successor in the British kingdome, and for that there should remaine none amongst them alieue to make anie claime to the same kingdome, other than he with his issue, or such as he should appoint to succeed him, they cruellye murdered & murthered children, in most pittifull wise running vnto their mothers lap, beseeching him to saue their liues, according to his motherlie dutie. They were brought vp in Caluolane their fathers grandfathers house, and being thus made atwaie, the familie and linage of their father the foresaid Mordred was utterlie thereby extinguished.

The Saxons at the same time hauing aduertised what losse the Britains had sustained, not onlie by the death of their most valiant king and chiefe Arthur, but also for the slaughter of such a multitude of their nation as died in the battell, they prepared a mightie naule of ships, and passe ouer the same into England, where being landed, they easilie beat downe the Britains, and drave them with the King Constantine into Wales, so recovering all that part of the land which Hengist sometimes held, & after his name was afterwards called England. Some haue written, how that after king Constantine had reigned certaine yeeres in Wales, his wife and children died, whereupon waring wearie of this world, he forsooke his earthly kingdome, in hope of that other aboue, and secretlye departed into Ireland, where appointing himselfe for a time in ministering to the poore, at length being knowne, by the persuation of a monk he became one of his cote and profession.

Afterwards being sent by the bishop of the diocese ouer into Scotland, to instruct the people of that countrie in the true faith and articles of the christian religion, he there suffered martyrdome by the hands of most wicked and godlesse persons, and was at length (but manie yeeres after his death) canonized a saint, and sundrie churches (as are to be seene euen vnto this day) built and dedicated vnto him in Scotland by authoritie of the bishops there. At the same time that the said Constantine was diuened into Wales, there reigned among the Englishmen one Iurmirike the first (as Beda saith) from Hengist. The same Iurmirike though he were not christened himselfe, yet he permitted the christian faith to be preached amongst his people, and concluding a league with the Scottishmen and Picts, kept the same inviolate during his life time most sincerlie. The Scottish king Eugenius also liued in peace the residue of his life, without anie trouble either by foreign enemies, or intestine sedition, & at length died in the 38 yeere of his reigne, after the birth of our Saviour 569.

After his funerall obsequies finished in Colmehill, where he lieth buried amongst his ancestors, his brother Conuall was chosen to succeed him in administration of the kingdome, a prince of such inclination to vertue and goodlines, as all men may iustlie wonder thereat. He bare such zealous deuotion towards the worshipping of the crosse (a thing to put men in remembrance of Christs passion as he took it) that which way soeuer he rode (as it is reported) he had the same borne before him; and at his getting vp and lighting downe from his horse,

he with all the multitude of people standing about him, would worship it, kneeling downe, & reuerentlie kissing it. This crosse was of siluer with a crucifix thereon, and letters grauen in a plate fastened to the staffe, containing these two wordes: *Christianorum gloria*. He commanded also that the signe of the crosse should be set vpon the tops of steeples, and on the highest towers of the gates of castles & townes. Whereouer he forbad the crosse to be grauen or painted vpon anie pavement, least anie man should vnreuerentlie tread vpon it. Furthermore he had priests and other religious men in such honor, as nothing could be more, appointing them to haue the tenths of all those fruits which the earth yielded. Sundrie ordinances he made also, for the grieuous punishment of all such as in anie wise misused a priest, or other religious person: as he that gaue any of them a blow, should lose his hand for it: and he that slue one of them, should forfeit his goods, and be burned quickie. Again, he bestowed manie rich felwels, and gaue diuers great gifts vnto churches, pawning the ministers of sufficient livinges, and appointed that they should haue their houses nere vnto their churches, to be ready to creeche that which appertained vnto their offices, when anie need required.

The king being thus vertuously disposed, caused the whole number of his subjects by his example to be the better affectioned towards the advancement of religion. The report and fame thereof moued that holie man saint Colme or Colimbe, to come ouer forth of Ireland (where he had the gouernance of sundrie houses of monks) with twelue other vertuous persons into Albion, and there gathering together a great number of monks, being here and there dispersed abroad in the countrie, he placed them orderlie in such houses, as king Conuall had builded and founded for that purpose, appointing amongst them rulers & ministers, such as he thought most conuenient. But saint Colme himselfe, and the other twelue, which he brought ouer with him from Ireland, placing themselves to inhabit in the Ile of Iona, now called Colmekill, toke great paines to instruct the Scots and Picts in the true articles of the faith.

Amongst the Picts at the same time the heresie of Pelagius had infected the minds of many, by meane that diuerse of that nation hauing dwelled a long time in Britaine, returning into their countrie, brought that pestilent doctrine home with them, and taught it vnto other. Saint Colme therefore informed hereof, passed into Aulshian vnto Brudeus as then king of the Picts, earnestlie travelling to instruct both him and his people in the right belife, and to extirpe out of their hearts all erroneous opinions of that damnable sect of the Pelagians lore. At the same time, that blessed man Kentigeme, otherwile called Mungo, gouerned the church of Glasgow, as bishop of the same, who resorting into the companie of this saint Colme, had much conference with him, to both their comforts, concerning the true articles of our faith.

This Kentigeme was descended of the blood royal of the Pictish kings, as son vnto that vertuous woman Chametes or Chameto, daughter vnto Loth king of the Picts, whom a yong lustie gentleman, or (as some haue written) the last mentioned Eugenius the Scottish king rauished by force, and he got of hir the said Kentigeme. He was greatlie instructed with the foresaid Brudeus the Pictish king, as one that was nere of his blood. For the same Brudeus was nephew vnto the foresaid Loth by his brother called Alethor, and therefore succeeded in the kingdome of the Picts, after that Mordred was slaine,

Crosses set vpon the tops of steeples.

Conuall's deuotion towards church men.

Conuall's liberallitie towards churches.

Saint Colme cometh ouer forth of Ireland into Scotland.

The heresie of Pelagius in Britaine.

Kentigeme bishop of Glasgow, otherwile called Mungo, bishop of Glasgo.

Chameto or Chametes rauished by Eugenius king of Scotland, of which rauishment the bare the foresaid Kentigeme.

The castell of
Calidon now
Dounheld.

The bishops
see of Doun-
held.

Saint Colme
returneth into
Ireland.

Saint Colme
cometh againe
into Scot-
land, bringing
with him Ai-
dan sonne to
king Conran.

The death of
Conuall.

578. H.B.

Saint Colme
present at the
buriall of king
Conuall.

Kinnatill elec-
ted king of
Scotland.

Saint Colme
and Aidan re-
ceiued by
Kinnatill.

The prophesie
of Kinnatill.

The death of
Kinnatill. He
eng upon his
death bed, sur-
rendereth his
kingdome in-
to Aidans
hands.

flaine, as before is expressed. Bentigerne went with
saint Colme vnto the castell of Calidon, otherwise
called Dounheld, where they remained six moneths
in a monastirie there, builded by king Conuall, tea-
ching and preaching vnto the people of Athole, Cali-
don, and Angus, that in great numbers came vnto
them, to heare their goodlie instructions. There is in
the same place, where the said castell sometimes stood,
a church dedicated vnto saint Colme, built of faire
square stone, being at this day a bishops see, com-
monlie called Dounheld, indowd with manie faire
reuenues and great possessions, for the maintenance
of the bishop and his canons.

At the six moneths end, those two vertuous per-
sons taking their leaue each of other, not without
shedding of teares, departed in sunder. Bentigerne
returning into Glasco, and saint Colme into Ire-
land, where reporting manie things, touching the
great vertue and holines of king Conuall, and with
what deuotion he had bene receiued both of him and
his people, he moued manie to wonder greatlie
thereat, to heare that a king in the midst of all his
allurements to pleasure, should yet be so mindfull of
diuine meditations and godlie exercises. In the yere
following, saint Colme prepared to returne into
Scotland, taking Aidan ouer with him thither, by
commandement of king Conuall, which Aidan (as
ye haue heard) to auoid the traines of Eugentius, fled
ouer into Ireland with his mother, for doubt to be
made away by the same Eugentius. Saint Colme
taking the sea with this Aidan, and comming on land
on the coastes of Scotland, was no sooner there ar-
riued, but that presentlie he had knowledge how the
king was dead, being the yere of his reigne the 10,
and after the birth of our Sauour 579.

Saint Colme then being thoroughlie certified of
his death, and that the corps was forwarde on the
way towards Colmekill, there to be buried, he
thought it a peece of his dutie to go thither to be at
the funerall, and so doing, was as one of the chiefe-
st there in executing of the obsequies. Which being en-
ded, and hearing that Kinnatill the brother of Con-
uall was intyponized king in Argile, by the free elec-
tion of all the estates, he neuerthelesse kept on his
former purposed iournie, and came vnto Kinnatill,
bringing Aidan with him (appointed by Conuall to
haue receiued the gouernement of the kingdome if
he had liued) they were both receiued with all bene-
uolence of the said Kinnatill contrarie to most mens
expectation: inso much that imbracing Aidan, he bad
him be of god there, for it should shortly come to
passe, that he should attaine to the possession of his
grandfathers dominions, and haue issue that should
succeed him, to the great reliefe of the Scottish com-
mon-wealth.

By what spirit of prophesie he vttered these words,
it is vncertaine, but sure it is that his purpose was
to haue giuen ouer the gouernement of the king-
dome (as he confessed himselfe lieng vpon his death
bed) and to haue restored it vnto Aidan who had a
right therevnto. Howbeit being prevented by death,
he could not haue time to accomplish his desire, for
within twentie daies after his cozonation, being
surpassed with a grievous disease of a catarrhe
rheume, and the squinancie, he was constrained to
keepe his chamber, committing the publike admini-
stration of the realme vnto Aidan. Hereupon follo-
wed a feuer thorough increasing of a flegmatike hu-
mor bred by long rest, that after 14 moneths space
vnbodied his ghost, which by instruction of saint
Colme, being present with him at the houre of his
death, he rendered in most deuout wille into the hands
of his redeemer; appointing his kingdome as it
were by deliuerie of himselfe, euen there vpon his death

bed vnto the foresaid Aidan.

After that the bodie of this Kinnatill was in-
terred, according to the maner, in Colmekill,
Aidan receiued the crowne, sitting vpon the marble
stone, after the custome in those daies vsed, by the
hands of that holie father saint Colme. Who willing
that silence might be kept, laid his right hand vpon
the kings head, and in his left hand holding his
crozier stasse, made a brieue exhortation, as well
to the king as to his people, admonishing them
of their duties each towards other, but especiallie he
exhorted them vnto peace and concord, and before all
things to remember to walke in the waies of the
Lord, for in so doing they might hope for wealth and
prosperitie in the state of their commonwealth, with
all other god graces, whereas otherwise, if either
the people forgot their duties towards God, or that
the king regarded not duilie to execute or fulfill his
office, in giuing God thanks for his vountions libe-
ralitie and high benefits bestowed vpon him, it
should come to passe, that intestine seditions, conspi-
racies, and other mischiefs should rise among them,
to the irrecoverable losse of the realme, by bringing
the same into danger to be ouerrun with some for-
rein power, if they did not repent in time, and call to
God for his fauour, that it might please him to re-
duce them againe into the right path of his lawes
& ordinances, whensoever they should so fall from the
same. When saint Colme had made an end of these
or the like his wholesome aduertisements, all the peo-
ple reioysing thereat, promised with one voice, and
therewith bound to follow the same, and to be euer
readie to obeye the commandement of their prince,
and the holie instructions of their bishops and other
the ecclesiasticall ministers. The assemble being once
dissolued, the king departed into Galloway, and
there deliuered the countrie of certeine British rob-
bers that had invaded it. After this, studing to
mainteine god orders and quiet rule through his do-
minions, he appointed an assemble of the chiefe-
st peeres of his realme, to be holden yerele in three
uerall parties thereof, as in Galloway, Loudygha-
ber, and Cathnesse, there to heare and determine all
sutes and quarels of his subiects, & to giue order for
the administration of the lawes and all publike af-
faires, as they should see cause and occasion. He re-
quired also S. Colme to be present euer with them,
that matters touching religion might be the bet-
ter pouldred for, and that the people might take all
things done in those publike sessions in right god
part, because such an holie and vertuous father of the
church was amongst them, and hauing the chiefe-
st authoritie.

Thus continued the realme in quiet state for cer-
teine yeres together, till it chanced that diuers of
the nobles being together on hunting, fell at vari-
ance, and thereupon making a frate, sundrie of them
were slaine. The beginners and such as were most
culpable were sought for by the kings officers, to
haue bene had to ward, but they in disobeying the
arrest, stroke and beat the officers verie sore, and im-
mediatlie therewith fled vnto Wyndus king of the
Brits, so by willfull exile to safe gard their liues. King
Aidan according to the maner in such cases accu-
med, required to haue those outlawes deliuered vnto
him, that he might do iustice vpon them according-
lie as they had deserved. Wyndus taking pittie
of the yong gentlemen, alledged manie things in their
excuse, still deferring to deliuer them, till at length
hee procured warre to himselfe and his countrie.
For Aidan the Scottish king, offended in that he
might not haue those rebels and publike offenders
restored vnto him, caused a number of his people
first to setty a great battie of cattell and prisoners
cut

out of Angus.

Wherewith the Picts being kindled, made a like rode into Galloway. Finallie the matter grew vnto a field, which was foughten in Penttieth, not farre from Calidon castell otherwise called Dounkelde, with great slaughter on both sides, though in the end the victorie yet remained with the Scots; but losing Arthurus the sonne of Aidan their king, they reioised not greatlie at the gaine. That holie man saint Colme troubled with such newes, came vnto Aidan, and declaring vnto him how grievouslie he had offended almighty God, in procuring such mischief as had ensued of this warre, and reciting in particular the branches thereof, he moued the king vnto such repentance for his trespassse, that he wholie submitted himselfe vnto saint Colmes chastisement, who being about to depart in semblance soze offended, the king got him by the sleue, and would in no wise suffer him to go from him, till he had declared vnto him some comfortable meanes how to redresse the matter, for the quieting of his conscience. At length saint Colme lamenting the kings case, suffered himselfe to be intreated, and thereupon repaired vnto Budeus the Pictish king, mouing him by way of bluerie godlie aduertisements to incline his affection vnto peace. At length he did so much by trauelling sundrie times to and fro betwixt the two kings, that he brought them vnto agreement, for all matters depending in controuersie betwixt them and their subiects.

Thus saint Colme hauing accomplished that which he came for, returned againe into the westerne Isles vnto his wonted home, where he did by whole some documents and vertuous examples instruct the seruants of God in the way of his lawes and commandements. In this meane time the Saxons hauing binen and put backe the Britains into Wales, and occupieng all the residue of their lands and countreies, they diuided the same into seuen parts, ordaining seuen seuerall kings to gouerne the same as kingdomes.ouer that of Northumberland, adioining next vnto the Picts, one Edelred reigned, a man of exceeding desire to enlarge his dominion. He went by all means he could deuise, to perswade Budeus the Pictish king to renew the warres with the Scots, promising him all the aid he could make against them, not onelie for that he knew the Scots to haue bene euer enemies vnto the Saxons, but also for that he himselfe was descended of the nation called Agathysles, of the which the Picts (as was thought) were also come. But the cause why he wished that there might be warres raised betwixt the Scots and Picts, was not for anie god will he bare to the Picts, but onelie to the end that their power being weakened through the same, he might haue a more easie preie of their countrie, the which he purposed vpon occasion to invade, and ioine vnto his owne kingdome of Northumberland.

Budeus at the first gaue no care vnto his earnest motions and large offers, but at length through the counsell and procurement of some of his nobles, corrupted by bribes receiued at Edelreds hands, and still putting into the kings head sundrie forged informations of the Scottishmens daillie attempts against the Pictish nation; he determined to ioine with the Saxons against them, and caused therupon warre to be proclaimed against the Scots, as thole that had spoiled and robbed his subiects, contrarie to the league and all bonds of old friendship and former amitie betwixt them. The Scottish king Aidan perceiving the practise of the Saxons, and together therewith the vnturth of the Picts, the better to be able to resist their malice, ioineith in league with the Britains; this article being the chiefest in the whole co-

uenant: that if the enemies first invaded the Britains, then an armie of Scots should be sent with all speed into Britaine, to helpe to defend the countrie against such inuasions: but if the Scots were first inuaded, then should the Britains in semblable maner come ouer to their aid.

The Saxons hauing knowledge of this appointment betwixt Scots & Britains; to draw the Scots forth of their countrie, and so to haue them at more aduantage, procured the Picts to ioine with them: and so both their powers being vnited together, entered into the British confines. Aidan according to the covenant came streight vnto the aid of the Britains. Edelred and Budeus refused to fight for certeine daies, as it were of purpose, therby to lacerie the Scots with watch and trauell, being as then far from home. Also they looked daillie to haue Ceu-line king of the Westsaxons to come vnto their aid: but the Scots and Britains hauing knowledge thereof, first thought it best to encounter with him, before he should ioine with the other, and thus understanding that their onelie refuge remained in their armie and weapons, gaue the onset so fiercelie vpon those Saxons, that at the first, slaying Cutha Ceu-lines sonne, with a great number of other, they easilie distressed and put the residue to flight.

Aidan would not suffer his men to pursue too far in the chase, but called them backe by the sound of a trumpet, who being assembled herewith about their standards, made such ioy and triumph, as greater could not be deuised, what with dancing, singing, and plaicng on pipes and other instruments, according to the manner in those daies. But as they were thus in the midst of their chiefest mirth, suddenly appeared the Saxons and Picts, which were with Edelred and Budeus, appochoing towards them in good order of battell, with whome were also the residue of the Westsaxons, that had escaped from the late bickering. Whereupon the Scots and Britains amazed with the sight hereof, were suddenly stricken out of countenance, inso much that Aidan went amongst them, and with a bold countenance exhorted them to remember how ballantlie they had already put to flight the other of their enemies, so that there was great hope for assured victorie of these likewise, if they would now shew the like manlie courage against them, as they had shewed before in assailing the other. Many other words he vsed in admonishing them to fight manfullie, till the onset giuen by the enemies caused him to make an end.

The Saxons laid about them so stoutlie in the beginning, that they forced their aduersaries, with whome they were matched, to giue backe. Neither did Edelred faile in that occasion to incourage them to follow the aduantage now thus gotten. Budeus with his Picts likewise made great slaughter in that wing of the Scots, with the which he encountered; so that finallie the same Scots perceiving the Britains beaten downe and soze distressed on this side, fell through discomfort thereof to running away. There were slaine in this battell on the Scottishmens side, Brennius lieutenant or (as they termed him) thane of the Ile of Man, with Dungar the kings third sonne, and no small number of other gentlemen beside. The king himselfe escaped by helpe of his sonne, who stalang to get his father out of the preasse, was slaine (as is said) amongst the residue. On the Saxons side, there was slaine Hechald Edelreds brother, and Cutha the king of Westsaxons his sonne, as before ye haue heard, with a great number of other. Edelred himselfe lost one of his eyes. Budeus the Pictish king was hurt in the thigh, and besides this, he lost a great multitude of his people. Thus Edelred hauing got such a notable victorie

The Picts & Saxons enter into the land of the Britains.

Ceu-line or Ceuilin.

The Scots and Britains put the Saxons to flight, and slay Cutha the sonne of Ceu-line king of the Westsaxons. The triumphant ioy made by the Scots and Britains vpon their new victorie.

The Saxons and Picts.

The sudden feare of the Scots and Picts, after all their great ioy & triumphing.

Aidan exhorted his men to manfullnesse.

The Saxons fight stoutlie. Edelred.

Budeus &c. of the Picts maketh slaughter of the Scots.

The Scots run away.

Edelred lost one of his eyes. Budeus hurt in the thigh.

At

Deglassone the place wher this battell was fought. Galloway invaded by Celsfred.

Certeine companies of Saxons overthorne.

Passages thorough Shullow lands.

The diligence of king Aidan in providing to resist his enemies.

The Scots and Britains dislodge.

The Scots and Britains enter into Northumberland.

The fight betwixt Scots and Britains on the one side, and Saxons and Picts on the other.

The Saxons and Picts discomfited and chased.

at Deglassone in Britaine, he could not be so contented, but eslonnes assembling his people, and joining againe with Wudeus and his Picts, the next summer after invaded Galloway, and began to rob and spoile that countrie, to the end he might either enforce the inhabitants, with other the countries next thereunto adjoining, to yeld unto him; either els to bying them into extreme povertie in waisting all afore him. But Aidan being advertised hereof, sent to the Britains for their couenanted aid, and comming forward with his owne people which he had assembled together, overthrew certeine companies of his enemies, as he found them dispersed abroad in seeking for prey: then passing by their maine armie, he commeth into Anandale, where he joineth with the Britains, being come so farre forward on their wate to meet him. The Saxons and Picts having knowledge of their enemies doings, wane such a place of advantage, as they thought it an easie matter for them in keeping the same, to distresse both the Scots and Britains through stopping by the passages, by the which they must of force passe, if they minded to come forth on that day. These passages late through certeine quicksands, and by a river which had but few fords passable.

The Scots and Britains, perceiving how they were thus inclosed, with all speed trenched their campe about, raising certeine bulwarks and turrets in places where they thought expedient, as though they had ment still there to have continued. Aidan himselfe toke such pains in seeing everie thing done in due order, that his people moved more through his example than by anie exhortation, were most diligent in their duties, desirous of nothing so much as to have occasion ministered, to shew some proofe of their worthie valiances. At length, when the enemies were most at quiet, and (as was supposed) nothing in doubt of anie attempt to be made by the Scots and Britains in the night season, leaving a great number of fires in their campe, they suddenly dislodge, and passing the water by secret fords, they entred into Cumberland, and so after passing into Northumberland, they wasted and destroyed with fire and sword all that came within their reach: the report of which their doings brought Celsfred and Wudeus backe into that countrie to resist their invasion, neither resting day nor night, till they had got sight of their enemies.

The next day, the souldiers on both sides requiring battell, together they go with great noise and din both of men and instruments. So much hardinesse in the Saxons caused no small number of them to be slaine, rather chosing to die with reputation of manhood, than to give backe nener so little ground to the enemy. Thus the battell continued for a space, verie doubtfull which waie the victorie would incline. On the Britains and Scottishmens side, there were foure chiefe rulers amongst them, beside Aidan himselfe, as Constantius and Alencrinus Britains, Calan and Moridache Scottishmen. Each of these taking a severall charge upon him, did earnestlie applie their uttermost inducers therein, encouraging their bands to put awaie all cowardlie feare, and manfullie to strike to their tackle, since by victorie there was hope of eternall fame, beside suertie of life, and advancement to the common wealth of their countrie; where otherwise they might looke for nothing, but the contrarie mishaps, as shame, rebuke, and importable servitude. So that the Scottishmen and Britains encouraged herewith, pressed upon the enemies so fiercely, that at length as well the Saxons as Picts were compelled to breake their arrate, & fall to plaine running awaie: the Scots following so cgerlie in the chase, that more of their enemies were thought

to die in the sight, than before there had done in the battell.

S. Colme as yet being alive, and within his monasterie in the Ile of Iona, had knowledge by divine inspiration (as the Scottish chronicles make mention) of all these matters how they went and at the verie time that the battels were in fight together, he had assembled a companie of verie vertuous and godlie disposed persons, making interest on for the prosperous speed of their king the foresaid Aidan: and at the verie instant (as it was knowne after) that the Saxons began to flee (as they which had the overthrow) that holie old father shewed great token of ioy and gladnesse, declaring unto his brethren by the spirit of secret knowledge or prophesie, how Aidan had the better, and that his enemies were discomfited, willing them thereupon to give unto God thanks for the same. There was an huge multitude slaine in this conflict, but namely the death of Ceuline king of the West Saxons, with other two worthie captains of that nation, made the slaughter more joyfull on that side, the one of them was called Caline, and the other Dubitelline.

The day next after the battell, the spoile of the field being gathered together, all that which was knowne to have bene taken out of Galloway, and other countries of the Scots, was restored by the kings authoritie unto the owners againe. The residue which remained was divided amongst the souldiers, the tenth part onelie excepted, which was distributed unto priests & curats, to bestow the same upon ornaments for their churches. The banners and standards of the Saxons and Picts, with manie other rich offerings, king Aidan sent unto the abbey of Colmekeill, there to remaine as perpetuall monuments and tokens of so notable a victorie. The next ensuing, that holie father S. Colme now almost wasted through age, and hereto also sore troubled with a rheumatike humor, fell sicke and died. Some saie he ended his life in his house amongst his brethren, within the Ile of Iona, otherwise called Colmekeill, but S. Beda writeth, how he died in an Island called Heu; where againe the Irish writers affirme, that he deceased in a towne in Ireland called Dune, & that his towne is there in verie great veneration of the people: upon the which are these Latine verses ingraven for the lookers on to read, if they list:

Hicres in Duno, tumulo tumulantur in uno,

Brigida, Patricius, atque Columba pium.

Saint Colme, Saint Patrike, and Brigitta pure, Thir three in Dune lies in ane sepulture.

Neither did Aidan the Scottish king live long time after, for hearing (as is said) that saint Colme was dead, thostlie thereupon, more through griefe than by force of sicknesse, he departed this world, after he had reigned 37 yeares in governement over the Scottishmen, he died about the yeare of our Lord 606. In the daies of this Aidan there was sent into Albion from Gregorie the pope of Rome, divers learned men (amongest whome were Augustinus and Mellitus) to instruct the English people in the faith of Christ, which as yet they had not received. By the earnest travell and exhortation of these instructors, Ethelbert king of the Kentish Saxons was baptised with all his people. The British priests nor their doctrine the Saxons could in no wise abide, because (as is supposed) the one nation through a naturall hatred, still sought the destruction of the other. The South and East Saxons moved with the example of the Kentish Saxons, thostlie after also renounced their old superstitious idolatrie, and likewise received the christian faith. Celsfred king of Northumberland moved unto displeasure herewith, sent word unto these Saxons of the South parts (as

S. Colme true with the spirit of secret knowledge.

Certeine bands of welltrained name. Dubitelline of West Saxons.

The battell of the spirit.

S. Colme departed out of this world.

which bein Bellenden translated.

Aidan king the Scottishmen, departed this world.

606.

Augustinus and Mellitus sent into Albion.

Ethelbert baptised.

The Saxons hated the British priests. S. Beda and S. Gregorie were the chiefe faith.

Celsfred king of Northumberland moved unto displeasure herewith, sent word unto these Saxons of the South parts (as

then all of them generallie knowne by the name of Englishmen) that fith they had forsaken the old institutions & ancient religion of their forefathers, be would scerlie from thenceforth be no lesse crimi-
 nable unto them than unto the Scots and Britains. There lived in these daies that holie man called a Scotch man borne, but dwelling amongst the Picts, whome he instructed in the right faith, and therefore was named the doctor of the Picts. He departed out of this life within the Picts, called the Isale, lying about two miles off from the maine land within the sea, where the Forth hath entrie betwixt the same Isle, and an other called the Hebrides. There were three parishes fell at contention for his bodie, as Abham, Tynningharn, and Wyckton, so far forth, that they were at point to have fought about it, but that by counsell of some discrete persons amongst them, it was ordered that they should continue in prayer for that night, and in the next morning stand to the order of the bishop of the diocesse, who was come thither the same time to be present at the buriall. The next day in the morning these three found three beeres with three bodies therein covered with clothes, so like in all resemblance, that no man might perceiue any difference. Then by common mandement of the bishop, and with great respect to the people, the said seuerall bodies were carried severally unto the said three severall churches, and in the same buried in most solempne wise, where they remaine unto this day, in much honor with the common people of the countries neare adjoining.

After that the corps of king Aidan was buried in Colmehill, the nobles of the realme assembled together in Argyle, about the election of a new king. Where, by the generall voicers of them all, Kenneth their the sonne of Conall (sometimes king of the Scottishmen, as before is mentioned) was now proclaimed king, and crowned according to the manner; but he lived not past foure moneths after, but died of a casarlike rheume falling down into the windpipe, and so stopping by his light and lungs. He deliuered as it were the possession of his kingdom, by way of hereditary the same into the hands of Eugenius sonne to king Aidan, by consent of all the nobles, a little before he died, for that it was knowne he had a right thereunto after the death of Kenneth.

This Eugenius was the fourth of that name, which had ruled ouer the Scottishmen. As it is said, saint Colme prophesied that he should be king long before his fathers death, for when all the sonnes of king Aidan were brought before him, and that they demanded of him which of them should succeed after him, he answering the residue (which by the blessing of secret knowledge should die in the womb) appointed fourth this Eugenius, called by some also Eudius, declaring that it should be onelie he. This Eugenius from his young age was placed in the kingly seat, for got not such holie lessons and vertuous precepts, as the foresaid saint Colme had taught him in his youth, so that knowing how to defend rather than how to be his owne in peace and quietnesse, than to seek anie waies or means how to enlarge it, by wrongfull inuading upon other mens possessions, he grew into such fauour with all good men, as greater could not be desired. Unto all offenders he was a sharpe iudicet, not sparing anie transgressors of his lawes, neither in respect of nobilitie or other title, but rather those gentlemen which misused themselves in breach of good orders, he chiefelie gave order to be them punished; where if they behaved themselves worthilie, and according to their calling, there was no prince more glad than he to aduance them unto honor.

By these and the like his princelie doings, he was both beloued of his people and also feared. He neither fauoured the Picts nor Saxons of Northumberland, for that the one nation being cruell, persecuted in their impietie, and the other called not by all manner of means to support them; but yet taking a truce with them both, he himselfe caused the same to be observed. In the tenth yeare of his reigne, the aged king of the Saxons, & Eilfred king of the Northumberland, with aid of the Picts, banquished Cadwalla king of Britains, and chased him into Scotland, where he remained not long, sailing from thence into France, and purchasing aid of the king there named Cadwall, returned into Wales, where banquishing his enemies the Saxons, and destroying thousands of them, he was returned againe into his kingdom. About the same time was Eilfred king of Northumberland slain in battell, at a place called Mertonburgh, not far from the riuer of Humber, by Medwald and Ethelbert, the same being king of the east Angles, and the other of the middle Angles, the sonne of Eilfred, who was the same Eilfred had borne unto the Saxons of the countie called Mercie, continuing (as in the English historie more plainelie may appeare) all those things from the riuer of Thames unto the riuer of Humber in Lancashire. Then was one Edwin, a right christian prince appointed to reigne in his place, by the assignement of the two foresaid kings Medwald and Ethelbert.

Whilste these things were a doing, there were great losses of the aforesaid Eilfred, that detesting the vntreue dealing of the Picts, which refused to aid their father in his necessitie, and desirous to fall into the hands of Edwin, got them to Eugenius the Scottish king for more succour of their lines. Their names were Guseid, Oswald, Oslaw, Oslon, Oslas, Omond, and Oslie. Gbba the onelie daughter of Eilfred being taken amongst other prisoners, and escaping from hir taker, miraculously got a hote in the riuer of Humber, and with the same taking the sea alone, without all humane helpe (as hath bene reported) she sailed forth, & at length safely arrived at the point of land which stretched forth into the sea, in the mouth of the Forth, called now by this day after hir name, saint Ebbes head, where being receiued by the bishop of that diocesse, she was professed a nun, and after continuing in great perfectiue of obseruing that profession, she was instituted abbesse of hir house, shewing still in trade of life an excellent example for her flocke to follow.

Eugenius the Scottish king did longinglie receiue the sonnes of Eilfred, though their father had ever bene a cruell enimie against the Scottish nation; and within a while after their coming into Scotland, hearing oftentimes the godlie sermons and preachings of the bishops and monks, who in those daies continually gaue themselves unto that exercise, they finally abhorred their superstitious idolatrie, and requested baptisme, that salutiferous signe and sacrament of our christian religion. Those churches also, which the Saxons in time of the warres had ouertaken and destroyed in Galloway and other countries thereabouts, Eugenius caused to be repaired; moreover also he repaired sundrie castles in those marches, and places, in them garisons of soldiers, to defend them against all inuasions that might happen. Thus continuing his reigne the space of fiftie yeares in these parts in honorable peace, to the great aduancement of the commonwealth of his kingdom, he lastlie died in the yeare 620, and was buried amongst his elders in the Isle of Iona, with in the monastirie of Colmehill.

Cadwall banquishes.

Cadwall is returned into his kingdom.

His more brief in England.

King Eilfred slain.

Edwine.

S. Ebbes head.

**Bonifacius a
goddie pre-
cher.**

About this time, that reuerend father and bishop Bonifacius Quirinus came forth of Italie into Scotland, to instruct the people in the faith of Christ there. Whether he were pope, and resigning vp the papallie came thus into Scotland (as some haue supposed) or whether he was sent from the pope called Bonifacius that succeeded Saninianus, it is not certainlie knowne; but certaine it is, as the Scottish writers affirme, that vpon his first coming into Scotland he arrived in the water of Tait, comming on land at the mouth of a little riuer, which blindeth the countrie of Colvrie from Angus. His name so yet famous amongst the Scots elien this day, for that he traueled through the West part of the land, in preaching and instructing the people to their confirmation in the faith; and creating diuers churches in the honor of almighty God, which he dedicated to the name of saint Peter. And amongst other he built one at the place where he came ash land, another at a village called Tulline, and passing thre miles from Dundee, and the third at Westrenoth, where afterwards an house of canons of saint Augustines order was builded. At length he came into Kells, continuing there the residue of his life, and was buried at Kellsmarkent.

**Apolocke a
precher.**

There was also at the same time amongst the Scots an ancient godlie man named Apolocke, who following such rules & doctrine as in his youth he had learned of Wandoth that reuerend abbat, he ceased not to exhort the people of War and Argile (in which countries he was most resedent) to flee and forsake their vicious liuing, and to indour themselves to imbrace vertue, to the comfort and health of their soules. This Apolocke kept continuall companie with the forenamed Bonifacius after his coming into Scotland; and finally died also in Kells, being about 94 yeares of age, and was buried in the church where Bonifacius lieth, though they of Argile say that his reliques rest among them in the church of Lismore, which is dedicated to his name.

**Ferqu-
hard.**

After the deceasse of Eugenius, his son Ferquhard succeeded in his place, for Eugenius had three sonnes, Ferquhard, Fiacre, and Donald. These being appointed by their father to be brought vp with Connane bishop of Sodor (that is, the bishop of Man) in vertuous discipline, did not altogether follow his godlie precepts and lessons. Ferquhard and Donald gladly gaue eare to him, but they thought his instructions did not much awertene him to their birth and degree: but Fiacre printing his diuine documents deepe in his heart, determined to forsake all worldly pompe and dignitie, and to get him some whither farre from home, where he might serue God more frelie without let or interruption of his friends or kinfolke. This being disposed, he got vpon him simple apparell, and went ouer into France, where seeking a solitarie place, Pharas the bishop of Beau gaue vnto him a peece of ground, in the which at this day he is worshipped with great deuotion.

**Fiacre getteth
himselfe for to
liue a solitarie
life in France**

There hath gone a tale in that countrie, that no woman might enter into the chappell where he lieth buried: for if arie do, she hath some mishap that falleth vnto hir, as either the losse of sight, priuation of voice, or some such like. As touching the state of the Scottish commonwealth, vnder the gouernement of Ferquhard, the same was quiet enough, & without trouble of outward enemies; but his subjects among themselves fell at such diuision, that euery part of the realme was full of murder, burning, and other destructions of men and houses, with such spoiling, robbing, reuing, and all kindes of other mischiefs, that no there was any quietnesse of life or gods: all the which misorders sprang, were now

risht and maintained through the kings owne negligence: for he mistaking his office and dutie, was of this opinion, that so long as the nobles and states of his realme were thus ready one to kill an other, there was no likelihood they should haue time to practise any rebellion against him; and herevpon he rather holpe to further such discord amongst them, than take order for to appeale it. But it came to pass by this means, that he was nothing regarded within a while amongst them, so that by means of other arbiters which they chose by common agreement, all matters in controuersie were taken vp & ended betwixt them, the king not once made priue thereto.

At the same time it was noised abroad in the realme, that Ferquhard, besides other his wicked behauiours, was also infected with the erroneous opinions of the Pelagian heresse. Which suspicion was the more increased, for that he used to haue sundrie British priests in his companie: the which nation had bene ever noted with the spot of that damnable infection. The nobilitie of the realme moued herewith, summoned him by an herald to come to a counsell, which they had appointed to hold of all the states, that they might there vnderstand, if it were true or not which was commonlie reported of him. But he refusing to come at such summons, they assembled together, and besieged him in the castell wherein he had tricke himselfe; and winning the place, got him into their hands; and immediately therevpon committed him to safe keeping. This done, they consult together for the administration of the realme, whether they should quite depose Ferquhard, or restore him to his place. In fine they rest vpon this agreement to send an honorable ambassage into France vnto Fiacre, to require him to restore home into his countrie, and there to receive the gouernement of the realme.

Fiacre (as the report goeth) hearing that there were officers of the Scottish nobilitie coming to wards him vpon this message, in his prayers besought the gentle of almighty God, that it might please him to worke so vnto him, that he might continue in his contemplatiue life still; and not be occasioned to resort vnto the troubles of the world, which all contemplatiue godlie men ought to abhorre. And euen as he had wished, it came to passe. For when those that were sent vnto him, came to the hermitage wherein he had his lodging, they found him (as appeared vnto them) so disfigured with the leprosie, that vpon his earnest refusal to forsake his solitarie life (which he professed to lead as an heremite) for any worldly preferment of kinglie gouernement, they were content to returne with that answer, that his infirmite (as they supposed) was such, as was not conuenient for him that should haue any publick gouernement. This Fiacre had a sister named Sara, which hearing of his brothers vntoward trade of life, came vnto him with a companie of godlie virgins, and being of him confirmed in his purpose of chastitie, she repaired into Champaigne in France, where she with hir fellowes remained in great holinesse of life, leauing in those parties a worthy memorie not forgotten amongst them here till this day.

The foresaid ambassadors returning forth of France, declared in that plight of descomitte they had seene Fiacre, and how earnestlie he had refused the offer which they had made vnto him in name of all the states of Scotland. The Scottish nobilitie herevpon assembling together, chose forth foure of the ancientest peeres amongst them, to haue the rule and gouernement of the kingdome, till it were otherwile provided. These were named by that age,

the desperate
king
Fergus.

622

Donwald.
Donwald the
king of Scotland.

king Edwin
of Northumbria.

then.

the king on the
hill.

age, wardens, and had full authoritie to order things as seemed them good in all points. In the meane time Fergus hard remaining still in prison, and vexed with sundrie diseases, to rid himselfe out of such miseries, flue himselfe in the 13 yeare of his reigne; and so nothing spared his owne life in the end, which had bene the occasion of the losse of so manie other mens lives in time of the ciuill discord, that he had euer nourished. After this wretched end of Fergus hard, which happened in the yeare of our Lord 632, the lords of the land assembled themselves together in Argile, about the choosing of a new king, where by common consent, Donwald the third sonne of Eugenius, being called thither with bishop Conan out of the Ile of Man, was inuested king with great ioy and triumph.

This Donwald hauing taken on him the roiall administration, transforming himselfe into his fathers maners, restored againe into the former estate such things as appertained vnto the common wealth, and had bene anie wise decayed and misgouerned by the slothfull negligence of his predecessor Fergus hard, by means whereof he quicklie grew into great fauor of his subjects. In the meane time Cadwallo king of the Britains, and Penda king of those Englishmen which inhabited that part of England ancientlie called Mercia, joining their powers together against Edwin king of Northumbria, deppued him both of life and kingdom. After this, passing through the whole countie, and entering into the confines of Northumbria, they toke a great part of the same by force of arms from Eadricus king of the Picts, who in baine had sued for aid vnto Donwald king of Scotland, for that his vntuall had bene notified more than enough in times past. But Donwald being certified of Edwin's death, made means vnto Cadwallo king of the Britains by his ambassadours, that Eufred the son of Eufred might be restored vnto his fathers kingdom, which Edwin had wrongfullie vsurped.

This being granted, Eufred leauing his brethren still in Scotland, came into Northumbria, where by authoritie of Cadwallo and Penda he was inuested king of Bernicia, that is, of the countie which is now called the marches. For at the same time they had diuided the kingdom of Northumbria into two kingdoms, appointing Eufred (as is said) to reigne ouer the one called Bernicia, and one strike ouer the other called Deira, a man of great wickednesse, as by his works most plainelie appeared. For certaine yeares after his aduancement to that dignitie, he found means to marie one of his daughters vnto the foresaid Eufred, perswading the same Eufred to consent with him in restoring againe the heathenish religion throughout their whole dominion, & utterlie to renounce the christian faith, which they had latelie before receiued by the instructions of the two bishops Conan & Pauline. But they inioied not long felicitie after so wicked and most diuelish purpose, for the princes of Albion under the leading of Cadwallo & of the Britains, and Penda king of Mercia, with a great armie assembled of Saxons, Britains, and Picts, entering into Northumbria, and incounting in battell with strike and Eufred, discomfited their power, and toke them prisoners, who being put into a common prison, flue each other to auoid sharper tortures, which by due execution they daile looked for.

Then was the kingdom of Northumbria giuen vnto Oswald brother to Eufred, both in respect of the right which he had thereto, and also of the zeale which he bare to the aduancement of Christs religion, shewing himselfe in consideration thereof, an earnest enimie to his brother Eufred, and all his

partakers, in so much that in the day of the battell, he was one of the forwardest captains against them. Vnto this Oswald was sent a Scotishman called Cormac, to instruct the Northumberland men in faith, and after him Aidan, as in the English historie ye may read more at large: finally he was slaine by Penda king of Mercia, as in the same historie appeareth. His death chanced in the third yeare of Donwald the Scotish king, who sore lamented the same, as of that prince whome he loued right intirelie. Neither liued the said king Donwald anie long time after the death of his deere friend; for that in the fifteenth yeare of his reigne, being got into a bote to fish in the water called Lochtaie for his recreation, his chance was to be drowned, by reason the bote sank vnder him. Certaine daies after, his bodie being found and taken vp, was buried amongst his ancestors in Colmekill, in the yeare of our Lord 647.

About the same time there liued in France three brethren of great holinesse of life, being sonnes vnto Hilkan king of Ireland, the which he begot of his wife Calgheates, descended of the linage of the kings in Scotland. The names of which three brethren were as followeth, Fursus, Foilanus, and Altanus. Fursus professing himselfe a monke of saint Benets order, passed ouer into France, there to set forth and enlarge that profession, and being receiued of king Clouis, began the foundation of a monasterie there called Latnie, in the which he placed monks of that order, and began to sow in those parties the seeds of the gospell, but not without the darnell of mens traditions, as John Bale saith in the 14 centurie of the British writers. His two brethren Foilanus and Altanus followed him ouer into France, and both by word and example instructed the Frenchmen to embrace the faith of Christ, and to renounce the religion of the gentiles.

So that it seemeth as yet, such as professed themselves to be monks, and men of religion (as they were called) had not left off to labour in the Lords vineyard, spending their time in reading the scriptures, to instruct and teach others, and to exercise prayer and thanksgiving: so as no small number by their wholesome doctrine and good example were conuerted to the christian faith. Foilanus at length was martyred in a monasterie which he had founded in France called Fosse. About the same time there was also a contention amongst them in Albion for keeping of the Easter day, the Scotish bishops and some of the Britains varying in their account from all other prelates of the west: but at length thorough perswasion of the pope they confessed their error (if it ought so to be taken) and consented to celebrate that feast according to the account of other nations. These things chanced in the daies of king Donwald.

After the deceasse of Donwald, his nephew Fergus hard the sonne of his brother, the other Fergus hard, succeeded in gouernement of the realme, a man of quicke and liuelie spirit, but inclined neuertheless rather vnto euill than vnto good, speciallie after he had attained the crowne, inasmuch as it was commonlie spoken of him, that from a liberall and most gentle humane person, he was suddenly changed into an insatiable and most cruell monster. Before he came to the crowne he was liberall beyond measure. There was no gentleman that wanted monie, either to redeeme his lands ingaged, or to bestow in dowry for the marriage of his daughter, but if he had wherewith to helpe him, he might account himselfe sure thereof. Priests and other deuout persons, speciallie such as were pore and in any necessitie, he oftentimes most bountifullie relieved

12. H.B.

Donwald
the Scotish
king drowned
645. H.B.

Anno 854.
Sigebertus.
Folense monasterium.
Strife about
the celebrating
of the feast of Easter

Fergus
Fergus hard.
Fergus hard
the second of
that name created
king of Scotland.
Fergus hard
being king
was conscious
before he
was king, he
drew liberality.

3. 11. to

to their great ease and comfort. To be briefe, such a readinesse was in him to helpe all men, that (as was thought) he could better be contented to want himselfe, than to see other men haue need of anie thing that was in his possession, so that all men iudged him most wortie of all princelie authoritie. But after he was once placed in the kinglie seat, he so altered his conditions, that men could not but wonder much therat. Where before he was knowne to be liberall, well disposed, righteous, sober, and a reformer of offenses, he was now forthwith become couetous, wicked towards God, a tormentor of the iust and righteous people, and insatiable in all unlawfull actions. That which before time he had giuen vnto anie of the nobilitie, he now without all shame most vncourteouslie demanded to be to him restored, alleging that he did but lend it for the time. And such as went about to delay restitution, pretending anie excuse, he caused their goods to be confiscate, and also their bodies to be committed to prison. Now & then he found means without cause or matter to put some of them to cruell death. Such of the prelates as he understood to be wealthie, he rested not till he had picked one matter or other vnto them, whereby they were sure to forfeit all their treasure vnto his coffers, that neuer might be filled.

The bishops of the realme, namelie those two reuerend fathers, Colman and Finnan, perceiving such wickednesse in the prince, blamed him sharpelie sundrie times for the same: and at length because they saw he regarded not their admonishments, he was by them excommunicated: whereof he so little passed, that when other went vnto the church to heare diuine seruice, he would get him to the woods and forests to hunt the hart, or some other game. Besides these such wanting as were willing to keepe him companie: so readie is the nature of man at all times to follow licentious libertie. He vsed also, contrary to the custome of his countrie, to eat three meales a day, hauing such number of dishes and abundance of delicate fare, as the like had not bene vsed at anie time before those daies in that realme: and all to serue his greedie appetite, together with theirs that followed his companie.

Of wines & other strong drinks he would participate abundantly at all times and places, without regard of health or honor, being exceedingly giuen vnto most beastlie drunkennesse. The custumable vsed to sit at supper till it were verie late in the night, hauing his banketting dishes and cuppes to come in one after another, till he were so misshapen, that being laid to sleepe, he would freight vomit out such beaue gorges, as he had in such most gluttonous wise receiued. Herevnto he was so drownded in the filthie lust of the flesh, that he defiled his owne daughters: and for that his wife was about to dissuade him from such villanie, he slue hir with his owne hands. Thus continuing in his wickednesse certaine yeres, at length the nobles began to conspire against him, so that they would haue deuised a meane how to haue rid him out of the way, if bishop Colman had not forbidden them that practise, prophesying as it were by diuine inspiration, that Ferquhard sore detesting his owne wicked doings, should shortly be punished by the hands of almighty God, according to his desertings.

And sure his words proued true: for within a moneth after, as the same Ferquhard followed in chase of a wolfe, the beast being all enraged by the pursue of the hounds, slue backe vpon the king, and snatching at him, did wound and bite him right sore in one of his sides, immediatlie wherevpon, whether through anguish of his hurt, or by some other occasion, he fell into a most filthie disease: for a venemous

humor with a soft consuming heat, did so eat and wast his members and lims, that a lothsome sight it was to behold the same: for out of his legs, feet, and priue parts, there issued filthie corruption and matter, with so vile a sauour, that bneath might any creature abide it. His bellie was swollen, as though he had bene infected with the dyspsie, and therto was it verie hard to thall. Finally like byed so abundantlie in his secret parts, that he might in no wise be rid of cleansed of them.

At length, when he had bene vered in this sort for the space of two yeres together, or thereabouts, he began to call himselfe to remembrance, and to consider how this punishment was worthilie fallen vpon him for his finnes, and therevpon causing bishop Colman to be fetched vnto him, being as then about 20 miles off, he confessed vnto him the whole summe of his offenses, declaring himselfe right penitent for the same. Colman reioicing hereat, did not onelie release him of the sentence of excommunication, pronounced against him: but also willed him to be of comfort, and to put his confidence in the mercie of almighty God, who was ready to receiue all such sinners as turned vnto him with repentant hearts: so that being put in hope by these & the like words of Colman to haue forgiveness of his finnes, with bitter teares he besought God to haue mercie vpon him: and humbly receiuing the sacrament, got him into simple clothing of beare and sackcloth. When causing himselfe to be borne into the next fields, he there yelded vp the ghost in the presence of Colman, who (according to the dutie of a god ghostlie father) was still about him, in exhorting him to commit himselfe wholly to the mercie of God, & not to doubt but he should be sure to attaine the same. Thus Ferquhard ended his life, in the 18 yere after he began his reigne ouer the Scottisshmen, and in the yere of Grace 664.

In this Ferquhards daies bishop Aidan departed this world, and then was Finnan sent for forth of Scotland, to take vpon him the gouernement of the church of Lindesferne, where the bishops of Northumberland as then had their see. This Finnan was well learned, and no lesse renowned for his vertuous life than his predecessor Aidan. He died anon after the deceasse of Ferquhard, and then was Colman remoued vnto that see of Lindesferne, who with his vertuous instructions and examples of holie life conuerted a great multitude of Saxons vnto the true worshipping of the liuing God. And amongst other was Penda sonne to the former Penda, king of Mercia. There he that wrote how Penda the father also was baptised by this Colman: and that the same Colman travelled through the most part of all the English prouinces, setting forth the word of life amongst the people, purchasing him great fame for his wortie merits. He came to the church of Lindesferne in the daies of Galdwin that succeeded the last mentioned Ferquhard.

This Galdwin was the sonne of king Domwald: and after that Ferquhard was dead and buried in Colmekill, he was inuested king: which function he right sufficientlie discharged, studieng to mainteine peace with his neighbors the Picts, Saxons and Britains: giuing thereby a good example to be followed of his subiects. Hereeto he had a speciall care for the administration of the lawes in due forme and order, causing offenders to be punished, that other harmefulle persons might liue in quiet, so that by this meanes all things in the beginning of his reigne had prosperous successe. Afterwards there fell no small discord betwixt them of Lennor and Argile: for first through bralling among the heardsmen, their maisters made a fraie, whereof rose such

Gifts are required as a loan.

So, what a pretense couetousness hath.

For their goods sake prelates are troubled.

The king is excommunicated.

The king is hunting.

He was a glutton.

Drunkard he was also.

Prophecie.

The king is sick.

He sent for his counsell.

The king being excommunicated is released.

Ferquhard preached by the ghost.

664

Finnian bishop.

Holy John.

Bishop Colman counsellor of the king.

Penitent king of Mercia.

Malden.

Agilnoth, nephew of king.

A loan of peace & war.

Lennor and Argile at variance.

deadlie enmitie betwixt the parties, by reason that the inhabitants of the westerne Isles aided them of Argyle, and the people of Galloway the other of Lennox: that if the king had not come into those parties to appease the businesse, and to haue punished the offenders, there had ensued much manslaughter, vnto the great danger of the bitter ruine of those countreies.

The king at his arrivall amongst them minded not to pursue the people that followed their captiues, but rather the captiues and authors of this tumult themselves. Whereof they hauing knowledge, made an attoneiment together, being enforced thereto of necessitie, so to auoid the prepared punishment deuised by the king against them. And forthwith they fled ouer into the Isles, but the inhabitants doubting the kings displeasure, would not consent to succour them, but contrariwise took them and deliuered them to the kings officers, whereupon they were safely conueied to the places where they were borne, and there suffered their deserved execution. Thus that commotion vnadvisedlie begun, was speedilie appeased, and the name of Malduin by reason hereof so feared amongst his subiects, that during his reigne no such trouble chanced in anie part of all his dominions.

After this he went ouer into Zona or Colmekill, where perceiuing the abbete church, wherein his ancestors had their sepulchres, to be in decaye, he caused it to be pulled quite downe, and workemen forthwith set in hand to build it by againe, at his owne proper costes and charges. Such speed also was vsed about this worke, that before he departed out of this life, the same was finished, and dedicated vnto our Saviour Christ, and saint Colme. About the same time there reigned throughout the most part of the world a sore and greuous pestilence, consuming a greater number of men (before it ceased) than there were left alive: for it continued the whole space of three yeeres together. At length, through common prayer, fastings, giuing of almes, & other vertuous works, the wrath of almighty God was pacified, so that such great mortallitie by his mercifull appointment did cease and giue ouer.

The Scottishmen were free from that infection as well at that time, as also for manie yeeres after. Yetther were they in manner troubled with anie sharpe feuers, or agues, till time that omitting the ancient and wholesome sparsenelle of diet, which their fathers in times past had vsed, they fell vnto riotous banquetting and excessiue feeding, whereby they became subiect vnto all kinds of diseases, through malicious humors growing therupon. Colman bishop of Lindesferne seeing wonderfull numbers of Englishmen perishe daile of that contagious sicknesse, by licence of the king, to auoid the present danger of death, which by tarieng there he saw no meanes how to escape, returned into Scotland with his disciples, and after gettingt him ouer into one of the westerne Isles, he erected a monastier there, wherein he remained during the residue of his life.

After the departure of Colman forth of Northumberland, the people of that countrey ioining with the Brits, made sundrie roads into the Scottish borders: which iniurie when Malduine reuenged with more displeasure done to them of Northumberland, than the Scottishmen had received, it caused the Brits and Northumbers to prepare themselves with all speed to haue made sharpe warres against the Scots: but in the meane time Malduin died, being strangled in his bed one night by his owne wife, vpon suspicion of gelousie, for his vnlawfull companie keeping with an other woman. The next day after she was apprehended with those that were

priue to the deed, and burnt openlie vpon an hill, according as she had most iustlie deserued. Malduin was thus murdered in the yere after the birth of our Saviour 684, and in the 20 yere of his owne reigne.

After him succeeded Eugenius the fifth of that name, nephew to Malduin, as sonne to his brother Dongard. About the same time Eugenius king of Scots sent with all diligence his ambassadoys vnto Egfred king of Northumberland, to moue him vnto peace. Egfred hauing heard the ambassadoys which were thus sent, seemed as though he had bene willing to haue had peace, where he minded nothing more than to haue warres with the Scots, so some as his promise should be once readie, and haue vpon granted to them a truce for the space of 11 monethes, in which meane time he might make his preparation. Eugenius hauing some secret knowledge of Egfreds purpose, promised likewise for the warres on his part: but for that he would not seeme to giue the occasion, he secretly commanded that none of his subiects should be so hardie, as to attempt anie thing sounding to the breach of the truce.

In the tenth moneth Egfred hauing all his preparation readie, sent a companie of his men of war into the Scottish borders, to fetch some bootie, whereby the peace might be broken. Those that were thus sent, fetched not onelie from thence a great number of cattell, but also slue diuers of the borderers that went about to rescue their beasts and cattell. Immediately hereupon were sent ambassadoys from Eugenius to demand restitution: but they not without much adoe, after certaine daies attendance, got audience, and boldly declaring vnto Egfred their message, received for answer a plaine publication of warre. For he alledging how the Scots, since the truce was granted, had sundrie times fetched booties out of the confines of his dominions, and therefore had well deserued farre more damage than as yet they had received, whereupon he minded not to continue friendship with them that knew not how to keepe their hands from robbing and stealing from their neighbours: so that he commanded them to declare vnto their king, that within eight daies after, he should looke for open warre at the hands of him and other his allies.

Eugenius receiuing this answer from Egfred, besought God, with the other onelie sought to violate the peace, that the vengeance might light vpon his owne head, that had thus giuen the occasion. Wherewith gathering his power together, he repaired into Galloway, into the which he had knowledge that his enemies would first enter. But before he could get thither, a great armie of Englishmen were come already into that countrey, and had besieged a strong castell called Downfke, the chiefe fortresse in those daies of all Galloway. And yet Egfred might haue the same, he was constrained to raise his siege, and to march forth to encounter with Eugenius, who passed fast towards him. They met nere to the banks of the water of Lewis, as then being verie deepe, by reason it was raised with abundance of raine which latelie before had fallen, where they fought a verie sore and bloodie battell: for the Scots had vowed neuer to giue ground to the enemies, so long as anie life remained in their breasts.

At the first there was no great aduantage perceived on either side, the kings, according to the duties of valiant captiues, exhorting their people to stick to it manfully: but in the meane time, certaine bands of Egfreds part getting themselves to the side of an hill, gaue the looking on, without coming downe at all to aid their friends: which manner the residue of his people perceiuing, doubted of some

Eugenius.
Eugenius the fifth.

Egfred king of Northumberland.

A truce granted.

Eugenius his commandement.

The truce broken.

Ambassadoys sent by Eugenius vnto Egfred for restitution.

Egfreds answer.

Eugenius gathered an armie.

The castell of Downfke besieged.

Malduine was slain by his wife.

Malduine was slain by his wife.

Malduine was slain by his wife.

Malduine was slain by his wife.

Malduine was slain by his wife.

Malduine was slain by his wife.

Malduine was slain by his wife.

Malduine was slain by his wife.

King Egfred
slaine.
See more
hereof in
England.

Twentie thou-
sand Saxons
slaine.

Wudeus
king of the
Picts.

Inuasion in-
to Northum-
berland.

Cuthbert bi-
shop.

A slaughter
amongst the
Picts.

Egfred slaine
by Picts and
not by Scots.
Eugenius the
first died.
688

Eugenius the
first succeedeth
Eugenius the
first.
A league be-
tweene the
Scots and
Northumber-
land men.
Truce taken
with the
Picts.

some treason denised against them, and thereupon began to thinke backe. Egfred aduised therof, came amongst the foremost ranks of his battell, desiring the Englishmen in no wise to giue place to their enemies: and for that daies service he promised them high rewards, and all the pleasure that afterward he might be able waies able to shew or do them. But whilest he was thus buslie occupied in comforting & exhorting his men to fight stoutlie, he himselfe chanced to be wounded in the face with an arrow so sore, that immediatlie he fell doونه and died in the place. The Englishmen discouraged with this mischance, were quicklie thereupon put to flight and chased, a great number of them toke the riuer so to escape the enemies hands, of whom the more part being pressed doونه by weight of their armes, were drowned in the raging waues of the flood, the residue by casting from them their armes and clothes, escaped by swimming ouer to the other side, but those that made their course by land, being cumbered in mires and mosses, also amongst streits, rocks, mounteins and cliffes, were overtaken by the Scots and slaine. Few of that number escaped awaie in safetie, so that there died in the fight and chase at the point of twentie thousand Saxons with their king the foresaid Egfred: of the Scots were slaine, besides those that were hurt and wounded, not manie above six thousand. By this overthrow the force of those Saxons or Englishmen of Northumberland was not onelie sore diminished, but also of such other Saxons, the which in no small number were come vnto Egfred, to aid him against the Scots in that iournie.

Wudeus the Pictish king having knowledge of this slaughter, which had chanced betwixt the Englishmen and Scots, was nothing lozie, as one that was friend to neither part, and now perceiving that the Northumberland men were so weakened, that they were not able to resist an inuasion, he entered with his whole power which he had raised, into Northumberland, sore afflicting the inhabitants, in so much that he had vndoubtedlie either subdued that countrie vnto his dominion, either els utterlie destroyed it, had not the deuout prayers of S. Cuthbert (who then held the see of Lindesferne) preserved the people from that present desolation. For at length after the Picts had raged a while through the countrie, they chanced to fall at variance amongst themselves for parting of the spoile, and buckling together by the eares, there was an huge slaughter made amongst them. And this was the cause, that contenting themselves with those countries about Berwicke, ancientlie called Deira, out of the which they expelled the Saxons, they abstained from all the residue, as not willing to deale withall. Neither were the Saxons of Northumberland, being thus scourged, able to recover their former forces againe, of manie yeeres after ensuing.

Here is to be noted, that whereas the Scottish writers ascribe the victorie of that battell, wherein Egfred was slaine, vnto their king Eugenius, Beda which then liued, declareth that the Picts were those that fought with him and slue him. Finallie, Eugenius departed this life in the 4. yeere of his reigne, and after the incarnation 688. After Eugenius the first, succeeded Eugenius the first, who was the sonne of Ferquhard, and by perswasion of bishop Adannan (with whom he was brought up) & of S. Cuthbert, he entered into league with the Northumberland men: but he would at no hand ioinie in amitie with the Picts, notwithstanding he was contented to take truce with them. But when he saw the same oftentimes by them violated & broken, to the great perill, damage, and hinderance of his subjects, he caused the warre to be proclaimed, and sent them his

defiance by an herald. Holobett, through the earnest prayers (as is supposed) of the two bishops, Cuthbert and Adannan (who had laboured earnestlie to haue brought those people to a quietnesse) this warre continued without anie notable encounter, saue onelie by light incursions (wherein no great bloodshed chanced) euen vnto the death of Eugenius, which fell in the yeere of our Lord 697, and in the tenth yeere of his owne reigne. He was buried together with the other Eugenius, that lastlie reigned afore him, in the Ile of Colmekill, amongst their predecessours.

Manie wonderfull visions were seene that yeere in Albion, as the Scottish chronicles make mention. In the riuer of Humber there appeared in the sight of a great multitude of men, a number of ships vnder saile, as though they had bene furnished forth for the warres. In the church at Camelton there was heard a noyse, as it had bene the clattering of armes. Milke was turned into blood in diuers places in Widland, and chiese conuerted into a bloudie masse of cake. Come, as it was gathered in the harvest time appeared bloudie. In the furthestmost parts of Scotland, it rained blood. These sights being seene of some, & declared to other, caused a wonderfull feare in the peoples hearts, imagining some great alteration to insue.

Ambirkeleth the nephew, or (as some say) the son of Eugenius the first, succeeded Eugenius the first in the government of the realme; who after his attaining to the crowne, stoutlie changed the rebowth of his manners and god disposition: for where before he shewed himselfe to be an earnest defender of the poore and simple, that all men indged that he would haue proued a patron of all vertue, he contrarie to that expectation, became suddenslie a paterne of all vices and couetousnesse, delighting in nothing but in following his sensuall lusts, as in taking excess of meats and drinks, and wallowing in fleshlie concupiscence of lecherous lust. So be chiefe, when he toke nothing in hand worthie of his estate and degree, it was thought that of necessitie the forme of the publike gouernement must needs thorough his negligent slothfulness fall into decay and ruine: whereupon Barnard king of the Picts, supposing he had conuenient time to reuenge all former injuries received at the Scottishmens hands, gathered a great host of men, and with the same entring into the Scottish confines, made verie pitifull slaughter of the inhabitants.

At length Ambirkeleth (being sore blamed of his nobles for his negligence, in suffering his subjects thus to be destroyed) gathered an armie together, & with no small feare to shew his head amongst his people (as those princes which through their owne default haue their people in mistrust, doe euer stand in doubt of their owne safeties, and namelie when anie present danger beginneth to appeere) forth he goeth without anie great god order (God wot) for that might be looked for at his hands, which was so overwhelmed with all kind of excessive gluttonie, immoderate surfeiting, insatiable lecherie, and delisting altogether in slothfull ease, and sluggish idleness, the root from whence all such filthy vices taking their beginnings, are nourished & maintained.

To conclude, he liued as one that toke no manner of regard to that which chiefe appertained to his calling: whereby now when he should come into the field, he was neither able thorough lacke of practise to take paines to see things done as was behouefull of himselfe, neither yet to giue order to others how the same ought to be done. Fewer thelesse marching forward with his armie, he came to the water of Tay, and nere to the banks thereof, he pitched doونه his tents, where after he had supped, he was accosted to

warre with
out anie no-
table encounter.
The death
of Eugenius the
first.

697

wonderfull
visions seene.

Ambirke-
leth.

Ambirkeleth
succeeded
Eugenius the
first.

The king
turned from
vertue vnto
all licentious-
nesse.

Bartholomew
king of the Picts
invaded
Scotland.

Ambirkeleth
gathered an
armie against
the Picts.

Idleness the
breeder and
nourisher of
sensuall lusts.

to go forth of his lodging to do the necessities of nature, and being onelie accompanied with two of his seruantes that were groomes of his chamber, he was suddenly shot through the head with an arrow, but from whence it came, or who shot it, there was neuer anye knowne that could tell. Howbeit, the king immediatlie died of the hurt, after he had reigned not fullie two yeres. He was buried in Colme-hill amongst his noble ancestors.

The lords and peers of the land, not greatlie lamenting the death of such a monstrous person, because the armie for want of a gouernour should not fall into anye danger, they elected Eugenius the seventh, being the brother of the late deceased Ambirkeleth, to succeed as king in the gouernment of the realme; a prince of verie comelie port & personage, neither destitute of honorable qualities and good disposition of mind. Being once proclaimed king, he caused generall musters to be taken of the whole armie, and perceiuing by surueie thereof, that he was not able to match with his enemies, he found means to conclude a peace with the Pictish king, pledges being deliuered on either side, for redress to be had of all wrongs and iniuries that had bene committed betwixt them. The Picts returning home, and the Scottish armie disbanded, Eugenius with the most part of the nobilitie went into Argile, where he received his inuesture of the kingdom, sitting by in the stone of Scone, according to the custome and manner.

The bond of peace begun betwixt the kings, was the more strongly confirmed by meanes of alliance, Spontana the daughter of king Carnath being coupled in marriage with Eugenius: the first yere following being great with child, was that the first one night within the kings bed-chamber, in the bed of the king himselfe, by two brethren of the countrie of Athole, who moued to displeasure for their fathers death, had conspired to murder the king, and had slaine him in deed; had he not through his good hap lalen forth of his owne chamber the same night; Eugenius being suspected of the murder, and euill spoken of for the same amongst his subjects, was at length with great danger of life and honor, inforced to make answer by wale of arraignment for clearing of himselfe, before the nobles of his realme, appointed as competent iudges in that case: so greatlie beloved was Spontana amongst all the degrees of the Scottish nation. But in the end being found guiltlesse of the crime (for at the time that iudgement should haue passed, the offenders were apprehended and brought in) he was acquitt, to the great reioicing of all honest men. Those that had done the deed, were condemned and hanged by naked on gibbets by the heels, together with certeine cruell mastiue dogs, the which might so deuoure them.

But Eugenius being thus cleared of all former suspicion, minded to haue bene reuenged on those that had falslie accused him. Howbeit through the goodlie admonishments of that reuerend father Adamnan, he qualified his displeasure. After this, giuing his mind to the advancement of religion and politike gouernement of his subjects, he ordeined that the histories of his ancessors should be written in bookes and volumes, that posteritie might haue to read the same for example sake. These monuments he also appointed to be kept and reserved in the abbey of Iona, now called Colme-hill, for a perpetuall memorie: and such as should write the same, to remaine and haue living there in the abbey. Afterward, such spirituall promotions as he perceiued to be to meane and slender for the maintenance of the minister that should serue the cure, he caused to be augmented in such wise as was thought sufficient. He

concluded a league with the Saxons and Pias, and obserued the same during his life, which he ended at Abernethie, when he had reigned about 17 yeres, whereof the last fell in the yere after the incarnation of our Sauiour 717, the 15 indiction. His death was greatlie lamented, both of his lords and commons, as they that intierlie loued him for his noble and most princelie qualities.

A little before his death, he betooke the possession of his kingdom into Morbach that succeeded him. This Morbach was the nephew of Eugenius the seventh, by his brother Ambirkeleth: who as he was knowne to be of a gentle, meke, and liberal nature, before his advancement to the crowne, so he shewed himselfe to be the verie same man during the whole course of all his naturall life, after he had attained to the same. Aboue all things he wished a generall peace to continue amongst all the princes of Albion, and thereupon for his part establishing a peace with the Pias, Britains, and all the English kings, he sternerly kept euery article therein contained: In those daies (as S. Beda doth testifie) foure severall people liued in peace and quietnesse within the bounds of Albion, though differing in manners, language, lawes, and ordinances: Saxons whome he called Englishmen, Britains, Scots, and Pias. His words are these that follow.

The nation of the Pias at this time is in league with the Englishmen, and glablie is partaker of the vniuersall peace and veritie with the catholike church. Those Scots which inhabit Britaine, contenting themselves with their owne bounds, go about to practise no deceitfull traines, nor fraudulent deuises against the Englishmen. The Britains, though so the most part through a familiar hatred doe impugn the English nation, and the state of the whole catholike church, obseruing not rightlie the feast of Easter, besides other naughtie vsages, yet both the diuine power and humane force vterlie resisting them, they are not able in neither behalfe to attaine vnto their purposed intentions; as they which though partie free, yet in some behalfe are thral and mancipat to the subiection of the Englishmen: which Englishmen now in acceptable peace and quietnesse of time, manie amongst them of Northumberland, as well of the nobilitie as other, laying away armour and weapon, applie themselves to the reading of holie scripture, more desirous to be in houses of vertuous conuersation, than to exercise feats of warre. What will come thereof, the age that followeth shall perceiue and behold. With these words doth Beda end his historie, continued till the yere 734, in the which yere Morbach the Scottish king ended his life.

He repaired sundrie churches and religious houses, which being defaced with violence of the enemies invasions in time of warre, had not bene re-edified by his ancessors. But amongst other, he bestowed much cost vpon the church where the bodie of S. Martin lieth, in the towne ancientlie called Candida Casa, & now Whitherne or Whitburne. Saint Beda calleth that place Pictiminia, and the bishop which at the same time held the church there, he nameth Ada, auouching how he was the first that was bishop thereof after the daies of saint Martin. Which if it be true, it must needs be that afterwards some vacation happened in that see for a time, sith it is notified in the Scottish histories, that the wessterne Isles, Galloway, and other regions nere adioining, were subiect vnto the bishop of Dodo: whose see is in the Ile of Man vnto the daies of Malcolme the third, who restored rather than ordeined the bishops see in Candida Casa againe, after such vacation as before is specified.

Eugenius the seventh departed out of this life.
716. H.B.

Mordack.
Mordack succeeded Eugenius the seventh.

A lover of peace.

Peace thorough out all the land of Albion.

The testimony of Beda.

734.
Mordack ended his life the same yere that saint Beda made an end of his historie.

Candida Casa now called Whitherne.

But

Ethline.
Ethline suc-
cedeth Mor-
dake.

A peaceable
prince.

Four govern-
ors under
the king.

Unjust go-
uernement.

Donald of the
Iles main-
taineth robbers.

The oppres-
sion of the
commons of
Galloway.

Mordake the
kings lieut-
enant beareth
with offen-
ders.

The deceasse
of Ethline,
762. H.B.

Eugenius.
Eugenius the
eight in-
vested king of
Scots.
Donald of the
Iles appeh-
ended.

Donald and
his complices
put to death.

But now to returne touching the gouernement of the Scottish kingdome, I find that after the deceasse of Mordake last remembred, his nephew named Ethline, the sonne of the seventh Eugenius, succeeded in the state; a man naturallie inclined vnto peace and maintenance of iustice. The league which his predecessors Eugenius and Mordake had kept with their neighbors the Britains, Englishmen and Picts, he duellie likewise obserued. His chiefe studie was to purge his realme of all such as were knowen to be open barrettores and offenders in anie wise, against the peace and common quiet of his subiects; so that causing sundrie notable examples of iustice to be executed vpon such euill doers, he was had in such reuerend dread amongst his subiects, that none of them durst once whisper anie euill of him. Neither had they verelie anie cause so to do, while he looked to the administration himselfe.

But after he was once fallen into age, he appointed foure peeres in his realme to haue the chiefe gouernance vnder him; as Donald the treasurer of Argile, Collane of Athole, and Mordake of Galloway his lieutenants, and Contrath the thane of Murray land. These hauing the procuration of all things touching the gouernement of the realme, vsed not themselves so vprightlie in manie points as they ought to haue done; but winked now and then at faults & trespasses committed by their kinfolks and allies, permitting the nobilitie to liue according to their old accustomed manner of licentious libertie, to the small ease or commoditie of the other inferior states. Donald of the western Iles, a man of goodlie personage, but of disposition inclining to all naughtinesse, maintained a great number of robbers and spoilers of the countrie, liuing onells vpon raine. For loke what they wanted, they would not faile to catch it, if it were in anie place abroad where they might laie hands on it; so that all the husbandmen and commons of Galloway, in which countrie they most haunted, were brought in to wonderfull thraldome and miserie.

Neither did Mordake the kings lieutenant there, go about to chastise such insolent misdemeanors, either for that he was of Donalds alliance, either else proue to his doings, and partaker of the spoile. The people hereby vered with continuall iniuries, brought manie pitifull complaints before Mordake, who nothing regarded their lamentable lutes and supplications, but the more they complained, the worse they were handled. Neither was there anie hope of redresse or amendment, till Eugenius the eight was admitted to the kinglie administration after the death of king Ethline, who in the latter end of his daies continuallie being sicke and diseased, could not attend to take order for the publike gouernement, by reason whereof such wilfull misdoers ensued. He died in the yeare of our Lord 764, after he had continued his reigne ouer the Scottishmen the space of thirtie yeares, his bodie being buried in Colmekill with all funerall obsequies.

His successor, the foresaid Eugenius the eight that was the sonne of king Mordake, was invested king in Argile with such pompe and ceremonies as in that case appertained, and immediatlie thereupon he halted forth to catch Donald of the Iles, not resting till at length he had caught him, though that came not to passe without some losse of his people. After he had taken both him and his chieffest complices, he put them openlie to death; neither so satisfied, he caused Mordake to be arraigned, who confessing himselfe partlie guiltie of such things as were laid to his charge for mainteining of the foresaid Donald, he likewise suffered death, and his goods being valued and diuided into parts, were be-

stowed amongst the commons of Galloway, in recompense of such losses, as though his contrived fallshood they had sustained. Also he did put Donald, Collane, and Contrath to their fines, for that they did suffer Donald to rob & spoile without chastisement.

Though which causing of iustice thus to be executed, in reliefe of his commons, he was him wonderfull loue, not onlie in Galloway, but also throughout all his realme; and therewith were offenders put in such feare, that they durst in no place commit anie such misdoers against the simple and meane people. And for the more increase of his subiects wealth, he also continued the league with the Picts, Britains, and Englishmen, accordinglie as his late predecessor had done. But yet, as the nature of man through licentious libertie is euer ready to offend in one point or other, so it came to passe by this worthie prince Eugenius, who in such wise as is before expressed, reigning in peace and quietnesse amongst his louing subiects, yet fell into most vile lust to accomplish his insatiable fleshlie concupiscentie, seeking all means he could deuise to deflower young virgins and honest matrons, and that as well those of the nobilitie as other. And such comparisons as could best further his purpose in that behalf, and deuise new means and waies of fleshlie companie, those he set by, and greatlie made of, delisting althogether to haue them in his companie.

Thus being drowned in lecherous lust; and filthie concupiscentie, he fell baillie in more greuous vices, as into excessive conetousnesse and beastlie crueltie, consenting to make abwaie his wealthie subiects, to the end he might intop their goods. This wickednesse remained not long unpunished; for the losse and peeres of his realme, perceiving how he proceeded baillie in his abominable and tyrannicall doings, not once giuing eare to the wholesome aduertisement either of God or man, they slew him one day amongst them as he sat in iudgement about to haue condemned a great rich man, though not guiltie in the crime whereof he was accused. They caused also a great companie of those mates to be apprehended, which had bene of his counsell, and prouokers vnto all his wicked and vile doings. Which to the great contentation of the people were hangged, as they had well deserued. And such was the end of Eugenius, after he had gouerned the kingdome about thre yeares; his bodie was buried in Colmekill amongst his ancestors, though the people thought it little worthie of that honor, which had misused it selfe so inordinatlie in this present life.

After him came the administration of the realme vnto Fergus the third, the sonne of king Ethline, in the yeare 767, who being established in the same, began frellie to practise all kinds of vices, which most abundantly reigned in him, notwithstanding that day wonderfullie dissembled and kept couert. He seemed to strue how to passe his predecessor in all points of wickednesse. He took no regard at all to the gouernement of his realme, but gaue himselfe to excessive gluttonie, in deuouring of delicate meats and drinks, and therewith kept such a number of vile strumpets in house with him, whome he vsed as concubines, that his wife was no better esteemed than as an handmaid, or rather a kitchenmaid. Who being a woman of great modestie, and sober aduisednesse, could not yet but take some græfe and indignation hereat: and therefore sundrie times assaied by way of wholesome persuaasions, to turne his mind from such sinfull vsages and filthie trade of liuing.

Finallie, when she saw there was no hope to conuert his depraued mind, nor by anie means to reuforme him, but that the more she laboured to regeed upon

Mordake lieutenant of Galloway is put to death. The commons extreme periled.

A righteous king.

Offenders put in feare.

Eugenius persecuted with carnall lust and concupiscentie.

A filthie light.

Conetousnesse linked with crueltie.

Eugenius murdered.

The end of Eugenius the eight.

Fergus the third.

Fergus the third reigned.

A wicked prince.

The historie of Scotland.

119

767. H.B.

upon him the worse he was, through verie displeasure of such injuries as the daile sustained at the hands of his concubines, the found meanes to strangle him secretlie one night as he lay in bed, choosing rather to be without a husband, than to haue one that should deceiue hir of the right and dutie of marriage; and that in such sort, as she must be saime to suffer the reproch daile before hir face, bring misbused of them whom he kept as paramours in most despittefull manner. The day after she brought this

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the gouernement, and in the yere of our Lord 769. The queens corps was not buried in sacred ground, for that she slue hirselfe.

Soluathius the sonne of Eugenius the eight, was admitted to the rule of the Scottish estate next after the death of Fergus: a prince vertue bothe to the accomplishment of high enterprises, if through hap of froward destinie he had not bene hindred. For in the third yere of his reigne he began to be vexed extreimelic with the gout, which ingendered by cold in lieng abroad in hunting; and so continuing with him during his life, staid him from manie worthie exercises, as well in peace at home, as abroad in time of warres. Thus he being in maner impotent & lame of his limbs, there were some commotions and misorders the more boldly attempted: and first amongst them of the out Isles. For Bane Spakedonald, gouernor by the kings appointment of the Island called Tire, got all the castles and fortresses of the Isles into his owne hands, & strenghtened with a rout of unrulie and mischeuous youghfull persons, took possession of all the said Isles, causing himselfe to be proclaimed king of the same.

Not contented herewith, he gathered a number of ships together, wherein transporting himselfe with a great armie ouer into Lozne and Cantire, made great waste and spoile of those countries, till Duthquhall gouernor of Athole, and Culane of Argile, being sent with a chosen power from the king to defend the countrie, chanced to incounter with him, and putting him with his people vnto flight, chased them to such a streit, as where there was no way to get forth, save onlie that by which they entered. This place is in Lozne, with a streit passage to enter into it: but when ye are within it, the same is verie large and broad, inuironed about with craggie mounteins, chained together with a continuall ridge, a deepe river compassing them in beneath in the bottom, with such steepe & steele banks, that there is no way to passe forth of the same, but by that through which ye must enter into it. The said Bane with his folks being entred at vnwares into such a streit, and perceiuing there was no way to issue forth, but by the same where he entred, he returned backe thither, and finding the passage closed from him by his enimies, he was in a wonderfull maze, not knowing what shift to make to escape. Finallie, falling to counsell with the chiefe of his armie vpon the danger present, and so continuing for the space of two daies without anie conclusion available, on the third day driuen of necessitie through hunger, they required of their enimies to be receiued as yelded men vpon what conditions they would prescribe, onlie hauing their liues assured. But when this would not be granted, in the euening tide they rushed forth vpon their enimies, to trie if by force they might haue passed through them. But such was their hap, that there they died euerie mothers son: for so had Duthquhall & Culane commanded, to the end that other rebells might take example by such their wilfull and rebellious outrage.

The kings capitaine after this passing otter into the Isles, brought all things there into the former state of quietnesse. Yet after the appeasing of this tumult, there chanced a new businesse in Galloway: for Gillequhalme, sonne to that Donald, which (as ye haue heard) was executed by commandement of Eugenius the eight, gathered together a great number of vngacious scape-thrits, & did much hurt and mischief in the countrie. But shortly after, being vanquished by the same capitaine that had suppressed the other rebells of the Isles, the countrie was rid of that trouble, and the ring-leaders punished by death for their offences. In this meane while, the Englishmen

Soluathius.

Soluathius admitted king of Scotland.

Soluathius an impotent man.

A rebellion. Spakedonald proclaimed king of the Isles.

The innaberris Lozne and Cantire. A power from the king is sent against him.

The kings power passed ouer into the Isles.

Gillequhalme the sonne of Donald.

Solunathius
departeth
this life.
788.

Achatus.
Achatus crea-
ted king of
Scotland.

He maketh
the nobilitie
to agree.

The Irish-
men will
revenge.

Irishmen
take a preie
in Ila.

Irishmen do
take peace.

men & Welsh Britains through multitude of kings and rulers warring each against other, had no leisure to attempt anie enterprize against strangers. Neither were the Scots free of some secret displeasures, which one part of them had conceived against another, so that the Scottishmen were not troubled at all by anie forreine enemies. And so Solunathius hauing continued his reigne the space of 20 yeres, about the end of that tearme departed this life, in the yere of our saluation 788.

When after Solunathius was once buried in Colmekill amongst his ancessors, Achatus the son of king Ethfne (a man highlie renowned for his earnest zeale to iustice and vpright dealing) was advanced to the gouernance of the realme: who for that by his former conuersation amongst the nobilitie, he perfectly vnderstood what grudge and secret hatred remained in their hearts, one wishing anothers destruction; he foresaw what danger the commonwealth stood in, if the same were not by some good meanes qualified: and therupon calling them together, he handled the matter with such wisdom and dexteritie, that before their departure from him, all the roots of former displeasures being vtterlie extirped and auoided, they were made friends on ech side, and promised in his presence so to continue. Thus hauing laid the foundation of a quiet state amongst his subiects, now in the beginning of his reigne, he was at point to haue had no small warres with the Irishmen: for a number of them being arrived in Cantire, were there slaine by them of the westerne Isles, which vpon request of the inhabitants of that countrie were come to aid them against those Irishmen.

This losse the rulers of the Irish nation supposed in all hast to reuenge vpon them of the Isles. But Achatus hearing thereof, sent ouer an ambassage vnto them, to haue the matter taken vp before anie further force were vsed: alledging how there was no cause wherefore warres should be moued for such a matter, where the occasion had bene given but by a sort of rousers on either side, without commandment or warrant obtained from anie of their superiours. Howbeit the nobles of Ireland (for there was no king amongst them at that time as it chanced) moued altogether with indignation for the slaughter of their countymen, made a direct answer, that they would fuerlie be reuenged of the reproch which they had receiued, before they would common of anie peace. And therefore whilest the Scottish ambassadors returned out of Ireland with this answer, a great number of them in ships and craters passed ouer into Ila, where getting together a great preie, and fraughting their vessels therewith, as they were returning homewards, they were wonke by force of tempest, so that neither ship nor man returned to bring tidings home how they had sped in Scotland.

The stout stomachs of the Irish lords and rulers being well qualified with this mischance, they were glad to seeke for peace shortly after vnto Achatus. Those also that were sent ouer to treat of the same, found him at Cnuerlochthe; where hauing declared there message, & confessed how iustlie they had bene punished by the righteous iudgement of almighty God, for the wrongfull attempting of the warres against them that had not deserved it: Achatus answered, how the Irish nation was so stubborn, that they knew not how to vse reason, except they were throughlie scourged; and therefore had the righteous God taken full reuenge vpon them, to the example of other, for their contumacie, in mouing warres against them that had so earnestlie sought for peace. Neuerthelesse, setting apart all injuries past, as well new as old, to shew himselfe to be the follower of

Christ, who in so manie passages had passed, commended, and set forth vnto vs peace and tranquillitie, he was contented to grant them peace, which now they sued for. Thus was the peace renewed betwixt the Scottish and Irish nations, to the no lesse comfort of the Scots themselves, than of the Irishmen, as those that had learned now by experience and triall (hauing intioied peace a good season) how much the same was to be preferred before cruell warres.

In this meane time, Charles surnamed the great, as then reigning in France, and vnderstanding how the Englishmen did not onelie by daily rousing disquiet the seas, to the great danger of all such merchants and other as travelled alongst the coasts of France and Germanie; but also now and then coming on land vpon the French dominions, did manie notable displeasures to his subiects: he thought good by the aduise of his peres, to conclude a league (if it were possible) with the Scots and Scots, with this article amongst the residue: That so oft as the Englishmen should attempt any enterprize or invasion into France, the Scots and Scots should be readie freightwaies to invade them here at home; and when they should make anie warres against the Scots or Scots, then the Frenchmen should take vpon them to invade the west parts of England.

There were sent therefore from Charles vnto Achatus certeine ambassadors to bring this matter to passe, who arriving in Scotland, and coming to the kings presence, declared effectualie the summe of their message, shewing that the conclusion of such a league should be no lesse to the wealth of the Frenchmen, than of the Scots (considering Englishmen to be a people most desirous of all other to get into their hands other mens goods and possessions) for thereby they might be somewhat restrained from such bold and inturious enterprizes, as they daily toke in hand against their christian neighbors: but it should make most of all (say they) for the advancement of the whole christian common-wealth, whereas otherwise through their insolent doings, such force as was already prepared against the Saracens (the common enemies of the christians) should be called backe, therewith to keepe off the said Englishmen, to the great danger of those parts of christendome, vpon which the Saracens then bordered as neighbors.

This message being heard with good deliberation by such as were present, the ambassadors themselves being honorable personages, and graue of countenance, were receiued most louinglie of the king, and lodged in his olde palace, hauing all the chere and honorable intertainment that might be deuised: but touching their message, there were sundrie disputations amongst the nobles, whether the concluding of such a league as they required, were expedient for the Scottish common-wealth or not. And for that the matter seemed to be doubtful, the king thought it necessarie to haue the aduise of his counsell: and thereupon calling them together, and appointing diuerse of them to go with the ambassadors on hunting, to shew them some sport, whilest he consulted with the residue (because he would not haue them present) he commanded one Colman, gouernor of Spar (a man of great authoritie amongst the Scottishmen for his approved wisdom) to say first his mind touching the request of those French ambassadors, who thereupon standing forth, began as followeth.

So man ought to maruell, I perceiue, king Achatus, if manie of this our nation be desirous to haue this league concluded with the Frenchmen, as they that are persuaded how nothing can be better, nothing more profitable, more honorable, or more pleasant

Charles
surnamed the
great

Achatus
sent into
Scotland.

The amb-
assadors
are
receiued

pleasant to almighty God, than to ioint in league
 and friendship with a nation of greater power and
 wealth in these daies, of all other within the bounds
 of Europe: for by that meanes should the Scottish
 name be highlie renowned and spoken of through
 the whole world. But trulie these considerations con-
 tending so well at the first, are not so much to be re-
 garded as the evils which hereafter may grow there-
 upon: for suerlie a naughtie and pernicious end of
 this determination shall evidently teach vs (though
 to late) how farre we haue gone beside the way of
 reason in establishing this league, if we once con-
 sent to conclude the same. As it anie other thing (I
 beseech you) to make a league, and to ioint in socie-
 tie with the Frenchmen against our neighbors the
 Englishmen (whose friendship might be most erpe-
 dient for vs) than euen to haue from henceforth a
 more and in maner a domestickall enemie at hand,
 whereas our supposed friends shall be farre off from
 vs, and separated from our countrie by a great and
 large sea, at whose pleasure also we must make wars
 against our neighbors, and fight for other mens safe-
 gards, putting our bodies in hazard of death and
 wounding for their cause, which diuelt nothing nere
 vs: yea & in their quarrell to commit our kingdome,
 gods and liues vnto extreme perill of vtter destruc-
 tion: I would thinke it good therefore to take better
 aduiseement and deliberation herein, least whilest we
 seeke for vaine glorie and counterfeite honor, we do
 not, through prouoking the Englishmen our next
 neighbors, lose our owne liberties got with much
 trauell by our elders, for the which they so often
 fought with the Britains, Romans, Picts, and final-
 lie with the Saxons. Can there be anie thing more
 pernicious vnto a free nation, and people bozne in li-
 bertie, than to measure lawes of peace, chances of
 warre, and in fine libertie it selfe, by the lust and plea-
 sure of another nation, and so to enter (as it were)
 into bondage: for the auoiding whereof, not onelie
 men, but also all other liuing things are readie to
 fight, euen to the vttermoost. If the Frenchmen in
 the chiefest heat and most earnest hunt of the warre
 (which we shall take in hand for their sake, according
 to the articles of the league) shall chance to forsake
 vs, and conclude some manner of peace or league
 with our enemies, leauing vs in all the whole dan-
 ger; shall we haue anie iudge afoze whome we maie
 bring them to answer for their default, and by whose
 authoritie they may be constrained to see vs satisfied
 for such losse and iniuries as we shall happily susteine
 at the Englishmens hands: Are we of that force
 and power to reuenge our wrongs vpon them, after
 we are vanquished and in maner brought to vtter
 confusion by those warres which we shall enter into
 for their cause: If euer we be brought vnto that
 point (as God forbid we should) that through want
 of substance, and decaying of force, the Frenchmen
 shall also vtterlie forsake vs, & that thereby we shall
 not be able to resist the English puissance: afoze
 whome (I beseech you) shall we accuse them for brea-
 king of this league: We shall daile haue to do
 with our enemies after the conclusion of the league
 (if it be concluded at all) and but seldome times with
 our friends. In the midst of our enemies we shall be
 still occasioned to practise for our defense, where we
 haue a long way both by sea and land to passe ouer to
 our friends, in case anie need shall inforce vs there:
 vnto commodities are brought vs out of Spaine,
 France, and Germanie, not such as we desire, but
 onelie such as the Englishmen do permit. Againie,
 when our merchants shall passe into France, what
 dauens shall we leaue them to resort vnto in time of
 dangerous tempests, which often chance to all such
 as be sailing: Either must they perish and be cast a-

way through rage of seas, either else fall into the
 hands of our enemies together, with all their goods
 and freight. What discommodities hereof shall rise,
 your grace (most prudent prince) and you right cir-
 cumpect counsellors, do well enough perceiue. I
 therefore would thinke it expedient, that we should
 continue in the former peace concluded with the
 Britains, Saxons, and Picts, according to the cu-
 stom of our late predecessors, who saue well enough
 that was most beneficiall for the wealth of the Sco-
 tish nation, and not to couet a new amitie with an
 vnknowne people, hauing deserued little or nothing
 as yet at our hands (whose intent I cannot but haue
 in suspicion, if they seeke for amitie so farre off) ex-
 cept we shall manifestlie resolue with our selues to
 imploye and leopord both life and libertie for the safe-
 gard of the French, without regard of our owne.
 I thanke in that assemble they shewed themselves soze
 offended with Colmans words, supposing the
 league with the Frenchmen to be both honorable
 and necessarie.

When one Albion, a man of great nobilitie (whome
 the king had latelie before instituted his lieutenant
 in the Isles) spake in this manner. If it were possi-
 ble that there might be one sure and inuolable con-
 sent amongst those foure people, which at this daie
 haue their habitations within the bounds of Albion,
 or that the Englishmen knew what it were to stand
 and abide by faith and promises made and giuen, we
 would not denie but that those considerations and
 aduises which Colman hath here vttered, ought to be
 followed; because that then there should be no occasi-
 on at all, why we should conclude anie league with a
 nie foren nation. But forsomuch as there was ne-
 ner man that found more vntruth and breach of pro-
 mise in anie nation, than hath bene found in these
 Saxons (the which hauing got the rule in Albion, are
 now called Englishmen) as the Scots, Picts, and
 Britains haue by triall sufficientlie proued; I sup-
 pose it is euidentlie knowne vnto you, that either we
 must of necessitie fight and stand at defense against
 the Englishmen, readie to assaile vs both with open
 force and secret craft, either els linke our selues with
 such allies and confederats, as by their support we
 maie be the better able to withstand the malice of
 such unfaithfull people. Call ye this faith, or treason, I
 praie you: The Saxons in times past being reque-
 sted of the Britains to aid them against their eni-
 mies, were most loinglie receiued, and highlie re-
 warded for their seruice: but they contrarilie in re-
 compense of such kindnesse, shewed themselves in
 stead of aiders, enemies; in stead of defenders, destruc-
 ters: turning their weapons points against the Bri-
 tains, by whome they had bene so sent for to their
 aid; and now haue not onelie destroyed a great num-
 ber of them by fire and sword, but also they haue spoil-
 ed them of their kingdome & libertie. What league
 or truce haue they at anie time kept (you your selues
 are not ignorant of this which I speake) where either
 they saw occasion to vex their neighbors, or hoped to
 gaine anie thing by falsifying their faiths, as they
 that haue neuer bene ashamed so to do, where hope
 to haue commoditie (if I may so call it) hath at anie
 hand bene offered. Into what furtozie and most mi-
 serable calamities hath the trecherie of the Saxons
 brought the sillie Britains: How oftentimes haue
 they broken the peace established with vs, and also
 with the Picts; euen when we least thought vpon
 anie such thing: Yea and that more is, amongst them
 selues at this season the Englishmen warre one a-
 gainst another, more with craftie traines than with
 open force, in such wise that in Northumberland so
 manie kings, and so manie noble men haue bene
 traitorously murdered and made auaic, that scarce

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Colmans
counsell
misliked.

Albion his
oration.

The English
Saxons brea-
kers of pro-
mise.

3. j. map

" may there be anie found that will take vpon him the
 supreme gouernment of that countrie. It is not
 manie yeres ago, since Oswin king of that coun-
 trie was rid out of the waie through treason of Os-
 wite that succeeded him in the kingdome, and was
 after deppriued both of life and kingdome by Wicke,
 whome Egbert desirous to reigne in his place, found
 meanes by traitorous practise to dispatch. Egbert
 was slaine by Hollo, and Hollo by Alfrede, which Al-
 frede was after slaine by the guilefull craft of Ethel-
 bert. Neither had Ethelbert anie better successe in
 the end, for now of late betrayed by his owne sub-
 iects, he was by them shamefullie slaine and mur-
 red. Neither with lesse traitorous shifts and deuises
 do the Englishmen mainteine their warres in all
 places where they are inhabiting within Albion. The
 reuerend fathers of the spiritualtie, and other godlie
 men addicted to vertue, vnto whom the setting forth
 of Gods word hath bene committed, wearie of and
 abhorring this wood madnesse, rage and wicked mis-
 demeanour of that nation, haue left their bishoprikes,
 abbeies, monasteries, and cels, and from thence haue
 removed into forren regions. Therefore where the
 Englishmen doe abstaine at this present from ma-
 king vs warres, it is not to be imputed to anie reue-
 rence they haue vnto faith, equitie, or respect of the
 league, which they haue made with vs, but onelie vnto
 such ciuill sedition and discord, as now doth reigne
 amongst them. Neither ought anie of vs of right to
 doubt, but that when the same once ceaseth, they will
 immediatlie take weapon in hand against vs, not-
 withstanding all leagues or covenants of peace con-
 firmed to the contrarie. To repelle therefore and a-
 bate their subtil practises, I can find no readier
 meane than to enter into friendship, and conclude a
 league with that people, which being ioined with vs,
 may chalenge such outrageous furie of this wicked
 nation, as cause and oportunitie shall require. For-
 tune hath offered vnto vs a conuenient meane and oc-
 casion herevnto. For here be at this present the
 French kings ambassadores, offering that vnto vs,
 which (being so great a benefit) we might scarce wish
 for. That is, they require to haue vs to ioine in
 league against the Englishmen, with their king,
 whome France, Spaine, and no small part of Ger-
 manie doe acknowledge for their souereigne. Dought
 this to be despised of men that haue their perfect sen-
 ses? Dought the societie of the French nation to be
 refused of vs, inhabiting here in the vttermost parts
 of the earth, the same being frelie offered by them,
 vnto whom for their sincere faith both towards God
 and man, the large empire of the world is granted? So
 that if we shall thankfullie receiue this most no-
 table benefit, the same shall purchase vnto vs the
 friendship of the Spaniards, Frenchmen, Ger-
 mans, and all those nations which acknowledge king
 Charles for their head and souereigne lord. Herevpon
 on also free passage for merchants shall be open, to
 passe to and fro vnto vs, with all kind of merchan-
 dize and wares of traffike. I trust therefore that eu-
 rie one of you (so that he weie the thing with him-
 selfe throughlie) will easilie iudge that the friendship
 and societie of the Frenchmen (verie puissant both
 by sea and land) and thereto of approued faith and
 stedfastnesse in promise, ought more to be esteemed,
 and is more beneficiall to the Scottish common-
 wealth, than the vnkindfast promises and great dislo-
 altie of the Sarons. To which of you is it vnknowne
 that the English nation studieth no lesse to bring vs
 vnder the yoke of seruitude, than they doe the Welsh-
 men, if their force might answer direadlie to their
 wills? Therefore if we desire to auoid the violent
 power of most cruell enemies, if we meane to a-
 uoid their craftie practises, if we regard the christian

The French-
 men in those
 daies possessed
 not onche that
 part of Gallie,
 which doe
 now call
 France, but
 also the most
 part of the
 countries now
 inhabited by
 the Dutch-
 men or Ger-
 mans, i. me-
 lie on this side
 the river
 Rhene.

religion; for the which the Frenchmen are continu-
 allie inuaded; if we set more by vertue and constan-
 cie, than by unfaithfullnesse and breach of covenants
 and promises, if we labor for the glorie and honor of
 our nation, if we couet to appaunce our countrie, our
 owne rest, and quietnesse; and so be briefe, if we passe
 vpon vs and libertie, the most dearest things that
 may happen to man, let vs with full harts esta-
 blish this league with the Frenchmen, and firmelie
 continue in the same, vpon assured trust and confi-
 dence that it shall bring perpetuall commoditie and
 renowne to vs, both for the safeguard of our realme,
 & restraint of the Englishmens unlawfull attempts
 and wrongfull iniuries, which hereafter they either
 shall or may at any time enterprise against vs. By
 this oration Albion dyet: the multitude easilie vnto
 his purpose.

Then Achaus vnderstanding how the minds of
 all his subiects were in manner wholie inclined to
 the league, commanded all the companie to be there
 in the same place againe the next day. And so be-
 king by their assemblie for that time, the king made
 the French ambassadores that night a coslie supper
 with a banquet, and after hauing conference with his
 nobles and lordes of the councell, it was agreed by ge-
 nerall consent amongst them, that for the soleme
 ratifying of this league with king Charles, ac-
 cording as he had required, there should go with his am-
 bassadores at their returne the lord William the
 brother of king Achaus, with foure other honorable
 and learned personages, being men of perfect know-
 ledge and skill, and such as were esteemed most meet
 for such a purpose. Also, that they should take foure
 thousand men ouer with them to serue against the
 infidels and enemies of the christian religion, where
 and in such sort as king Charles should appoint them.

Herevpon the next day going first to church, and
 there making their common supplications vnto al-
 mighty God, according to the rites and ancient cu-
 stomes, they after resorted vnto the councell cham-
 ber, where Achaus opened and declared vnto the
 French ambassadores all that was concluded by him,
 and other the estates of his realme, touching the mes-
 sage which they had brought from king Charles. Who
 reioicing (as should appere) greatlie hereat, gaue
 most hartie thanks vnto him, and to all the residue
 for their beneuolent wills herein shewed towards
 king Charles their maister, and all the French nati-
 on. After this, remaining certeine daies with Achaus,
 who made them all the there that might be ima-
 gined, they departed towards Hungus king of the
 Picts, vnto whom at their comming to his presence
 they made the like request on their maisters behalfe,
 which they had made before vnto Achaus.

It is said that Hungus gaue the Frenchmen most
 hartie thanks for their good wills, but yet he would
 not grant to conclude anie league with them at that
 time, for that (as he alledged) the matter being
 weightie and of great importance, required no small
 time to deliberate and take aduise for a full resolution
 therein. The ambassadores herevpon returned vnto
 Achaus without speed of their purpose with Hun-
 gus, and the second moneth after, all things being
 readie for their returne, and the passage of those that
 should go with them, the lord William the kings
 brother, together with the same ambassadores, & such
 foure persons as the king had chosen forth amongst
 all the learned clergie of his realme (whose names
 were Clement, John, Raban, and Alcuine) and also
 hauing with him those foure thousand men of war,
 which were at the first appointed to go with him, pas-
 sed forth towards France, where he with all the
 whole companie landed within few daies after in
 safetie, according to their owne wished desires. At

The league
 with the
 Frenchmen
 agreed vpon.

The league
 concluded.

Hungus king
 of the Picts.

Hungus re-
 sulteth to con-
 clude anie
 league with
 the French-
 men.

The French
 ambassadores
 returne home.

Clement,
 Clement,
 John, Raban,
 and Alcuine.

their comming into France Charles the emperour received them in most gladome wise, doing them all the honor that might be deuised, and the souldiers which were come to serue him vnder the leading of the foresaid William, he retained in wages, vsing them after the same sort and rate as he did his owne naturall people the Frenchmen.

Shortlie after also at the request of the Scottish orators, according to the charter signed by Achaius, and confirmed by consent of king Charles, the league betwixt the Frenchmen and Scots was solemnlie published by heralds at armes, according to the manner in those daies vsed, the same to indure betwixt those two nations and their posterities for ever. The chiefest articles comprised in this league were as folloeweth. The amitie and confederation betwixt the Frenchmen and Scots to be perpetuall and firme, to indure betwixt them and the posterities of both nations for ever. The iniuries and warres which the Englishmen should attempt against either nation, should be accounted as common to them both. The Frenchmen being assailed by warres of the Englishmen, the Scots should lend their aid of souldiers, hauing their charges borne by the Frenchmen as well for furniture, as wages, and all other things necessarie. The Frenchmen should contrariwise aid the Scots in time of wars against the Englishmen at their owne proper costs and charges. Whatsoeuer he were, priuat person or publike of these two confederat nations, that against either of them should aid the Englishmen with armour, counsell, vittels, or in any other manner of wise, the same should be reputed for a traitor vnto both their princes and countries. Neither might either of them conclude a peace, or take any truce without the consent of the other. These were the principall articles of the league, as then confirmed betwixt the Scots and Frenchmen, indited in Latine, and faire ingrossed in parchment, and reserued as a monument in both realmes, for a witnesse vnto such as should come after of this friendship thus begun, as the Scottish chronicles affirme. And for further memorie of the thing, Achaius did augment his armes, being a red lion in a field of gold, with a double trace scanted with flour de lices, signifieng thereby; that the lion from thence forth should be defended by the aid of the Frenchmen; & that the Scottish kings should valiantlie fight in defense of their countrie, liberties, religion, and innocencie, which are represented by the lilies, or flour de lices, as heralds doe interpret it. The lord William, the said Clement, and John, remained still with king Charles, but Rabane & Aleuine returned into their countrie. In all such warres and iournies as Charles afterwards made against any of his enemies, the said lord William was a chiefe doer in the same, so that his fame and authoritie daily grew in all places where he came. His seruice stood king Charles in notable stead in his expeditiōs against the Saxons, Hungarians, and other; but namelie his estimation in Italie was most highlye advanced, at what time the said Charles reedified the cite of Florence, appointing this William to be his lieutenant in Tuscan, and to haue the chiefe charge for the restoring of the said cite, which he with such diligence applied, that within short time the same was not onelie fortified with new walls, repared and replenished with great numbers of houses, churches, and other beautifull buildings, but also peopled and furnished with citizens, a great companie of nobles and gentlemen being called thither out of enerie cite and towne thereabouts for that purpose.

The cite being thus restored to his former estate and dignitie, through the bounteous benefit of king

Charles, and the diligent administration of his lieutenant the foresaid William, the citizens to shew themselves thankfull, deuised for a perpetuall memorie to beare in their armes a red lillie, resembling one of those which the kings of France giue, saue that it differed in colour, to testifie thereby, that their cite (after the destruction thereof by the Goths) was reedified and restored to the former dignitie, by the benefit of the Frenchmen. And to acknowledge the diligence herein of the lieutenant, they did institute publike plaies to be vsed and celebrated euerye yeere, therein with manie pompous ceremonies they crowne a lion. And further that there should be kept vpon the charges of the treasure within the cite certeine lions (for the foresaid lord William gaue a lion for his cognisance) and therevpon as the Scottish chronicles affirme, those beaests grew to be had in such honor amongst the Florentines. Thus this valiant capteine, the foresaid lord William, passing his time in notable exercises, and worthy feats of chualrie vnder king Charles, is accounted in the number of those twelue martiall warriours, which are called commonlie by the Scottishmen, Scotsgilmore.

And for that he was continuallie occupied in warres, he was neuer married, therevpon growing in age, and purposing to make Christ his heire, he builded diuers abbies and monasteries both in Italie and Germanie, richlie indowing the same with lands and rents, sufficient for the finding of such number of monks, as he appointed to be in the said abbies, wherein none might be admitted, according to the ancient ordinance by him deuised, except he were a Scottishman borne. In witnesse of which ordinance, there are sundrie of these houses remaining in Almaine euen vnto this day, nothing changed from the first order or institution. Before the accomplishment of these things, by the foresaid lord William, brother (as is said) to the Scottish king Achaius, I find that the vniuersities of Paris and Auaia were instituted by king Charles, chiefele by the helpe and means of these two fore-remembered Scottishmen, John and Clement, in somuch that Clement was appointed chiefe president of all the students at Paris, and John of the other at Auaia.

But now to returne to the other doings of Achaius, ye shall vnderstand, that about the same time, or not much differing from the same, Adelsane the sonne of Ethelwolfe king of Westsaxons, taking vpon him the dominion of Kent, Eastsaxon, Mercia, and Northumberland (which Egbert his grandfather had receiued into his gouernement) desirous now to enlarge his kingdome, entred into that part of the British dominion, which ancientlie hight Deira, and contained the marches about Berwik, acknowledging how the same appertained to his kingdome of Northumberland, and had bene fraudulentlie taken from his ancestors by the Brits: but forsomuch as there was a commotion raised the same time in Mercia, he was called backe to appease it, and herevpon putting all to the fire and sword in Deira, slaueing such prisoners as he brought away with him, he returned. Hungus the British king foreseming this iniurious enterprise of the Englishmen, determined to reuenge the same in all possible hast, and therefore made instant sute vnto Achaius (who had married his sister) to haue his aid against them.

Achaius of his owne accord minding to doe the Englishmen a displeasure, sent forthwith vnto Hungus to the number of ten thousand men. With which, and with his owne power, king Hungus invaded the borders of Northumberland, fetching from thence a great bottie of goods and prisoners; but yet he forbore slaughter of men, and burning of houses,

The armes of Florence.

A lion crowned.

Lions kept at Florence.

Scotsgilmore.

William buried in Beth Ch. 12. At his heire. Monasteries of Scottishmen in Germanie.

The vniuersities of Paris and Auaia.

Adelsane entred into Deira.

Deira wasted by fire and sword.

Hungus aided with Scottishmen invaded Northumberland.

He warred without slaughter and burning.

Athelstane
gursueth
Hungus.

houses, for a recurrence which he had, as is supposed, towards the christian religion. Athelstane being certified hereof, omitting his iournie into Mercia, turned all his power against the Picts: and hearing that they were withdrawen into their countrie, he followed them so nere at the heeles, that verie earlie in one morning he was upon their backs where they lodged by a broke side, not passing two miles from Haddington, before they had anie knowledge of his approach. Athelstane upon a fierce courage, hauing thus found his enemies according to his wished desire, and herewith conning upon them in such order of battell, as they had no waie forth to escape without fight, he commanded a proclamation to be made by one of his heralds, that all the whole number of the Picts should passe by the edge of the wood.

Athelstane his
cruell procla-
mation.

The Picts
are amazed.

The Picts
enter the
campe.

The Picts thus seeing their enemies at hand, and hearing this cruell commandement, were wonderfullie amazed with the strangenesse of the thing, and oppressed so with feare, that they wist not what might be best for them to do. At length by commandement of Hungus their king, they fell vnto fortifying of their campe; but yet they quicklie perceived how that it would not long preuaile them, considering that their enemies had gotten into their hands not onelie the spoile which they had brought with them out of Northumberland, but also all other their provision, trusse, and baggage, which they had left in a field there adioining vnto the side of their campe. Hereupon manie reasons were put forth amongst them, which way they might escape out of that present danger. In which meane time Athelstane hauing brought his people into good order of battell, prouoked the Picts to come forth of their strength into the plaine field, there to trie their forces. But for that day no notable thing was done, the Picts keeping themselves still within their campe.

Athelstane
doth challenge
his enemies.

The Picts
prepare them-
selves vnto
battell.

The English-
men are put to
sight.

In the night following, after sundrie consultations had amongst them, it was agreed by generall consent, that the next day they should giue battell to the Englishmen. And so hereupon preparing themselves for the purpose, euen vpon the breake of the day, forward they make towards their enemies with fierce willes, speciallie encouraged thereto by the comfortable wordes of Hungus. The Englishmen halfe amazed at the hardie approach and onset of the Picts, were not long able to susteine their foie impression; so that beginning somewhat to swaue, at length they were forced to flie vnto the place, where ye heard how they toke the baggage and spoile of the Pictish campe: where they were beaten downe in greater number than before, inasmuch that such prisoners as they had before taken of them that kept the said spoile, greatlie now to aduance the victorie of their fellows, shewed more crueltie towards the Englishmen than anie of the rest, now that they saw once how the victorie was inclined to the Pictish side.

Athelstane is
slaine.

Wilsones sword.

A dreame.

The crosse of
saint Andrew.

In fine, such slaughter was made, that of the whole English host which was there assembled, there vnneth escaped five hundred. Athelstane himselfe at the first was run through the bodie with a speare, and so died, giuing name to the place of the battell, which continueth euen vnto this date, being called Athelstans sword. This victorie fell to the Picts by miracle: for in the night season, as Hungus was laid downe to sleepe (after it was agreed that they should giue battell) there appeared vnto him the apostle saint Andrew (as the tale goeth) promising him and his people victorie against their enemies on the day next following; and for an assured token thereof, he told him that there should appeare ouer the Pictish host in the element such a fashioned crosse, as

he sometime suffered vpon. Hungus awakened, and beholding the skie, saw the crosse, as the apostle had told him: whereupon calling his people together, he not onelie shewed them the same sight, but also declared vnto them what vision had appeared vnto him in his sleepe; willing them therefore to be of good comfort, with there was cause of such assured hope to haue assistance from aboue against their cruell enemies.

The signe of the foresaid crosse was not onelie scene of the Picts and Scots being there with them in aid, to both their great comforts and gladnesse, but also of the Englishmen to their no lesse discouragement, as they that vnderstood saint Andrew to be patrone and protectoe of the Scottish and Pictish nations. For it did put such a feare into their hearts, that when they came to the point of ioining, their stomachs so failed them, that with small resistance they were easilie vanquished (as is said) and put to flight. For this so manifest a miracle, after the battell was once ended, and the victorie obtained, Hungus repaired with his people following him, vnto the church of that blessed man saint Regulus, now called saint Andrewes, where they made their offerings with humble deuotion vnto the reliques of the apostle, rendering thanks vnto him for their victorie with deuout praier after the accustomed manner. They bowed there also at the verie same time (as the same goeth) that from thenceforth as well they as their posteritie in time of war should weare a crosse of saint Andrew for their badge and cognisance. Which ordinance continuallie after remained with the Picts, and after their destruction and extermination with the Scots euen vnto our time. The bodie of Athelstane was buried in the next church vnto the place where the field was fought, howbeit, some haue left in writing that his head was cut off from the bodie, and brought to Inchgarvie, where being set vpon a stake, it was shewed to the people in reproch of his inuiolent enterprize.

Hungus the Pictish king to shew himselfe yet more mindfull of the due honoring of the holie apostle, by whose aid he acknowledged himselfe to haue got the victorie aforesaid, not onelie augmented his church with new bildings & needfull reparations, but increased the number of priests for the celebrating of diuine seruice; he also gaue manie rich and costlie ornaments vnto the same, as chalices, cruets, basons, & such like. Moreover, he caused to be made the images of Christ and his 12 apostles of fine gold and silver, which he bestowed there; with a case also of beaten gold, therein to inclose the reliques of saint Andrew. And besides this, he ordeined that the spiritualtie should haue the tenths of all increase of goods: as of corne, cattels, herbage, and such like through his realme: and further that spirituall persons should not be compelled to answer before anie temporall iudge. But these beneficiall priuiledges the Pictish clergie did not long inioy. For Frederick that was the fourth, which reigned amongst the Picts after Hungus, toke from them all such gifts as this Hungus had giuen them, and further ordeined to the derogation of their priuiledges, that they should answer for secular crimes afoze secular magistrates; and that liuing vpon their former reuenues, souldiers & men of war should inioy the other which Hungus had so frelie bestowed vpon them.

The nobles of the land mainteined Frederick in his dwings, reckoning all that spirituall persons had to be but cast away, which was the cause (as some thought) that their kingdome came into such ruine, as shortly after followed. There be some chronicles that write how these things, which are mentioned of Hungus, and Athelstane, chanced not altogether about

Saint Andrew
by the
Scottish
patrone.

Saint Regulus

why
Hungus
men his
Andrews
crosse in
warre.

Athelstane
buried.

Hungus
reth saint
Andrew
was
thence

Images of
gold and
silver.

Centurie
giuen to the
clergie.

Frederick
beth from the
clergie their
priuiledges.

And
souldiers
men.

Priests to be
tried afoze
secular iudges.

about this season, but Hector Boetius followeth Veremond in most of his accounts, as the author whom he taketh to be most certeine, as well for the account of the time as in the course of the whole historie. And for that we meane not to presume wholie to derogate the same Boetius his credit, we haue not much dissent from him, but rather followed him in most places, leaving such doubts as may be worthilie put forth of that which he writeth, vnto the consideration of the diligent reader, such it is not our purpose to impugne, but rather to report what we find written by others, except now and then by the way to admonish the reader of some vniuersalities (as the same doth seeme to vs and others) and hapilie not without iust occasion.

But now to our purpose. As well Hungus king of Picts, as Achatus king of Scots, after the overthrow and death of Athellfane, liued with their people in good quiet and rest: for the Englishmen attempted nothing against the Scots and Picts afterwards, during the time of their reignes. At length Achatus, after he had reigned 32 yeares, departed this life, in the yeare of our Lord 819, which was about the first yeare of Hungus his dominion ouer the Picts. His bodie was buried in Colmekill, according to the maner of kings amongst his predecessors. In the daies of this Achatus (beside Clement and others, of whome before ye haue heard) liued bishop Geruadins a notable preacher in Murray land, also bishop Glacian with Hodan and Medan two brethren, all doctors and men of singular knowledge, in respect whereof they were had in great credit and estimation with the people.

After the decesse of Achatus, Conuall that was his vnckles sonne Dongall, the brother of king Ethane, succeeded in gouernement of the Scottish kingdome. Betwixt this Conuall and Hungus the Pictish king, there was wonderfull loue and amitie shewed, both of them studieng by all means how to mainteine the ancient league and alliance betwixt their people, whereupon ensued great wealth and quietnesse vnto both their kingdoms. Finally Hungus wasted with a continuall consumption decayed, deliuering by his kingdome into the hands of his sonne Dorfologus, and that in the presence of king Conuall, who likewise liued not long after him, for in the sixt yeare of his reigne he likewise departed out of this world, by force of naturall sickness.

Dongall the sonne of king Soluathus was reputed to succeed by the common consent of the states of all the realme, a man of singular wisdom and great knowledge. But for that he was somewhat seuer in punishing the misordered behaviours of the nobilitie, and misgouerned youth of his realme, diuers of the nobles conspired against him, forcing one Alpine the sonne of Achatus to make claime to the crowne; who perceiuing there was no remedie, but either to follow their minds, or else to be murdered amongst them, consented to go with them into Argile, where they purposed to crowne him king sitting vpon the chaire of marble, according to the maner. Howbeit, at his comming into that countrie, he found means to conuey himselfe from amongst them, least through his means the quiet state of his countrie should be brought into trouble: and forthwith being escaped out of their hands with a few other that were priuie to his intention, he maketh all the hast he could, till he came to the presence of Dongall, who receiued him in most iustall wisse, promising that if it should be thought necessarie by the states of the realme, he would gladlie resigne vnto him his whole crowne and dignitie, desirous of nothing more than to see the advancement of the

house of Achatus. Such (saith he) were the merits of that famous prince towards the preservation of the Scottish common wealth, that it were too much wickednesse to go about to defraud his issue of the inheritance of the realme.

Alpine giuing the king most hartie thanks, besought him to continue in the administration, praising God and the world to witnesse, that he minded nothing lesse than to be about to claime the gouernement of the kingdome so long as he liued. For as touching his offense, in that he had gathered an armie, and led the same into Argile, it was not his fault, but the conspirators which had forced him thereto, being determined to haue slaine him, if he had not consented vnto their desires. Within three yeares after, there came messengers from the rebels to excuse themselves also, and to put all the fault in Alpine: but king Dongall giuing small credit to their forged words, gathereth his power, and maketh such speed towards the place where he understood the said rebels were assembled together, that he was vpon them ere they had anie knowledge of his setting forthwards. So that before they could make anie shift to escape out of danger, which they went about to do, they were apprehended, and immediatlie condemned and put to death. Which execution put other presumptuous persons in feare, so that the state of the realme remained afterward a great deale more in quiet.

Whilest things passed thus in Scotland, Egannus the second sonne of Hungus the Pictish king, found means to murder his brother Dorfologus, to the end he might reigne in his place: and through support of some of the nobilitie he attained to his purpose. And for that he would assure himselfe the more firmelie in the estate, he frankelie bestowed his fathers treasure amongst his lords and chiefest pers of his realme, and tooke to wife Branna the king of Mercia his daughter, whom his brother the forenamed Dorfologus had married, that thereby he might assuage the said king of Mercia his displeasure, which otherwise he should hapilie haue conceived for the death of his other sonne in law the same Dorfologus. His feare was great on each side, and therefore had small assistance in anie person, doubting lest one or other should seeke to reuenge his brothers death. He durst neuer go anie waies forth abroad without a guard of men of warre about him, whome he had twene and made his fast friends by his passing great largesse and bountifull liberalitie. At length yet, his wife to reuenge his former husbands death, found means to strangle him as he lay one night fast asleep, hauing dranke a little too much in the evening before, and in this sort he came to his end, after he had reigned much what about the space of two yeares.

Thus both Egannus and Dorfologus being made away, without leauing anie issue behind them, for so much as now there remained none of the posteritie of Hungus to succeed in gouernement of the Pictish kingdome, Alpine nephew to the said Hungus, by his sister Fergusiana, with the aduise of king Dongall, made claime thereunto, and therupon sent his messengers vnto the lords and perses of the Pictish dominion, to require them on his behalfe, that he might be receiued to the gouernement of the kingdome due vnto him by lawfull inheritance, as they well understood: and that if they thoughtlie considered of the thing, they might perceiue it was the provision of almighty God, that for want of lawfull succession lineallie descended from Hungus, now to succeed in the estate of the Pictish kingdome, by this meanes both the nations Scots and Picts should be ioined in one, to the abolishing of all such inward

Alpine his excuse vnto Dongall.

Dongall maketh an armie against the rebels.

Egannus murdereth his brother.

Egannus feareth in feare.

Egannus is strangled of his quene.

An ambassador sent vnto the Picts.

L.ij. warres,

warres, as by discorde and contention might arise betwixt those two people, in like sort as before time there had done, to the great perill and danger of both their utter ruines.

The Picts chose Feredeth to be king.

The ambassadors come into the court.

King Feredeth's answer unto the Scottish ambassadors.

Dongall his displeasure with the Picts answered.

Ambassadors are not received.

Warre is pronounced unto the Picts.

The Scots willingly give themselves unto the war.

The Pictish nobilitie, having knowledge that these messengers with such kind of message should shortly come from Alpine, with generall consent and whole agreement, chose one Feredeth to be their king, a man of great authoritie amongst them, supposing this to be a meane to defeat Alpines title, and that thereby he should seeme to be excluded from any further claime. Within few daies after, came unto Camelon the Scottish ambassadors, where Feredeth with his nobles at that present were assembled: they being admitted therefore to declare their message, when they began to enter into their matter of the right which Alpine had to the kingdom of the Picts, the people would not suffer them to proceed any further therein, but began to make such an uprore, that to appease the noise, Feredeth himselfe took upon him to make answer unto the ambassadors: and therupon commanding silence, declared unto them that the Picts neither might nor ought to admit any stranger to reigne over them: for there was an ancient law among them, of most high authoritie, that in case of necessitie they might transpore the crowne from house to house: and further, that by the same law there was an ordinance decreed, that if any man were once made and created king, he might not be deposed during his naturall life. And therefore though it were so, that Alpine were the nephew of Hungus by his sister Fergusiana: yet because he was a stranger borne, and considering withall, that the people by their full authoritie had translated the regall administration unto an other house, of the which one was alreadie proclaimed and invested king, there was no reason now, why Alpine should make any further claime or demand unto the kingdom.

Upon the messengers returne home with this answer, Dongall shewed himselfe to be in no small chafe, that the Picts should thus go about by such subtil arguments and contrived inventions to defraud Alpine of his right. And thereupon the second time he sent his ambassadors unto them, requiring them either to do him reason without any further furnished cavillations; either else within three moneths space after to looke for open warres at the Scottish mens hands. These ambassadors passing forth on their journey, at their approaching unto Camelon, certaine sergeants at armes met them, and did forbid them to enter the citie: also they further commanded them in name of Feredeth their king to avoid out of the confines of his dominions within foure daies space, upon paine of death.

The ambassadors being terrified with such manner of inhibitions, they went no further: but yet according as they had in commission, they pronounced the warre in the name of Alpine and Dongall, requiring those that thus came to meet them, to give signification therof unto their maiesty Feredeth, and to the whole Pictish nation; and so returned home the same way they came. Then did the Scottish lords repaire unto Dongall, who at the same time late in Carrlike castell, and there taking counsell for the maintenance of these warres, not one was found amongst them which offered not to spend both life, lands, & goods in Alpines iust quarrell. By this means was great preparation made on both sides for the warre, the Scots minding to set Alpine in his right, and the Picts determining not to receive any prince of a strange nation to reigne over them. But whilst Dongall goeth about to provide all things readie for his enterpryse, he chanced to be drowned in the river of Speie, as he was about to passe the same in a

bote. This mishap chanced him in the first yere of his reigne, and after the birth of our Saviour 830. His bodie was buried in Colmekill, with all funeral obsequies.

After Dongall was Alpine received to the crowne and government of the realme, by the generall voices of all the people, whose chiefest studie was upon his first entering into the estate, to follow his late touching his title to the Pictish kingdom: and hereupon with all diligence preparing a mighty host and all other things (which were thought requisite for the furthering of his enterprise) he passed forth towards Angus, not farre till he came to the castell of Forfar, which he besieged; but the third day after his comming thither, Feredeth the Pictish king with a great armie of his subjects arranged in good order of battell, came and presented himselfe in sight of the Scots, whereupon immediately nere unto the towne of Keffennoth they met, and joining there in battell, fought right fiercely. At the first encounter the right wing of the Scottish armie was nere hand overthrowne; but Feredeth lieutenant of Athole came speedilie to the succor with 400 of his countiemen, and restored the battell on the Scottish side: whereby ensued a right sore bickering with great slaughter, and no signe of thinking on either part, by meanes whereof it seemed doubtful for a long space unto whether side the victorie would incline.

At length Feredeth perceiving the middle ward of his battell a little to shrink, speedilie pressed forth to succor the same with a chosen companie of such as he had appointed to attend him: but entering thus with great violence amongst the thickest prease of his enemies, he was closed in on each side, and excluded so from the rescue of his owne people, that he could neither returne the same way he entered, neither yet by any other, so that he with those that were with him, perceiving their lives to be in present danger, did cast themselves into a ring, determining yet to revenge their owne deaths, whereupon rather wearied with continuall fight, than vanquished, or with any feare oppressed, they were slaine all the whole number of them, together with Feredeth their king. Yet herewith did not the other Picts give over the battell, so long as any daie light was on the skie. So that the night in the end parted them in sunder, both the armies withdrawing to their camps with small joy or triumph, by reason of the great slaughter which had bene made on both sides.

The captains of the Picts weeling with themselves the losse of their king, and great multitude of their men, thought it not best to abide any longer in the field: wherefore leaving their wounded people behind them, with all their baggage in the campe, they fled incontinentlie the same night, some into one place, & some into another, where they thought best for their owne wealth and safetie. The Scots had fled immediatlie likewise, but that word was brought them as they were about to depart, how the Picts were gone alreadie, and had left their campe void of men of warre to defend the same. Whereupon the Scots taried till it was day, not farre from the place of the battell. In the morning there were certaine horsemen appointed to ride abroad, and to view the field, thereby to understand whether the Picts ment any deceit by their departure, as by laying of some ambushments, or otherwise: but upon the returne of those horsemen, when it was once knowne how there was no such matter, but that they were fled in deed, the Scots reioicing thereat, fell to and gathered the spoile of the field, dividing the same amongst themselves according to their accustomed order.

Alpine

Alpine himselfe commanded the bodie of his enimie Feredeth to be laid in christian buriall not farre from Forfair. After this causing the musters of his people to be taken, he found that he had lost the third part of his armie in that mostall and cruell battell, and thereupon brake vp his campe for that time, li- cenceling those that were left aliue to returne vnto their homes. This battell being fought in the first yere of the reignes of the two foresaid kings, weak- ned the forces of both nations, so farre forth that the Scots doubting to bring the realme into danger of vtter ruine (if they should commit their whole pui- sance effionies to the hazard of another foughten field) determined to pursue the warre by making of incursions and inredes onelie vpon their enemies, so to ber the Picts, and to bring them vnto reason, if it were possible. And so much verely the Scottishmen did by such their continuall rodes & incursions which they made into Angus, that the countrie was left void and desolate of all the inhabitants.

Neither did Wudus the sonne of Feredeth, (whome the Picts had chosen to succeede after his fa- ther in the kingdome) find anie speedie redresse to withstand those daile inuasions thus made by the Scots vpon his countries and subiects. For he was but a slouthfull person, and verie negligent in his of- fice, whereupon he was had in derision of his owne people, who in the end due him amongst themselves before he had reigned fullie the terme of one whole yere. Then succeeded Keneth, the second sonne of Feredeth, with no better hap or end than his brother. For gathering together an armie of his subiects, and coming with them into Angus, but that casting off his with in sight of his enemies, but that casting off his armor, he fled incontinentlie, leaving his people in the field; and for that his haste, was slaine by a plow- man that met him by chance, and knew him not, but yet perceiuing how he had fled from his companie, and therefore deferred not to haue anie other fauour. His people seeing themselves destitute of their head capteine and gouernor, retired from their enemies, keeping themselves in order of battell without anie further attempt.

After this infortunate end of Keneth, the Picts chose to their king one Wudus, a man of a stout and manlike stomack, who immediatlie vpon his entring into the estate, coming into Angus (which region the Scots had made waste) caught there certeine Scottish robbers, and forthwith hanged them vpon gibets. After this, he sent forth his ambassadoz vnto king Alpine for reformation of all iniuries and wrongs betwixt the two nations; and to haue the an- cient league renewed betwixt them. Alpine and the Scottish lords, hauing quicklie aduised what to an- swer, declared vnto the Pictish ambassadoz plaine- lie, that they would not heare anie treatie for peace, till the Picts had deliuered the kingdome vnto the right heire. Wudus vnderstanding by this answer, that the Scots would still follow the warres against the Picts; to be the better able to withstand their ma- lice, he purposed to procure the friendship of the Englishmen, to haue their aid against the Scots. He sent therefore his ambassadoz with a great summe of monie vnto Edwine king of Northum- berland, requiring him of his fauour, and to haue some number of his people for his wages to serue him against the Scots.

Edwine receiuing the monie, promised to come himselfe with a mightie armie, at what time & place Wudus should appoint, to go against the Scots in defense of him and his subiects the Picts. And of the Picts reioiced greatly, that they should haue aid thus of the Englishmen, hoping thereby to haue assured victorie of their aduersaries. Other mistrust

ted not a little the Englishmens offers, by reason of the old enimitie betwixt the Picts and them. In this meane season the Scots take and seize vpon all the countrie of Angus, euen from the mountaine of Cranzebene vnto the riuer of Tate, whereof Wudus being terrified, sendeth a post with all speed vnto king Edwine king of Northumberland, requiring him to send to his aid a power of Englishmen, to helpe to resist the Scots, which at that present inua- ded his countrie. To which demand Edwine made this answer, that he was not onelie troubled with ciuill war made against him by other Englishmen, but also had bene requested by Lewes surnamed Pius, as then french king, in no wise to indamage the Scots his confederats, so that for that yere pre- sent he might not conuenientlie send to him anie succours, but if he would defer the warres till the next yere, he should haue the best helpe that he were able to shew him.

Wudus perceiuing himselfe thus mocked and de- luded by the Englishmen, commanded by solenne summons, that all such of his subiects, as were a- ble to beare armor, should assemble in nether Cali- don within eight daies after, with conuenable pro- uision of vittels, there to know his pleasure. His com- mandement was obeyed: so that a mightie ar- mie of men at the day and place appointed came to- gither, which being mustered, they streitwaies re- moue vnto Calidon castell, now called Dunkeld, where they passe the riuer of Tate, and so enter into Angus, not without some difficultie: but being once gotten ouer, they march forthwith towards the place where they vnderstood their enemies did lie. Wudus the night before the day in the which he thought they should haue battell, by the aduise of certeine expert warriours, which he had with him, appointed all the hostes that were in the campe, seruing for burden, to be bestowed amongst the women, lackies, and co- strels, part of them being clad in armor, and part in white linnen, with long poles in their hands like to speares and ianelins. Amongst them also he ordeined an hundred hostemen to be placed, whome he made priuate as then to his intention, by whose leading that feat which should be wrought in this behalfe, was to be atchiued. These he caused to lie couertlie within a wood nere vnto the place where the battell should be fought, giuing them in commandement not to shew themselves till the battell were begun.

King Alpine all this while held himselfe in a castell which stood vpon an hill, a little from Dundee, being now decayed, so that little thereof remaineth to be seene at this day. Vpon the north side of the hill, there lieth a great large plaine, compassed on each side with mounteins, as then full of woods & launds, but now for the most part bare and without anie trees or bushes. In this plaine were the Scots incamped. Al- pine beholding forth of the castell, how the Picts ap- proched to giue battell, got him into the campe, & ex-horting his people to shew themselves valiant, plac- ed them in arate. The Picts no lesse desirous to fight than their gouernors would haue wished them, be- gan the battell before they had commandement, with such violence, that the right wing of the Scots was sore disordered. But Alpine perceiuing that, came speedilie to their succours, greatly rejoycing them for their faintnesse of courage. To be short, he did so much to imbolden them, that by his means the fight was renewed in most cruell wise: insomuch that those which before were put backe, began to winne ground againe, and to beate downe their enemies verie fiercelie.

But herewith did the counterfet troope of horse- men, which was hid in the wood suddenlie come forth, and shewed themselves vpon the backs halfe of the Scottish

Englishmens assistance. The Scots take Angus.

Wudus sendeth vnto Ed- wine for aid.

Edwine defer- reth his aid.

Wudus be- ing deceived of the English men, called his owne subiects to the warre, assembling them at the foot of Calidon wood.

Wudus en- treth into Dun- gus with an armie.

A wonderful policie used by Wudus.

The incam- ping of Alpine his armie.

How the the Picts begin the battell.

The Scots
being deceivd
with a coun-
terfet trope
of hoysmen
sed.

King Alpine
taken by his
enimies and
after beheaded

Kenneth the
sonne of Al-
pine inuested
king of Scot-
land.

834.

The Picts
give thanks
unto God for
their victorie.
They make a
bow to conti-
nue the warre.

The good
council of
graue men is
despised.

The Scots
are animated.

The Picts
fall at vari-
ance with in
themselves.

Brudus died.

Drusken K.
ouer the Picts

The head of
king Alpine
is stolne, and
solemnlie bur-
ied with the
bodie.

Scottishmen, appearing in fight to be an huge num-
ber, & farre more than they were in deed: with which
fight the Scots being brought into a sudden feare,
least they should be compassed about with multitude
of enimies, they brake their arraie, threw off their ar-
mor, and took them to their feet, so to escape and saue
themselves by flight. Thus few were slaine in the
battell, but a great number died in the chase, & were
beaten downe on ech side as they were ouertaken by
the Picts. Alpine himselfe was taken, and hauing
his hands bound behind him, was led to the next
towne, and there beheaded. The place beareth the
name of him vnto this day, being called Dalalpine.
His head also was set vpon a pole, and bozue vnto
Camelon, and there set vp vpon one of the highest
turrets of the wall. The Scots that escaped from
this sorrowfull ouerthrow, got them with all speed in-
to Argile, where they inuested Kenneth the sonne of
Alpine king of their realme. This was in the yere
of our Lord 834, and the fourth yere after Alpine
entred first into the estate.

The Picts hauing atchiued this great and iollull
victorie, assembled at Camelon by commandement
of their king, where causing a solemne procession to
be made, in rendering thanks to almighty God for
their good successe in their passed iourne: they take
a generall oth vpon the gospell booke, that from
thenceforth they would not cease to make the Scots
war, till they had vtterlie destroyed the race of them:
and here with ordeined a law, that if anie man made
mention of anie peace or league to be had with the
Scots, he should lose his head for it. Where were in-
deed some ancient personages amongst them, that
spake against this insolent outrage of the people, al-
ledging that in time of prosperous successe men
ought to vse a modestie: but certeine youthfull per-
sons offended with such graue aduise, thrust the au-
thors thereof out of the church, within the which they
were as then assembled. The Scots being certified
hereof, were nothing here with discouraged, but ra-
ther put in good hope of better successe, with the eni-
mies abused themselves thus in time of felicitie.

The next summer after, the Picts assembled their
powre together, and setting forward towards the
Scots, thorough a light occasion they fell at vari-
ance amongst themselves, and fought with such ha-
tred together, that the king was not able to appease
the fraie, till night parted them in lumber. Then cal-
ling the lords afoze him, he assaied alwaies to haue
agreed the parties, but when he saw it would not be,
in the morning he gaue them licence to depart eue-
rie man to his owne home, breaking off his iourne
for that time. Brudus liued not past thre moneths af-
ter, for through griefe that things went not forward
as he wished, he fell into a grauous disease, and fi-
nallie thereof died. After whose deccasse, the Picts
chose his brother named Drusken, to succed in go-
uernment of the kingdom, who applied his whole in-
deuour vpon his first entring into the estate, to ap-
pease the ciuill discord amongst his subjects.

But whilest he was thus busilie occupied about
the same, there were certeine Scots, which soze dis-
dained to vnderstand that the head of their late king
should remaine vnburied, in such reprochfull sort a-
mongst their enimies. Wherevpon hauing perfect
knowledge of the Pictish tong, they feined them-
selves to be merchantmen of that countrie, & com-
ming vnto Camelon, watched their time, till they
found meanes in the night season to scale to the
walls, and secretlie taking awaie the head, escaped
with the same home into their owne countrie.

This act of theirs was not a little commended:
and so now the head of king Alpine being recou-
red, was closed in a ledden coffin, and Kenneth him-

selfe, hauing in his companie a great number of his
nobles, went with it ouer into Colmickill, where he
buried it in the abbey, amongst the sepulchres of his
elders, together with the residue of the bodie in verie
solemne wise, as apperteined. And further, those per-
sons that had put their liues in aduenture to fetch
the same head from the walls of Camelon, were by
Kenneth rewarded with rich gifts and lands in per-
petuitie, to remaine to them and to their heires for e-
uer. After this, Kenneth deuising for the suertie of his
subjects, furnished all the holds and castles on the
frontiers of his enimies with men and munition,
according as he thought expedient: and moreover
tooke order, that all the youth of the realme should be
in a readinesse vpon an houres warning, to go forth
against the Picts, if they attempted anie new inua-
sions.

But the Scottish lords had no great lust to take a-
nie enterprize in hand estones against the Picts, re-
membryng how infortunatelie they had sped the last
time: so that for the space of thre yeres there was
no great exploit atchiued, saue certeine roads and
incursions, which both the nations continuallie vsed
to make one vpon an other, as time and occasion ser-
ued. At length king Kenneth being verie desirous
to be reuenged of the Picts, for the death of his father
king Alpine, and other iniuries by them done and
attempted against the Scottish nation, in the fourth
yere of his reigne, he assembled the peeres and chie-
fest nobles of his realme, trusting to persuaide them
to aid him in all such enterprizes as he ment to take
in hand against the Picts, whome he purposed to
pursue with open warres, till he had them at his
pleasure. But calling his lords and peeres thus as-
sembled on a day before him, and going earnestlie a-
bout to moue them to the warres, he could stir them
no more to his purpose, than if he had bene in hand
to haue counselled them vnto that which in no wise
had apperteined vnto their duties: which their lacke
of stomach, Kenneth perceiving, he began to deuise
a pretie shift, whereby to induce them to his accord.

First therefore, breaking vp the assemble for the
same day, he commanded that they should come to-
gether againe on the next morow, to consult further
for the state of the realme, as they should see cause.
The same euening also he had them all to supper,
which being prolonged till farre in the night, it was
late before they went to bed, so that being ouerwa-
ched, when they were once gotten to rest, they were
sone brought into a sound sleape. Now had the king
appointed for euerie one of their chambers one man
apparelled in garments prettie deuised and made of
fish skins unskaled, bearing in one of their hands a
staffe of such rotten wood as shyneth in the night, and
in their other hand a great ore bozue, to the end that
uttering their wordes through the same, the sound of
their voices should seme farre differing from the v-
suall speech of man.

Thus appointed in the dead of the night, they en-
ter the chambers to ech of them assigned, where (as
is said) the lords laie fast asleepe, who being at the
first as it were halfe awakened, were wonderfullie
amazed at the strangenesse of the sight (doubting
whether it were but a dreame, or some true and unfein-
ed vision.) Here with also were heard certeine se-
uerall voices, far greater than those of men, declar-
ing that they were messengers sent from almighty
God vnto the Scottish nobilitie, to command them
to obeye their king, for his request was iust: the Picti-
sh kingdome due vnto him by rightfull heritage,
ought to be recovered from that people, which for
their great offences and sins towards almighty
God, should thortlie come to utter destruction: such
was the determinate pleasure of his diuine maie-
stie, in that.

Kenneth
rested the
realme.

Kenneth
led his
nobles
to reuenge
his fathers
death.

These
ghosts
deuised
by
king
to
persuaide
the
nobles.

Of
which
ghosts
there
were
many
in
that
dare:
and
directed
no
doubt
to
be
her-
alds
of
his
maie-
stie,
in
that.

ieslie, against the which might neither counsell nor puissance of man be able to resist.

When the counterfeited messengers had thus made an end of their words, they likewise had their faces under their innermost garments, and therewith quicklie conueied their uppermost vestures made of fish scales (as I haue said) into their bosoms, in such light and nimble wise, that it seemed these visions had suddenlie vanished awaie. Those lords that had seene these sights, laie still for that night, greatly musing on the matter. In the morning being got vp, and assembled in the counsell chamber, they declared to ech other what they had seene and heard in the night passed. And for that all their visions which they had seene by ech others report, were in euerie behalfe like, and nothing differing one from an other, they beleued verelie it was some celestiaall oracle & message sent from God. Therefore presentlie they go vnto the king, declaring vnto him how they had bene admonished from above, to continue the wars with all their forces against the Picts.

The king told them he had seene the like vision, but they ought to keepe it close, least by glozing too much in the fauour thewed by almighty God toward them, they might haplie displease his diuine maiestie, which other wise they might perceiue was readie in their aid. Then finally might the vision be published, when thorough his fauourable assistance, the warres were brought to a luckie end. This aduise of the king was well liked of them all, and commandement giuen, that all manner of prouision should be prepared with all speed for an armie to be set forth into Pictland. The lords going busilie about to prouide themselves of all things necessarie, mustered their men in all parts, so that there was leued a greater host than had bene seene in those parties of long time before. When the whole power was come togither, Kenneth marched forth with the same, entering by great violence into the Pictish borders about Sterling.

Dunsken the king of Picts aduertised hereof, and hauing his armie in a readinesse both of Picts and such Englishmen as he had reteined, to serue him for his wages, fetcheth a compasse about, and passing by the Scottish armie in the night, incampeth betwixt them and home, in such manner that the day did no sooner appere, but the one part desirous to be in hand with the other, without token of trumpet, or commandement of capitaine, they rushed togither most fiercely. The hastie speed of the Picts to ioin, put them to no small disadvantage; but the departure of the Englishmen, withdrawing themselves aside to the next mountaine, most of all discouraged them: for the Scots therewith giuing a shout, declared themselves to be highlie recomforted with that sight. Dunsken in all haste sent vnto those Englishmen a messenger, willing them with large promises of reward to returne to his aid: but the Englishmen answered, that their vse was not to fight without order and commandement of their generall, and that the Picts like vnstiffull men had cast awaie themselves to be slaine by the enimies hand, where it appertained vnto warlike knowledge to auoid the battell, when no hope of victorie appeared.

The middle ward of the Picts seeing themselves left naked on the one side, and assailed on the backs; whereas the Englishmen should haue kept their ground and defended them, they began to thinke: which the Scots perceiuing, strooke on the more fiercely, till at length the Picts not able to withstand their force, fell to running awaie. They made their course towards the water of Forth, which was not farre from the place of the battell, where being overtaken, they were beaten downe & slaine in great

numbers: for Kenneth gaue commandement that they should spare none of the Picts nation, neither gentleman nor other, that fell into their hands. The Englishmen whilst the Scots and Picts were thus occupied in the fight and chase, withdrew homeward with all speed; and by reason of the mountains which they had to passe, that toke awaie the sight of them from the Scots, they escaped into their countrie without anie pursute. Dunsken himselfe so soone as he perceiued how the field went against him, got him to his horse, which he had appointed to be readie for him at hand vpon all occasions, and so escaped out of danger with a few other in his companie.

The Scots returning from the chase, remained in the place of the battell all night, keeping strong watch about their campe, for doubt least the Englishmen had bene lodged in some secret place nere by to haue set vpon them at vnwares, if they might haue seene anie aduantage; but in the morning when it was knowne how they were quite gone their waies, and returned into their countrie (as before ye haue heard) then was the spoile of the field and Pictish campe gathered and bestowed amongst the soldiers, after the ancient custome of that nation. And then were they all licenced to depart euerie man to his home, with thanks for their seruice and paines in this iourne to manfullie imployed. Within few daies after, the Pictish king Dunsken sent his ambassadors vnto king Kenneth to sue for peace. Kenneth was contented to heare him, and promised to grant a peace, so they would surrender into his hands the gouernement of their kingdome due vnto him by right of inheritance. But this ambition being vtterlie refused of the Picts, was the cause that the warre was effones renewed with more crueltie than before.

The yere next ensuing this battell, Kenneth got Bernes, Angus, and Fife into his hands, furnishing all the castles and holds with men, munition, and vittels. But whilst he went about to subdue the countries about Sterling, word was brought him that such as he left thus in garison in those countries, were betrayed by the inhabitants, and slaine euerie mothers sonne. Kenneth wonderfullie kindled in wrath for the newes, left off his treatie, which then he had in hand with the people of Bernes and Sterlingshire for their submission, and returned in great hast towards Fife, where being arrived, he put all to the fire and sword, not leauing one aliue of the Pictish nation within all those quarters. The like crueltie was shewed through the whole countries of Bernes and Angus, for an example to other to beware how they falsified their faiths once giuen by waie of allegiance.

In the meane time that Kenneth with his Scots raged in such wise through those countries, Dunsken assembling all the power of his countries, came forth into the field to meet the Scots, meaning either to put them backe out of the confines of his dominion, either else to die with honor in the attempt thereof. Thus passing through the countrie, at length he came vnto Stone, where afterwards stood a famous abbey of chanoines of saint Augustines order, and here he found Kenneth with his armie already incamped. The next day, when both parties were ready to haue giuen battell, Dunsken wishing rather to aske peace whilst his power was yet in safetie, than after he were once vanquished (if such were his misadventure) to intreat for the same in vaine, sent an herald at armes vnto Kenneth, willing that he might talke with him before he ioined, for that he had to say certaine things, which being folloved, might turne to the great benefit and commoditie of both the Scottish and Pictish nations.

Kenneth

The English men escape.

Dunsken escaped by flight

The Picts sue for peace.

Kenneth getteth Bernes, Angus, and Fife.

Fife is put to the fire and sword.

Bernes and Angus is cruelly punished.

Dunsken cometh to rescue his people.

The persua-
sion of peace
by Dunsken.

Dernes, In-
gus, and Fife
is required of
the Picts to
releafe.

Kenneth his
answere.

The order of
the battell.

King Duns-
ken inbolde-
neth his pro-
ple the Picts.

The women
were a cum-
brance to the
Picts.

Kenneth for that he would not seme to refuse a
nie indifferent offers, was contented to come to a
communication, and so thereupon both the kings in
presence of both their armies arranged in the field
readie to fight, came togither in a place appointed,
either of them being accompanied with a like num-
ber of their nobles, as by the heralds it was accor-
ded. Here Dunsken with manie reasons going a-
bout to perswade peace, shewed how necessarie the
same was betwixt the two nations: and againe,
how doubtfull fortune was to them that trusted to
much in hir vnstedfast fauour: at length he grew to
this end, that if Kenneth could be contented to grant
a peace, the Picts should releafe all such right, title
and interest as they had in the countreies of Dernes,
Angus, and Fife, vnto him and his successors the
Scottish kings for euer, so that he should make no
further claime vnto anie other of those countreies
which the Picts as yet possessed.

Herevnto Kenneth answered, that he well vn-
derstood how vnstable fortunes lawes were, but si-
thens the Picts fought in an vnjust quarell, as to
defraud the posteritie of their lawfull king Hungus,
who latelie reigned amongst them, of the rightfull
inheritance of their kingdome, they themselves had
lust cause to doubt fortunes chance, where the Scots
hauing put vpon lawfull armour, and seeking to at-
teine that by warre which by other means they could
not atteine at the hands of the vnjust possessors, they
had lesse cause to mistrust hir fauour, & therefore if
the Picts were desirous of peace, they ought to cause
a surrender to be made of their kingdome into his
hands, accordinglie as they well knew it was rea-
son they should. And what commoditie might there-
of insue to both nations, being by such means once
ioined and vnited into one intire kingdome, he doub-
ted not but they vnderstood it sufficientlie enough.
And as for other conditions of peace than this, he
told them plainelie there would be none accepted.
Thus did the kings depart in sunder, without anie
agreement concluded: and being returned to their
armies, they make readie to trie the matter by dint
of sword.

Kenneth exhorted his people that day to shew
themselves men, sith the same should iudge whether
the Scots should rule and gouerne the Picts, or the
Picts the Scots. With these and manie other effec-
tuall words when he had encouraged his folks to the
battell, he diuided them into three wards, as two
wings and a maine battell. In euerie of them he
set first archers and arcuballisters; and next vnto
them pikes and speares, then bilmen and other with
such short weapons: last of all, an other multitude
with all kind of weapons, as was thought most
expedient. The fore ward was committed to the lea-
ding of one Bar, a man right skilfull in all warlike
knowledge, the second one Dongall gouerned, and
the third was led by Donald the kings brother. The
king himselfe with a troope of horsemen followed
them to succour in all places where he saw need.

Then commanded he his trumpets to sound to
the battell, which the Scots began with such a chere-
full shout, that the Picts euen vpon the first onset
were so amazed, that if Dunsken had not with com-
fortable words relieved their fainting stomachs, the
most part of them had fled without anie stroke stric-
ken. But being encouraged through the presence of
their king, shewing himselfe with cherefull counte-
nance amongst them, and therewith exhorting them
to stand by him at that present, there was fought a
right fore and cruell battell betwene them. The wo-
men that were amongst the Picts, of whom there
was no small number, speciallie in the right wing,
made such a wooll noise, when they beheld the men

one kill an other, that they were a more cumb-
rance to the Picts, than aid, when it came to the point of
seruice: by reason whereof that wing was shortly
beaten downe, and put to flight. Which when Ken-
neth beheld, he set in with his horsemen on the
backs of the Picts, now left bare by the running thus
away of those in the foresaid wing: and so entring
in amongst them, disordred their arraie in such wise,
that by no means they were able to aid themselves,
or come into anie order againe: so that in the end
they were faine to throw downe their weapons, and
take them to their fate, thereby to escape the dan-
ger. Such heaps of slaine men, armour, & weapons
laie here & there strewd in the place of the battell,
that the Scots were forced in following the chase
to breake their arraie, so to passe the more speditlie: by
means whereof, falling amongst whole bands of
the Picts, manie of them were slaine.

This mischiefe Kenneth perceiuing, comman-
ded to sound the retreat, and so gathering his peo-
ple about their standards, he appointed certeine
companies in warlike order to pursue in chase of
the enimies, whilst he himselfe with the residue a-
bode still in the place (where the field was fought)
all that day and the next night following. The Sco-
tish captains that were sent to follow the chase,
earnestlie executing their kings commandement,
made great slaughter of Picts in all places where
they might ouertake them. Dunsken the Pictish
king himselfe being pursued to the river of Tait,
for that he could not passe the same, was there slaine
with the whole retinue which he had about him. It
is said, that the Scottishmen incountred with the
Picts that day at seuen sundrie times, and in seuen
sundrie places, and still the victorie abode with the
Scots. The day after the battell, such as had followed
the chase returned to the campe; where they presen-
ted vnto Kenneth their king, the armour and other
spoile of Dunsken the Pictish King, which they brought
with them, besides great abundance of other pil-
lage and riches, which they had gotten of the enimies
that were slaine. Dunsken's armour and other things
belonging to his owne bodie, was offered by to
saint Colme, in the church dedicated to his name
within the Ile of Colmekill, there to remaine as a
monument of this victorie to such as should come
after.

After this the whole preie and spoile was gathered
and diuided amongst the souldiers. Kenneth was
counselled to haue discharged his armie, and to haue
departed home; but he purposing now to make an
end of the whole warres, sith he was in such a for-
wardnesse, called togither the multitude, and in
this wise began to utter vnto them his mind and
purpose. ¶ It is the dutie of a good capteine, when
he hath the victorie in his hands, & as yet the warres
not ended, if he mind the preferuation of himselfe
and his countrie, and to vse the victorie as he ought,
not to cease from pursuing the enimies once van-
quished, till he haue either made them his friends,
or else utterlie destroyed & rid them out of the way;
for if anie man shall thinke it best to suffer the eni-
mie to remaine in quiet, after he be once weakened
and brought to a low ebbe, till time peradventure he
shall haue recovered his forces againe, he shall pro-
cure to himselfe (as I gesse) more danger than hap-
pilie he is well ware of. And that we may speake
somewhat of this danger now present, the state of
the Pictish kingdome (as ye know) is soe infabled,
their powder being diminished by force of warre, is
brought to that point, that it resteth in our hands vo-
luntarie to destroye and exterminat the whole nation.
Which act ought to be abhorred, if it were possible for
vs by anie meanes to draw them (our hono-
rable)

Kenneth with
the Picts
disordered the
Picts arraie.

The right
wing of the
Picts is put
to flight.

Kenneth
with the re-
treat to be
counten.

The king
the Picts
slaine.

An opinion
King Kenneth

vn to

unto our friendship. But the Picts are of such a stubbozne nature, and so desirous of reuenge, that so long as there remaineth anie one of them aliuie, they will beare in their hearts a desire to reuenge all such losses as they haue in anie wise susteined by this warre. Whereupon I doe verelie beleue, that there is none of the Pictish nation from henceforth, will beare anie faithfull friendship towards the Scots. Therefore sith we can not make the Picts, thus late lie scourged by vs, our friends, I thinke it best (except we will neglect our owne safeties) to terlie to deströie the whole nation, by putting to the sword not onelie both men and women, but also all their youth and yong children: least they being descended of that linage, hereafter in time to come, arme themselves to the reuenge of their parents deaths, and that not without perill of the bitter losse of our countrie and kingdome.

This sentence of the king, though it seemed too cruell to many, yet whether for that they saw the same to stand with the kings pleasure, or that they thought it most expedient for the suertie of the Scottish common-wealth, it was allowed and ratified by them all. Such crueltie hereupon was forthwith shewed throughout all the Pictish regions, that there was not one liuing creature of humane shape left aliuie, sauing such as faued themselves within the walles of Camelon, or in certaine other holds and fortresses, and also about two thousand of those that fled into England: for all the residue were most vnumercifullie murdered and slaine, without respect either of age, sex, profession, or estate. Thus Kenneth hauing dispatched the inhabitants, seized the countrie into his owne hands, making partition of the same as he saw cause, and diuiding it amongst his nobles, according to the merits of euery of them. Dulie weighed and considered, he added new names vnto euery quarter and region (either after the name of the gouernor, or else of some promontorie, riuer, or other notable water or place, according as was the ancient custome of the nation) that the memorie of the Pictish names might end together with the inhabitants.

The countrie ancientlie called Bozellia, was giuen vnto two brethren, Angulan, and Spennan, by reason whereof the one part of the same countrie was called Angus, and the other the Spennan. The linage of those two noble men remaine vnto this day. The region which till then was named Atholinda, was turned afterwarde to the name of Fife, after the name of one Fife Duffe: whose valiancie was thoughtlie tried in these last warres with the Picts. There remaine vnto this day tokens and old ruines of a castell situate betwixt the riuer of Lenix and saint Kenneths church, which (as yet appeareth) was scised about with seven rampires, and as manie ditches, wherein the posteritie of this worthie man after his deceasse had their habitation by the space of manie hundred yeeres. Lothian retained still the former name, so honorable was the remembrance of that famous prince king Loth amongst all men. The strongest castell of the whole countrie, Kenneth bestowed vpon that valiant capteine named War, whose counsell and forward seruice stood the Scots in no small stead in those warres, in which the Picts were thus subdued. That fortress euer since (after his name) hath bene called Dunbar, that is to say, the castell of War.

There descended of him a noble house or familie, bearing the name of this castell, continuing in great fame and honor, even vnto our time, of the which the earles of March had their beginning, and continued long in that dignitie from one to another, with sundry branches of right famous memorie. The names

of diuerse dales were also changed, but yet some kept their old names still. Volucta shortly after began to take the name of Annandale, of the riuer of Annan that runneth through the same. And so likewise Tweedale took name of the water of Tweed. And Clusdale of the riuer of Clude. In like manner manie other countries, townes, and castles had their names changed at the same time, after they came into the possession of the Scottishmen, vpon sundrie considerations, for a witnesse of their victorious acts achieved against the Picts. Furthermore, into the citie of Camelon were withdratone the most part of all the noble mens wiues of the Picts, with their children, vpon trust to be in safetie in the same, as well by reason of strength of the place, as also of the strong garison which was appointed to defend it.

Kenneth therefore hauing taken his pleasure abroad in the countrie, came thither with a mightie armie to besiege the citie. And first sending vnto them within, to know if they would yield, he was answered, how sith it plainelie appeared, that the Scots could be satisfied with nothing but with the slaughter of all such as fell into their hands, as well of women and children, with impotent aged, as of others, they were minded neuer to surrender their hold with life. Whereupon the siege continued by the space of manie daies. Whilest the Scots in the meane time got together a great number of sagots, and other such brush and stufte to fill the ditches withall, which were verie deepe and broad, at length when they within began to want vittels, they required a truce for three daies, in the which meane time they might take aduise for the surrender of the citie. Kenneth mistrusting no deceit, granted their request, and thereupon commanded his people to cease from all manner of annoyance of the enemies, for that terme.

But in the meane time the Picts prepared themselves of all things necessarie to make an issue vpon the Scots. There was also an old gate for let and stopped by with earth and stones vpon the one side of the citie, so that of a long time before there had bene no way forth by the same. Wherefore in the darke of the night the Picts ridding away the earth and ramell therewith it was closed vp, about the third watch they passe forth at that gate in good order of battell, setting first vpon such Scots as kept the standing watch, who were in doubt of nothing lesse than of anie issue to be made on that side, by means whereof they were easilie oppressed, and likewise the other that kept the inner watch, insomuch that the slaughter went on almost euen to the kings tent with great noise and clamor, as is commonlie seene in such sudden tumults, especiallie chancing in the night season.

When the day began once to appeare, the Picts withdratone towards the citie by the same waie they came, were pursued by the Scots, and no small number of them slaine at the entring. The citie also had bene taken at the same time, but that the Picts out of the turrets and loupes of the walles, discharged a wonderfull number of quarels, darts, arrowes, stones, and other things vpon the Scots, as they approached nere to the gate, where their fellows (that made the issue) halted to enter againe into the towne. There were slaine of the Scots at this bickering aboue six hundred, wherewith Kenneth was so kindled with wrath, that detesting the fallshood of the Picts, he vobed by open oth that he would not depart from the siege, till he had put the citie and them within to fire and sword, without sparing of anie, either one or other.

Sundrie times he attempted to haue woone the citie by force of assault, but the Picts still defended their

The changing of the names of the dales.

Annandale, Tweedale, Clusdale.

Clusdale.

The gentlewomen were withdratone persecuted in Camelon.

Kenneth sendeth vnto Camelon, commanding them to yield.

They of Camelon require truce for three daies.

The Picts issue vpon the Scots with great fortune.

An extreme how made by king Kenneth

The constancie of the Picts when they were besieged.

their walles so frontlie, that he could not atchieue his purpose. Whereupon the siege continued for the space of foure moneths together. So that such scarcitie of all kinds of vittells still arose amongst them, that the wretched citizens abstained from nothing that might in anie wise be eaten, though it were neuer so much to be abhorred. And yet although they were brought into such miserable state, that there was no hope longer to defend themselves, if anie man notwithstanding all such extremitie, were heard make mention of surrendering, he was forthwith slaine by his fellows, as an enimie to his nation and a friend unto the Scots. It was thought that Kenneths oth made them so obstinate in their wilfull contumacie, because they saw nothing but death, which way soeuer they inclined.

A pretie craft
vied by Ken-
neth.

At length when the citie was thus reduced into all extreme miserie, and the ditches filled with faggots and other such stufte, Kenneth one night appointed six hundred of his choicest souldiers to lie in ambush within a wood, joining nere to one side of the citie, so that in the morning when he should giue the assault on the contrarie side, they might suddenlie come forth and scale the walles on that other. These souldiers, according to that which they had in commandement, shortly after the breake of day, hearing that Kenneth had begun the assault on his part, quicklie came forth of the wood, and hauing their ladders readie, came to the walles, reared them vp, and swiftlie getting into the citie, opened one of the gates where one part of the armie entered; the citizens standing in no doubt at all of anie attempt on that side: so as being gotten together to defend the walles on that part where Kenneth gaue the approach, and now hearing how the enimies were got into the citie, and coming on their backs, they were wonderfullie amazed, but yet so long as they were able to make anie resistance, they did what lay in their uttermost power to beat backe the Scots, and to diuine them out of the citie againe.

The Scots
enter the
citie.

The Scots
are miserable
slaine, with-
out regard
of person.

Ladies and
gentlewomen
desire the king
to be pardon-
ed of their
lives.

All the Pict-
ish nation
destroyed.
The citie of
Camelon is
throwne
downe.

The castell of
Maldens is
left of the
Picts.

The slaughter therefore was great which the Scots made of the Picts in euerie passage & corner of the streets, insomuch that the Scottish lords and other captaines, in reuenge of the late receiued losse of their men, through the false practised policie of the Picts, commanded in a great furie to set fire on the houses, and to kill and slea all such of the Pictish nation as came in their way. Thus the murder proceeded vpon all estates, aswell religious as other, and likewise vpon women and children, without anie difference. A number of ladies and gentlewomen, getting them into the presence of king Kenneth, besought him in most lamentable wise, to haue pittie vpon their wofull estate, and to saue their liues from the hands of his most cruell souldiers. But such was the rage kindled in the Scottishmens hearts, that there was no more fauor shewed toward them than toward the other, and so immediatlie were they also slaine without all compassion. So farre forth was the murder executed on all hands, that there was not one left aliue of the Pictish nation, neither man, woman, nor child to bewaile that miserable destruction of their countrie and kinsfolkes. When were the walles throwne downe & made euen with the plaine ground. The houses and buildings aswell priuate as publike, with churches and chappels, were set on fire, and that which might not be consumed with the rage of fire was ruinated and destroyed with hand, so that there remained of all that famous citie, nothing but the ashes, with heapes of the broken and burned stones, and likewise of the pavement and foundation of some part of the walles.

At the same time the castell of Maldens, now called commonlie Odenborough castell, was still kept with

a mightie garrison of Picts, but they hearing of the miserable destruction of Camelon, and doubting to fall into the like mischance, left the castell void, and fled to Forthumberland. Thus ended the kingdome of the Picts in Albion, in the yere after they first began to reigne therein 1173, and in the yere after the birth of our Sautour 839, from the first coming of Fergus 1166, and after the creation of the world 4806, if the Scottish chronicles be true. ¶ But where as the truth concerning the time of the first coming into this Ile, aswell of the Scots as Picts, resteth doubtfull, and that aswell by authoritie of approved writers, as by reasonable coniectures, we haue in the historie of England more largelie written thereof; we referre those that be desirous to see further of that matter, unto the same, following here in this historie of Scotland the report most end, as we find it in Hector Boetius, and other the Scottish writers, not taking vpon vs so frankelie to set downe our owne opinion in this Scottish, as in the English historie, through want of such helps in the one, as we haue got in the other.

There were seene the same yere two comets or blasing starres of dreadfull aspect to the beholders, the one went before the sunne rising in harvest season, and the other followed the going downe thereof in the spring of the yere. There was oftentimes also seene in the aire a vision of fire armies, running together with burning flauces, and the one being vanquished, they suddenlie both of them vanished away. Also at Camelon, as the bishop was at seruice holding his crozier staffe in his hand, it was kindled so with fire, that by no meane it could be quenched, till it was burnt euen to ashes. About none date, the aire being faire and cleare, as well in the countreies of the Scots as of the Picts, there was heard such a noise and clattering of weapons and armor, with brastling of hozles, as though two armies should haue bene together in fight, whereby manie of either nation which heard it, were put in great feare. These vnconouth wonders were interpreted by diuiners diuerslie: some of them affirming the same to betoken top and happy prosperitie, and other alledging, how they signified rather mishap and bitter calamitie.

But to returne to our purpose. King Kenneth hauing thus destroyed the Pictish kingdome, together almost with the whole nation, caused the marble stone (which Simon Breke sometime brought out of Spaine into Ireland, and the first Fergus out of Ireland into Albion, as before is recited) to be brought now forth of Argile (where till that time it had bene diligentlie kept) into Courie, which region before appertained to the Picts, there to remaine from thenceforth as a sacred token for the establishment of the Scottish kingdome in that countrie: he placed it at Scone vpon a raised plot of ground there, because that the last battell which he had with the Picts was fought neare unto the same place, the victorie (as before is specified) chancing to the Scots. Upon this stone (as before is rehearsed) the Scottish kings were used to sit, when they receiued the inuestiture of the kingdome. ¶ Some writers haue recorded that by commandement of Kenneth, at the same time when this stone was thus by him removed, those Latine perles were grauen vpon it, whereof mention is made before, where we spake of the aforesaid Fergus the first his coming out of Ireland into Albion there to reigne.

Now in the meane time, when those few of the Picts, which by flight had escaped the Scottishmens hands, and were gotten into England, could by no meanes persuaade the Englishmen, being troubled with intestine warre, to aid them in recouerie of their countrie, some of them passed the seas over the

8. 6.
1421. H. E.
60. 8. H. E.

Prodigious
visions seene
in the air.

The interpre-
tation of the
tokens.

The marble
stone is trans-
ported from
Argile into
Courie, in the
place called
Scone.

The rest of
the Picts
were driven
out.

to Norway, and some into Denmarke, and diuerse
other of them remained still in England, where they
got their living either by some manuell occupation,
either else by seruice in the warres. The Scots from
thenceforth liued in quiet, during the life time of A.
Jenneth, who deserved eternall fame, by the enlarg-
ing of the bounds of his kingdome, so mightilie
and in such wise, that where he found the frontiers, he
made the same well nere the middelt of his king-
dome. Other things he did also teaching the politike
gouernement of his subiects in time of peace, no
lesse worthy of praise than his noble and famous
conquests: but speciallie he ordeined certeine lawes
for the wealth of his people, whereby his iudges and
other officers should proceed in the administration
of iustice, of the which I haue thought requisite to
rehearse part as yet being bled, that aswell the au-
thor, as the time of their first establishment, make
the better appeare, vnto such as shall peruse this hi-
storie.

The Chapters of those lawes which
yet remaine to be obserued,
are these.

Et euerie thire haue certein men
skilled in the lawes appointed to
be resident in the same, according
as in the beginning it was insti-
tuted. Let their sonnes also in their youth
be brought vp in knowledge of the same
lawes.

Let them onelic keepe in their custodies
the tables of the lawes, with the register
bookes of the kings & pceres of the realme.

If any of them be conuicted of extort or
bribe, or other the like vniust dealing, let
him die vpon the gallows, and his bodie
remaine vnburiel.

Such as are codemmed for theft, let them
be hanged, and those that are proued guiltie
of murder, let them lose their heads.

A woman which is condemned to die, ei-
ther let hir be drownded in some riuer, ei-
ther else let hir be buried quicke.

He that blasphemeth the name of God,
of the saints, of his prince, or of the cap-
taine of his tribe, let him haue his tounge
cut out.

He that is conuicted of a lie to his neigh-
bours hinderance, let him haue his sword
taken from him, and be banished out of all
mens companie.

Such as be accused of any crimes that
deserue death, let them passe by the sen-
tence of 7 honest men, either else of 9, 11,
13, 15, or more, so that the number be odd.

Robbers by the high waies, destroyers
of corne growing in the fields, as is bled by
enimies in time of warre, let them die by
the sword.

Fugitiues, bagabonds, and such other
idle persons, let them be whipt and burnt
in the cheeke.

Let not the wife suffer for the husbands
offense, but the husband shall answer for the
wives misdeeds, if he be priuie thereto.

Any mans lemmen or concubine shall
suffer the same paines that he doth which
offendeth with hir.

He that rauisheth a maid shall die for it,
vntill he require for safegard of his life,
to haue him to his husband.

If any man be taken with an other mans
wife in adulterie, the consenting vnto him
therein, they shall both suffer death for it.
But if the consent not, but be forced a-
gainst his will, then he shall die onelic for
the same, and she shall be released.

If the child hurt the father either with
tongue, hand, or foot, let him first be deprived
of that member, and then hanged, his bo-
die to remaine without buriall.

A murder, a dumbe person, or he that
is vnthankfull to his parents, shall not in-
herit his fathers patrimonie.

Juglers, wizzards, necromancers, and
such as call vp spirits, and vse to lcke vpon
them for helpe, let them be burnt to death.

Let no man sow in the earth any graine
before it be purged of all the weeds.

He that through negligent slouth, suffe-
reth his arable ground to be choked vp
and ouergrowne with weeds: for the first
fault let him forsaite an ore, for the second
ten oren, and for the third let him forgo the
same ground.

Thy companion in the warres, or thy
friend being slaine, let him be buried, but let
the enimie lie vnburiel.

Anie straie cattell that commeth into
thy grounds, either restore them to the ow-
ner, either els deliuer them to the searcher
out of thieues, commonlie called *Tonode-
rach*, or to the parson or vicar of the towne:
for if thou reteine them in thy hands by
the space of three daies, thou shalt be ac-
counted guiltie of theft.

He that findeth anie thing that belon-
geth to an other man, let him cause it to be
cried in the market, or els he shall be iud-
ged for a fellow.

He that striketh him, with whom he go-
eth to the law, about anie matter in con-
trouersie, shall be iudged guiltie of the acti-
on, and the other let fre.

If oxen or kine chance by running togi-
ther to kill one another, the truth being
not known which it was that did the hurt,
that which is found without hornes shall
be iudged the occasion of the death, and he
that is owner of the same, shall haue the
dead beast, and satisfie him for the losse to
whome it belonged.

If a sow eate hir pigs, let hir be stoned
to death, and buried, so that no man eate of
hir flesh.

A swine that is found eating of corne
that groweth in the field, or waiting vpon
the tilled grounds, let it be killed for anie
man to kill the same without danger.

Other kinds of beasts, wherein other
men haue anie proprietie, if they breake in-
to thy pastures, or eate vp thy corne, im-
pound them, till time the owner haue satis-
fied thee for the quantitie of the damage.

These were ciuill ordinances belonging
to the good gouernement of the people, o-
ther there were, which appertine to reli-
gion:

Rauish-ers of
maids shall
die.

Adulterers
shall die.

A child hur-
ting his father
shall die.

who are not
to inherit.

Juglers and
wizzards, &c.

Sowing of
graine.

Swill hus-
bandrie.

Buriall of
friends.

Wailes and
straies.

Things
found.

Aduersaries
in suite of law.

Oxen or kine
hurting ech
other.

A sow.

Swine.

Beasts da-
mage faitant.

Articles ten-
ching religion

gion: as these.

Thou shalt deuoutlie reuerence the altars, temples, images, oratozies, chapels, priestes, and all men of religion.

Keeping of ho-
lie daies.

Thou shalt obserue with due reuerence festiuall and solemne holie daies, fasting daies, bigils, and all maner of ceremonies instituted by the godlie ordinance of man, in the honoz of our S. Christ & his saints.

Priests.

To hurt a priest, let it be accounted an offense worthe of death.

Ground to be
left untilld.

That ground wherin anie that is slaine lieth buried, leaue it untilld for seuen yeres space.

Graues.

Repute euerie graue holie, and adozne it with the signe of the crosse, so as thou shalt be well aduised that in no wise with thy feet thou tread vpon it.

Buriall.

Burie the dead according to the quantitie of his substance.

Buriall of no-
ble men.

The bodie of a noble man & of him that hath well deserued of the common-wealth, shall be buried in solemne and pompous wise, but yet in mourning sort & dolorous manner.

Let there be two knights or esquires to attend his bodie to the graue. The one being mounted vpon a white horse shall beare the coate-armoz of the dead, and the other in mourning apparell with his face couered shall ride vpon a blacke horse: who after the corps is brought to church, turning his horse from the altar, shall crie out how his maister is dead: and therewith the people making an outcry against him, he shall streitwaies depart and get him with all speed to the place fro whence he came: the other going streight to the altar, shall there offer by vnto the priest his coate-armoz with his horse, as a token to signifie thereby that his maister doth inioy euerlasting life, in the land of permanent light and ioies eternall.

¶ But this custome of buriall, as that which was supposed not appertaining to the order of the christian religion, the age that followed did vtterlie abolish, appointing to the priests in steed of the horse and armor, five pounds sterling in monie for the offering. With these and diuers other ordinances, which time and other statuts by other kings deuised haue abrogated, Kenneth governed his people in great felicitie during his life time.

S. Keneliche
church, now
called Saint
Andrewes.

The bishops see, which before had bene at Abirne-
shie, he transfused vnto the church of that holie man
S. Kenel. Euer since which time the towne hath been
called S. Andrewes, and those which gouerned the
same church a long time after, were called the great
bishops of Scotland: for the realme was not di-
uided into dioceses till the daies of Malcolme the 3,
who by diuine inspiration (as is said) ordeined the
see of Synethlake, now called Abirdeen: but such as
were reputed of vertuous behauiour and know-
ledge met for the office, vnder the authoritie & roune
of bishops, in that place soeuer they were resident:
Yet such was the continuance of those which gou-
erned the church of S. Andrewes, that there haue bene
about the number of fortie bishops resident there:
since the first institution of that see: manie of them

for the opinion conceiued of their holinesse, being
numbred according to the manner in times past in
the register of saints. But now to retorne vnto Ken-
neth, who hauing (as is said) enlarged the bounds of
his kingdome, so as the same stretched forth vnto
the confines of Northumberland on the one side, and
to the Isles of Orkney on the other, the sea compas-
sing the residue, at the length after he had reigned a-
bout twentie yeres in great renoume and glorie,
he departed out of this life, through too much abun-
dance of rheumatike matter, at Forthuiot, in the
yere of our Lord 856. His bodie was conueied into
the Ile of Colmickill, and there honorable buried a-
mongst his ancestors.

After his deceasse succeeded in gouernment of
the realme his brother Donald, farre differing
in qualities from his noble brother the foresaid Ken-
neth: but yet before he came to the rule of the realme,
he disclosed not his vicious nature, for doubt of of-
fending the king his brother. Heuerthelesse he had
continued scarce two yeres in the estate, but that he
had subuerted all good orders in his realme, by his
naughtie examples of dissolute liuing: for his mind
was set on nothing but on wanton pleasure: as in
the vnlawfull use of concubines, riotous banket-
ting, keeping of hawkes, hounds, & horses for plea-
sure, and not for the use of warres, whereof he had no
regard at all: for such charges as he should haue
bene at for maintenance of men of warre to keepe
the frontiers of his realme, were imploied on a sort
of rascals, that serued him in the furtherance of his
wanton delights and voluptuous desires, as hunt-
men, falconers, coxes, ballades, ruffians, and such
like lozzels.

Wherevpon diuers of the nobles remembering
that appertained to their duties, spared not but fre-
lie admonished the king what danger would insue of
his misordered behauior, if he reformed not his ma-
ners, nor restrained the licentious doings of his ser-
uants and familie. But when they perceiued that
their words were not regarded, but for the same
they themselves ran into displeasure, they forsooke
not a little, to see so small hope of amendment of such
enormities, as euerie where reigned through the re-
gion: for all youthfull persons given to sensuall lust
followed the same without anie feare or care of cor-
rection, so that there was no measure of offending
and haunting of euill rule in all parties, insomuch
that shortly, through want of all good gouernance,
wrong was placed in steed of right, and contempt of
Gods honor embraced euerie where in place of ver-
tue and godlinesse.

In this meane while, the residues of the Picts re-
maining amongst the Englishmen, ceased not to
solicit the gouernors of the countrie to aid them to-
wards the recouerie of their dominion out of the
Scottishmens hands, promising to be subiects vnto
the English nation, if by their helpe they might be
restored to their ancient seates. At length Olbert
and Ella kings of Northumberland were perswaded
through instant sute to take that enterprize in hand,
the rather vpon trust of god successe, for that they
vnderstood what lacke of politike gouernement then
remained amongst the Scots, by reason of the
kings naughtie demeanour and most inordinat trade
of life. But first there was a league concluded with
new articles of agreement betwixt the Englishmen
and Britains, as yet inhabiting alongst the coasts
of Cumberland, by meanes of which league both
Britains and Englishmen ioined their powers to-
gether, and in most speedie and forcible wise passed the
water of Tweed, first pitching their campe in the
countie of Bers. From whence immediatlie king
Olbert (being appointed as generall in that iourne) sent

The bound-
s of the
kingdome.

King Ken-
neth depar-
teth out of
this life
856. H.B.

The king
admonish-
ed of his
nobles

The re-
sidues
of the
Picts re-
quest
aid of the
Englishmen

Olbert and
Ella kings
of North-
umberland

The Eng-
lishmen
and Brit-
ains re-
joine
their
powers
together

sent an herald vnto Donald the Scottish King, com-
manding him either to surrender vp vnto the Scots
all such regions as the Scots had taken from them,
either else to loke to haue the Englishmen and Brit-
tains no lesse their enemies than the Scots, whose
cause they had taken vpon them to mainteine and
defend.

Donald being at the first sore troubled with these
newes, yet at length (by the aduise of his nobles) he
tooke a good hart vnto him, and in defense of his
realme caused musters to be taken throughout all
his dominions, and forthwith came into the field to
incounter his enemies, whome he found at Jed-
worth readie to giue battell: where after sore fight,
in the end Osbert with his people was chased to
the next mountaine. Donald hauing thus obtai-
ned the victorie in this conflict, supposed all had
bene his owne, and therevpon remoued ouer
Aberdeen with all possible hast, marching forth till he
came to the mouth of that riuer, where there laie at
anchour certeine English vessels, laden with proui-
sion of vittells and all other things necessarie for the
sustenance of an armie. Donald setting vpon these
ships, with small resistance toke them, spoiled them
of all such things as were found aboard, and after set
fire on them. The spoile was diuided amongst the
souldiers and men of warre, which serued them to
small vse: commoditie for all the youth of the ar-
mie, through example of their prince, was so corrup-
ted in vicious customes, that the campe was reple-
nished with hoyses, balldes, stews, and dicing tables,
in such wise, that all such prouision as should haue
serued for foode and staple of vittells, was spent in
riotous banketing without anie order or measure:
so oftentimes (as it chanced) where politike gouerne-
ment lacketh) there happened amongst them in the
armie, discord and variance with sundrie murders
and slaughters.

When the enemies were aduertised how far out of
order all things stood in the Scottish campe for want
of good and discreet chieftains, Osbert with all speed
got a mightie host together againe, and before his
approch was looked for of the Scots, he commeth vp
on them one morning in the breake of the day, and
assaulteth them in their lodgings, wherein he found
them so vnprouided of all helps to make resistance,
that it was a wonder to see the disorder that appea-
red amongst them: some of them running vpon
their enemies naked without all discretion, other
breaking forth of the campe to saue themselves by
flight, not sparing hill nor dale where they saw anie
way to escape the enemies hands, though it were
with present danger of breaking their necks downe
the sliding banks and craggie rocks, being forced
thereto by the fierce pursute of the Englishmen and
Brittains, who most eagerlie pressed vpon them in
all places, to reuenge the late receiued ouerthrow
and slaughter of their friends and kinsfolks. There
died of the Scots in this mortall bickering aboue
twentie thousand persons. King Donald being fast
asleepe at the first assault of the enemies, as he that
had drunke ouer night more than enough, was ta-
ken before he could make anie shift for himselfe,
with the residue of the nobilitie, that escaped with life.

The Scottish campe, the next day after this
ouerthrow, was rifled, the spoile being diuided a-
mongest the Englishmen and Brittains. But when
the fame of this infortunat battell was noised once
through the realme of Scotland, how the king was
taken prisoner, his campe owne, the armie discor-
dant, and almost all the souldiers and men of warre
slaine, those few of the nobles which were left aliue
remaining prisoners in the enemies hands, there
was such dole and lamentation made ouer all, as

though the realme had already bene lost without re-
coerie. Some there were that blamed fortune,
some cursed the wicked trade of life in the king, o-
ther bewailing the great calamitie of this mischance
put the fault in diuers other things, as in such cases
commonlie it falleth out: for in sundrie heads are e-
uer sundrie opinions. Panie ran vp and downe
the streets and high waies, to inquire the certaintie
of all things, and whether there were anie hope at
all left to resist the enemies, also which way the eni-
mies held, whereabout they went, and what they pur-
posed to doe.

Anon after, when it was certeinlie knownen that
the Englishmen were entred by Louthian, and the
Brittains by Galloway, there was such feare mixed
with sorrow (for losse of their friends and kinsfolks)
stricken into the peoples hearts, and namelie into
the womens, that a greater hath not bene heard
of in anie region. So that all prouision to defend
their countrie was quite neglected, so amazed were
the Scots with the sudden change of fortunes sauid.
The Englishmen here vpon toke all the countrie e-
uen to the water of Forth, and likewise the Brittains
seized into their hands all that which lieth from the
bounds of Cumberland vnto Sterling bridge, find-
ing no resistance in their way at all. Herevnto as-
well the Englishmen as Brittains used the victorie
verie cruellie, sparing neither one nor other of the
Scottish blood, that by anie means fell into their
hands, but priests and all passed one way, that is, by
the edge of the sword.

King Osbert purposed to haue passed the water
of Forth, that waie to haue entered into Fife, & so
ouer Taie into Angus: but hearing that the Scots
had gathered a power to impeach his passage, he
staied certeine daies. At length vnderstanding that
the enemies were nothing of that puissance or num-
ber, as at the first they were reported to be; he de-
termined to set ouer in certeine boats ten thousand
of his men; but through a sudden tempest of wind
and weather, that rose in that instant, there were
siue thousand of them drowned, the residue being
constrained to land againe on the same side from the
which they laied, hauing lost through violence of the
weather all their tackle and whole furniture of their
vessels. Osbert being also admonished with this mis-
fortune, thought good to attempt no more the furi-
ous rage of the water, but determined by land to
go vnto Sterling, where he vnderstood he should
find the Brittains, with whome he might ioine his
power, and passe ouer the bridge there, and so invade
other of the Scottish regions which lay thereabout.

But at his coming thither, certeine Scottish am-
bassadors came vnto him to sue for peace, which
they humble required at his hands in name of the
whole realme, beseeching him to consider well the
state of the case as it stood, and not to trust too much
on brittle fortune, the which sheweth hir selfe neuer
stable; but commonlie beth to call backe againe hir
grant of prosperous successe, where the receiuer
hath not skill to vse it moderatlie, and the vanqui-
shed seemeth to haue bene sufficientlie corrected. As
for the Scots, though it might appeare that their
force was greatlie abated, & that resistance should
little auail them: yet were they minded to die in
defense of their liberties, rather than to submit them-
selves vnto anie conditions of vile seruitude. The
words of these ambassadors being throughlie weighed
(though some toke them in great disdain) yet in the
end it was supposed that after victorie thus had a-
gaine the enemies, honorable conditions of peace
ought to be preferred before doubtful warre.

Wherevpon answere was made to the ambassa-
dors, that both the English and British people with
their

The English
men invade
Louthian, the
Brittains
Galloway.

The Scots
left comfort-
lesse.

The Bri-
tains as yet
kept posses-
sion of Cum-
berland, and
those other
counties sit-
ting by the
coast of those
west seas.
The victorie
vied cruellie.

A great manie
Englishmen
drowned.

Ambassadors
sue for peace.

Fortune is
brittle.

Some of the
Scottish
nobles
were
taken
prisoner
in the
battell.

Peace granted with conditions.

Articles of peace proposed.

The Forth called the Scottish sea.

Dunbryeton. It was called before Caer Breith, that is, the city upon Clide, as H. Lhoid holdeth.

Hofages are required.

The Scots mislike the articles of peace.

Calene his grave counsell taketh place.

Calene his grave counsell taketh place.

Calene his grave counsell taketh place.

The multitude contented unto Calene his sayings.

The Scots receive the peace.

their kings were contented to haue peace with the Scots (though it laie in their hands now to destroy the whole nation) if so be the Scots would agree to resigne aswell to the Englishmen as Britains all such lands and countries as they had now gotten into their possessions, without anie claime or title to be made to the same from thenceforth, either by them or anie of their posteritie, so that the water of Forth on the east halfe, should diuide the Scottish dominions from the confines of the Englishmen & Britains, and be called from that time euer after, the Scottish sea. On the west the water of Clide should diuide the Scottish lands from the Britains; the castell of Alcluth, standing at the mouth of the same river, to remaine in the hands of the Britains, from thenceforth to beare the name of Dunbryeton, that is to say, the castell of the Britains. And furthermore, that if anie of the Scots should attempt to passe the said bounds into anie of the British or English borders, he should die for that offense. And if by force of tempest it chanced anie of them to be driuen to land on the south shore, within anie of those parties, they should take nothing away with them but water or vittels, and depart within thre daies, except some reasonable cause of staie constrained them to the contrarie. Moreover, they should not fortifie anie towncs or castles on the frontiers nere to the English or British confines. And further, they should couenant to pay vnto the Englishmen and Britains, within the space of twentie years, the summe of one thousand pounds of siluer. For performance of which articles of agreement, the Scots should deliuer thescroue hostages, being the sonnes and heirs apparant of the chiefest noble men of all their realme and countrie. And if it so were that they misliked and refused anie of these articles, he commaunded that there should no other ambassadour come to him for anie other treatie of accord.

The ambassadours returning home, and declaring how they had sped, manie of the Scots thought the articles nothing reasonable for free people to accept; other iudged that either they must come to some agreement with the Englishmen and Britains, or els put the land in extreme perill. Thus had the people bene diuided into two contrarie opinions and factions, had not one Calene a noble man, bozne of high parentage, and gouernour of Angus, with sober reasons and strong arguments appeased this contention, perswading them to haue respect to the time. And first the force of the realme was so infested, abated, and brought vnder lot through aduerser fortune: better it was to yeld vnto necessitie in such part as that present, in hope after, when occasion serued to recouer the residue, than through obstinat wilfulnesse to lose the whole. For considering the present danger, it could be reputed no dishonour to receiue conditions of peace at the enemies hands, with these wanted not the like example of the Romans, who gladly accepted such articles of peace, as that noble prince king Gald appointed them: and yet it is not to be iudged, that there wanted men of great knowledge and wisdom amongst them, and such as regarded their honor, so far as was reason in any wise did reach.

The multitude moued with these wordes of Calene, whose grave authoritie (by reason of his age and countie) was of no small reputation amongst them, hauing lost nine of his owne sonnes in the last battell, they finally determined to follow his opinion in receiuing the same conditions of agreement which Dbert had prescribed: and thereupon sent againe their ambassadours with the hostages appointed for the establishing of the peace, in manner as is before rehearsed, which being straightlie accomplished in

such solemne wise, as in those daies and in the like cases was accustomed, Dbert set Donald with his nobles at libertie, sending them home together with the ambassadours, being earnestlie required so to do, both by the English lords, and also by the Britains.

The agreement being thus made, the lands were diuided betwixt the Englishmen and the Britains, in such sort as the Britains had for their part all that which lieth from Sterling vnto the west sea, betwixt the rivers of Forth and Clide, vnto Cumberland; and the Englishmen possessed the other parcels, lying from Sterling vnto the east sea, betwixt the Scottish sea and Northumberland: so that by this means, Clide water, Forth, and the Scottish sea (where Forth runneth into the maine sea) diuided the Scots from the Englishmen and Britains. And thus was the towne of Sterling a common march vnto those thre people; the same towne with the castell remaining vnto Dbert, as it was couenanted amongst other articles of this peace. Here (as the Scottish writers haue) he ordeined his mint, and his coiners of monie to inhabit, whereupon came by the name of Sterling monie: but therein they are deceived, for (as in the historie of England shall appere) that name came not in use till manie yerres after. Dbert also in this place caused a stone bidge to be made ouer the water of Forth, in stead of the wooden bidge which the Picts had made there, and was now pulled downe, and in the midst of this new stone bidge he set up a crosse, whereon were ingrauen these verses, to be read of the passers by:

Anglos a Scotis separat crux ista remotis.

Arma hic sunt Briti, sunt Scoti hac sub cruce tuti.

I am free march as passengers maie ken,

To Scots, to Britains, and to Englishmen.

The Picts which had bene with the Englishmen in this iourne, euer hoping to be restored to their lands and former possessions by Dbert, when they saw how he retained the same in his owne hands, appointing his subiects to inhabit therein, they doubted that which afterwards came to passe in deed, least the Englishmen or friends would now become enemies, seeking the destruction of the whole Pictish generation, thereby to assure themselves in the possession of those lands and linings, whereunto the Picts (as they thought) would euer make some claime and title, whilst anie of them remained alieue.

Upon this mistrust therfore did those Picts, which were amongst the Englishmen, make the best shift they could for themselves, so that manie of them got ships, and sailed into Norway and Denmarke, vnto their countreymen there: the other that could not make shift to get away, were laine anon after by the Englishmen, so that one of them was not to be found alieue within anie of the English dominions. And such was the end of the Picts that fled vnto the Englishmen for succour. In this meane time the Scottish king Donald being restored againe to his countrie, was receiued with more joy and honor than he had deserved, in hope yet by this scourge of apperle fortune, that he would haue reformed his former abuses. Neuertheless, he had not bene at home anie long time, but that he fell to his old vicious trade of life againe, removing from his countie such honorable personages as wished the better of his estate, with the aduancement of the common welth, to the reliefe and ease of his poore miserable subiects. At length the nobles of the realme, perceiving the danger that their countrie stood in, by reason of Donalds insolent misorder, vnder his rule and gouernement, they found means to apprehend him, and commit him into safe keeping. And the monstrous creature, within a few daies after he was

King Donald with the nobles and Englishmen agreed.

Donald was divided betwixt the Britains and Englishmen.

A bidge of stone made at Sterling.

Belenden shot. The Picts hope was broken.

The Picts went into Norway and Denmarke.

King Donald fell to his old vicious trade.

King Donald was apprehended.

was thus put in ward in great desperation due
himselfe, in the first yeare after he had begun his in-
fortunate reigne, and in the yeare of our Saviour
860.

The same yeare that the realme of Scotland was
brought unto such miserable state by the puissant
force of the Englishmen and Britains, as above is
rehearsed, there were sundrie wonders heard of in
the countrey; as in Louthian a child of one moneth
old and a halfe, admonished the mother to flie out of
that countrey: for it would come to passe, that the
enimies should come and take that region out of the
Scottishmens hands. Beasts also, as they were pa-
sturing abroad in the fields there, roaring after a
strange sort, suddenly died. Fishes likewise, in
shape resembling the figure of man, were found
dead in the sands of the Scottish sea. In Galloway
there fell such abundance of adders and snakes out
of the skie, that the aire being corrupted with the
fauour of them lying on the ground, both men and
beasts died of certeine diseases, which they took
through infection thereof.

Such as were accounted to be skilfull in diuina-
tion, affirmed that these things did signifie an in-
fortunate reigne, with an euill end vnto king Do-
nald, as afterwards it happened, who hauing made
away himselfe in prison (as before is exprest) Con-
stantine the sonne of king Kenneth was crowned
king at Scone, in the chaire of marble there, accord-
ing to the manner as then vsed. After his first en-
tering into the estate, he would gladlie haue gone in
hand with the wars against the Englishmen, to
haue recovered out of their possessions, those coun-
tries which they had lately taken from the Scots in
his predecessors time: but his counsell aduised him
otherwise, declaring that the state of the common-
wealth was so decayed by the misgouernance of his
said predecessor, that till the same were reformed,
and such intestine discords, as through licentious li-
bertie reigned amongst his subjects might be ap-
peased and quieted, there was no hope to atchieue a-
nie worthy enterprize abroad against forreigne e-
nimies.

Herevpon by their aduertisements and good ad-
uise, he deuised a reformation of all such disorders
as were growen vp in all parts of his realme: and
first for the spiritualtie, he ordeined that priests
should attend their cures, and not to intermeddle
with anie secular businesse, but to be free from go-
ing forth to the warres: neither should they keepe
horses, hatoks, or hounds. And if anie of them were
found negligent in doing his dutie appertaining to
his vocation, he should for the first fault forfeit a
peece of monie, but for the second he should lose his
benefice. For the youth of his realme he took order
(to bide them the better from wanton delights and
sensuall lusts) that none of them should haue past
one meale a day, and that of no fine or deintie deli-
cats, and to abstaine from all such drinke as might
distemper their braine, so that if anie young person,
either man or woman were knowne to be drunken,
they should die for it.

He commanded further, that all the youth of his
realme, should exercise running, wrestling, shoo-
ting, throwing of the dart and bowle: so to auoid
slothfullnesse, that their bodies might with such ex-
ercises be made the more able to endure paines and
trauell: and for the same purpose he took order, that
they should lie vpon the bare bodys, with one man
tell onelie thowen vnder them, so that they should
tast nothing neither by day nor night, that might
mouell them in anie wanton delights or effeminate
pleasures. It was also ordeined, that all such as
kept bittelling houses for banquetting there, should

be banished the realme, with those that kept brothell
houses. Thus were the Scots by obseruing of
these ordinances, made within short time of glut-
tions and excessive feeders, sober and temperate men:
of delicate and easfull persons, hard, tough, and able
to abide anie trauell or labor: were the same neuer
so painfull: and hereof the state of the common-
wealth began to grow to good perfection, so that
Constantines administration was liked of the most
part of all his subjects.

The first that went about to disquiet the prospe-
rous reigne of that worthy prince, was one Euan,
a man of an ancient house, & borne in the westerne
Isles. Such haue bene the vnquiet nature of the
Scottishmen, euen from the beginning, neuer to
be contented anie long time either with peace or
warre: for being once wearied with the charges
of the warres, they streightwaies with for peace;
and hauing in time of peace heaped together some
wealth, then can they not suffer the gouernement
of their superiours, but either are ready to fall out
with some forreigne enimie, or else to raise some
commotion amongst themselves. This Euan
therefore being the kings lieutenant of his castell of
Dunstaffage in Loughquhaber, practised a conspira-
cie against the king, with a number of other light
persons being gentlemen borne, mistaking the ad-
ministration of things, onelie for that they saw hold
their inordinat libertie to oppresse inferiour persons,
and to vse such wild and insolent misdeameour, as
they had done afore time, was now restrained by
lawfull iustice and execution of due punishment for
the same.

But as these conspirators went about to haue
moued the people of Loughquhaber, Murray
land, Kossle, and Cathnessle, to haue ioined with them
in their traitorous interpryse, some of them in whom
Euan put most trust, secretly aduertised the king
of all the whole matter, who gathering a competent
number of men together, made such speedie hast to-
wards Dunstaffage, where the chiefe captaine of the
rebels as then lay, that he came before the same yer-
anie inking were knowne to them within of his
approch. By meane thereof committing vpon them so
at vnwares, he had the castell sone at his pleasure;
and immediatlie herevpon caused Euan to be trus-
sed by on a high paire of gallows, for a spectacle to
all his complices. And furthermore, least the other
conspirators might prouide them of some other chiefe-
taine, he apprehended diuerse of the nobilitie that
were accused to be of Euans confederacie, the which
he put in strict prison, there to be safely kept, till the
peeres of the realme had determined with good deli-
beration, what should become of them. This busines
being in this wise appeased, when all men looked for
quietnesse, there suddenly followed a greater and
more pernicious trouble: for such is the course of the
world, that when men least thinke of mischief, they
fall oftentimes into most danger.

Cadane king of Denmarke, pretending a title to
all such lands as sometimes belonged to the Picts, for
that the residue of that nation which had escaped the
hands of the Scots and Englishmen, had resigned
vnto him all their right & interest of the same lands,
he determined in that quarrell (and in reuenge of the
injuries which the Picts alledged they had suffered)
to make warres both vpon Scots and Englishmen.
He caused therefore an huge number of ships to be
prepared, and a mightie armie of men to be put in
a readinesse, to passe in the same ouer into Albion,
vnder the leading of his two brethren, the one na-
med Hungar, and the other Hubba. These two chie-
fains hauing their ships and men with all prouision
appertaining once readie, took the sea, and sailed
forth.

houses be
much.

Scots were
made sober
and able to
abide hardnes

Euan disqui-
eted the king
and realme.

The vnquiet
nature of
Scottishmen.

Euan lieute-
nant of Dun-
staffage conspi-
red against
the king.

The king is
aduertised of
Euan his
treason.

The king co-
meth to Dun-
staffage with
an armie.

Euan is exe-
cuted.

Manie kept
in prison.

One trouble
followeth
another.

Cadane king
of Denmarke

The cause
that made the
Danes to
make warre
against Eng-
land and
Scotland.

A great nauie
sent into
Scotland.

forth till they came to the coasts of Scotland, where they took land within the countrie of Fife, before any tidings were heard of their coming thither.

The Danes
of great
crueltie.

The inhabi-
tants fled the
countrie.

They that
fled into Angay
Island were
slaine.

The uncerten-
tie of writers
in this matter
of these mar-
tyrs.

Constantine
assembled a
mighty army.

The Danes being set on land, spared no kind of crueltie that might be shewed against the inhabitants, and namely for that they had not as yet received the faith of Christ, they raged without all measure against priests, and religious persons, overthrowing and burning by churches and chapels, wheresoever they found any in their way. Whereupon the Englishmen that inhabited in Louthian, and the Scots that dwelled in Fife, left their houses & possessions, fleeing into other parties, where they thought they might best escape the hands of their new come adversaries. A great companie also of such vertuous and godlie persons, as about the same time laboured busilie in setting forth the word of life vnto the people in those parties, fled with one Adrian as then bishop of the Scottishmen, into the Island called Orkney, which lieth in manner in the midway of the passage ouer the Forth betwixt Fife and Louthian, where as then there was a famous monasterie of monks. But neither the reuerence of the place, neither the innocencie of those harmles creatures could restraine the Danes from polluting their wicked hands in murdering that deuout companie, as they were then esteemed.

This is that reuerend band of martyrs, which the Scottish people haue had in such reuerence in the foresaid Island of Orkney; a few names of some of that multitude as yet remaining in memorie amongst writers, as the foresaid bishop Adrian, Glodan, Caius, or (as others write) Ponanus archdeacon of Saint Andrews, and bishop Stolzard: the names of the residue are forgotten. ¶ Some there be that affirme how this companie were Hungarians, the which fleeing out of their countrie, from the persecution which was their exercised by men of misbelieve against the Christians, they arrived here in Scotland, and applied themselves to the instructing of the Scottishmen in the way of saluation. Other write that they were Scots and Englishmen thus assembled there together. But of whence soeuer they were, certaine it is that by custome they were become Scots, and instructed the Scots (as before is said) in the way of saluation. After this cruell slaughter thus by the Danes committed, they continued in their wood rage, as they passed through Fife and the other countries nere bordering vpon the same, till all the inhabitants were auoided out of their houses, either by flight or slaughter.

Constantine the Scottish king being kindled in the meane time with passing great displeasure, for these so notable iniuries receiued at the hands of the Danes, thought god with all speed to go against them, and to attempt the chance of battell before they had wasted any further within his dominions, so greatlie to the diminishing of his roiall power and estimation amongst his subjects. Whereupon leuening his people, and assembling a mighty host together, he passed forth with the same towards his enemies, the which were lodged in two seuerall camps, the one being distant from the other about a quarter of a mile, seuered in sunder with the course of a little riuer called Lethin, the which (vpon the approach of the Scots vnto that part of the campe that lay on the further side next vnto them) chanced to be railed on such height, thorough abundance of raine, that in two daies after vnneth it might be passed ouer at the fords.

After this soe and tempestuous weather, the aire cleared vp and waied verie faire and calme, giuing occasion to the Scots to worke their feat against one part of their enemies, whilst the other could not

come ouer vnto their aid and succour. In it is remys which lay on that side the riuer next vnto the Scots, Hubba was lodged, who did what he could to haue stated his men from issuing forth of the campe, to giue battell when the Scots drew nere to the same, and assailed all waies by prouoking the Danes with skirmishes to come forth and fight with them in plaine field. But notwithstanding all that he could doe, forth they rushed in such wise by plumps, and with so great noise and clamour, that the captiues were constrained of necessity to set them in order of battell, sith they would needs giue the onset vpon their present enemies.

The Danes did weare aloft vpon their armes; cer- teine linen garments, wrought with red silke, shew- ing faire and white both at hand and a far off. Their weapons were of such sort as serued for the push rather than for downe-right blowes, the points being of such a handsome strong fashion, that no armour might lightly hold forth against them. These kind of weapons, together with the miserie of their huge bodies, was dreadfull at the first for the Scottishmen to behold, as they marched towards them in araic of battell. But anon coming nere together ready to soine, the Scots manfullie taking to them new courages, set vpon the Danes with great violence, who likewise began the battell verie stoutlie, so that the same continued right fierce and cruell a good space. At length the Danes being assailed on each side, both afront before, and on their backs behind, oppressed as it were with multitudes, did throw downe their weapons and fled amaine. Spanie of them making towards their campe were overtaken and slaine, diuerse of them falling into the ditch were oppressed with throng, as well of their owne companie, as of their enemies, as they passed ouer them in following the chase, and struing to enter the campe vpon such as stood to defend them from entering. Other there were that leaping into the water in hope to get ouer, were drowned in the whirling waues of the streame; though some, through helpe of their fellows (which stood on the other side ready to haue passed the water, if they might so haue done without manifest danger of drowning) escaped and got ouer, amongst whom Hubba was one, to the great relieving of his brother Hungar, to see him thus deliuered twise from perill of death, as first from amongst his enemies, and secondlie out of the roying streame of that deepe and swift raging riuer.

The Scots hauing thus put one part of their enemies to the worse, with that hapie success took such comfort and immoderate ioy, as though they had bene now sure of victorie ouer all the residue; so that for two daies together, there was such dancing, singing, and piping amongst them, as the like hath not bene heard of. Sea so farre proceeded their insolent outrage, that they began to contend amongst themselves for the prisoners and spoiles, which they counted now their owne, as though already they had the same whole in their possession; and further reasond, not without altercation, whether the Danish captiues after they had them once in their hands, should be put to death, or els be kept aliuie to be shewed to the people in triumph or no. Great adoe and manie vaine wordes were spent hereabout, in such earnest sort, that they were at point to haue fallen out amongst themselves: but there was no mention at all made touching the ordering of their battells, and other the necessarie proceedings against their enemies. At length, when the riuer was fallen and come to his old course againe, so that it might easilie be passed. Constantine in order of battell got ouer with his people, to the other side where the Danes were lodged, who hauing more mind to set themselves in such order, whereby

whereby they might gaine the victorie, than to deusse for the diuiding of the spoile, perceiuing occasion now offered to giue the onset, forthwith araid their people in this sort.

Hubba with six thousand Danes, was placed in the right wing. The left was led by one Ruerne an Englishman bozne, who was fled out of his countrie, for that he could not beare such iniuries as Albert offered him in forcing his wife, to the great reproch and dishonor of his house and name. He had with him in this left wing certeine bands of Englishmen, with those that had escaped ouer into Denmarke (as before is mentioned.) Hungar with all the residue of the armie, kept the battell of middle ward, exhorting his men to shew their force & manhood that day, sith the same should either put them in possession of the whole land of Albion, with all the substance and riches contained therein, either else bying them perpetuall seruitude with ignominie amongst their most cruell and fierce aduersaries. He therefore himselfe openlie in presence of them all, vowed with solemne oth, either to returne with victorie to his campe, either else to die in the place, willing them all to make the like couenant. Whereby, on the vniuersall multitude allowed him so much for this his motion, that there was not one amongst the whole number, which agreed not to sweare the like oth. Constantine keeping in manner the like order, placed in the right wing his brother Ethus, in the left Duncane the lieutenant of thane of Athole, appointing to either of them ten thousand men a peece.

All the residue were set in the battell where he himselfe stood. And first he gaue them all hartie thanks in that they had so valiantlie atchiued the victorie in the last battell, requiring them now not to blemish their former glorie with anie faintnesse of courage, recreant cowardise, or dishonorable flight: and further he willed them in no wise to be asfeard of their enemies, in respect moze for their hugeness of bodie, than for anie of their valiant stoutnesse of heart: for if they assailed them with one whole and entire consent, according to their wonted forwardnesse & manlike prowes, they should quicklie put them to flight, and obtaine a full victorie. Wherewith he also warned them not to run rashlie vpon the enemies, but to suffer them first to giue the charge: for by that meanes he thought the Danes would with their earnest violence disorder themselves, and so should it be moze easie for the Scots to breake in amongst them.

But this deusse did not a little abate the Scottish mens courages. For the Scots vse is, when they shall enter into battell, to make a great shout and noise, and therewith to run vpon their enemies, by which meanes (as they suppose) they both put the enemy in feare, and encourage themselves to the battell. The Danes at the sound of the trumpet marched forth towards the Scots, where they stood thus in order of battell: but when they perceiued that the Scots came not forward, they also staid in the mid-way to refresh themselves, least at the joining they should be out of breath. Anon after, passing forward an easie pace, they shot quarrels, and threw darts at their enemies verie freshlie, and the Scots let flie at them againe with arrowes and darts as thicke as it had bene a storme of haille.

After this they rushed together with great violence on both sides: but within a while, the Danes had put both the wings of their enemies to flight, and after compassing the maine battell round about, they confreine the same in the end with great bloodshed and slaughter to giue backe and flie out of the field. Ten thousand Scots died that day in this unfortunate battell with Constantine himselfe, who being first taken was had into a caue by the sea side &

amongst the rocks, and there cruellie murdered by the enemies. The place was called certeine yeeres after, the blacke den: but now they name it the diuels den, in memorie of that heinous murder there committed. The Scottish nation also had bene bitterlie as then destroyed, had not Ethus the brother of Constantine, perceiuing how the field was lost, escaped awate with two companies of his best men of warre, so reseruing himselfe to the time of moze luckie fortune.

The people likewise doubting for want of a gouernor to be the soner ouercome by their enemies, did lead the said Ethus to Scone, where they crowned him king, in the yere after the birth of our Sautour 874, and the 13 after Constantine began to rule the estate of the realme. The same yere were manie wonders and vnketh sights seene with, in the Scottish dominions. In the mouth of the Forth, otherwise called the Scottish sea, there appeared fishes in great numbers, like vnto men in shape, swimming vp and downe in the streame with halfe their bodie above the water, and hauing a blacke skin, which covered their heads and necks, from their shoulders vpinwards like an hood. These are called Bassinates, and vse to go in great companies together, as though they were skulles of herrings, signifieng (when they are seene) some great misfortune vnto the countrie, as the common people haue long had an opinion. Also the loches, riuers, and all maner of other waters were frozen from the beginning of Nouember, till the latter end of April: and when the frost brake, and the snow melted, there was such a flood flowing ouer all the plaines euen to the roots of the mounteins, as the like had not bene seene. Furthermoze, when the same shunke and went away, in the mud and slime there was such a sort of frogs left, that when they were dead, and began to putrifie, the aire was so infected, that manie deadlie diseases ensued, whereof great numbers of the inhabitants did perish. Moreover, there was a mightie starre or comet seene with fire raies issuing forth of the same, which both night and day folowed the mane during the moneth of April, to the great horroz of all that beheld it.

But to proceed. The Danes (as is said) hauing banquished the Scots, and wasted the countrie of Fife, passed ouer into Louthian, where robbing and spoiling all before them, they pursued the inhabitants into Northumberland, whither they fled for refuge. Where the Danes being aided with certeine Englishmen in fauour of Ruerne, due in battell both Albert and Ella, kings of that countrie. The crueltie of the Danes was such after they had atchiued the victorie, that few escaped with life, but such as saued themselves by flight. But chieflie there rage appeared most against priests, and such as professed themselves men of religion. For the Danes being Ethniks, persecuted most egerlie those that in anie wise professed Christ. The like outrageous murdering of the christians was practised through out the countrie, and at length came vnto that blessed king saint Edmund, reigning as then ouer the people of the East Angles, as in the English historie moze plainlie maye appere. Whobeit other of the English kings maintained the warres with these Danes certeine yeeres after this, with variable fortune: the most part of their people which inhabited on that coast toward the Germane seas, either being slaine or brought into miserable bondage and thralldome. But Alured, which succeeded his brother king Edfred, not in the kingdome of Northfolke and Suffolke (as Hector Boetius affirmeth) but in the kingdome of the Westsaxons, rebeld a great part of this miserie, into the which the countrie was

is taken and murdered. The blacke den or caue.

Ethus brother vnto Constantine was saued by flight.

Ethus.

874.

Fishes like vnto men in shape.

Bassinates.

A long winter.

Frogs in the mud & slime.

A comet.

The Danes went into Louthian.

King Edfred & Ella slaine.

This crueltie inuaded Northfolke also.

King Alured rebeld those barons. Hector Boetius missebeth thus

diners mat-
ters touching
the report of
our histories.

**Ethus surna-
med Lightfoot**

**Ethus neg-
lected the op-
portunitye.**

**A conspiracie
made against
king Ethus.**

**King Ethus
is arrested,
with his fa-
uourers.**

**Gregorie is
chosen king.**

Gregorie.

876. H.B.
875. 10. Ma.

**A convocati-
on of the cler-
gie.
Priests are
free of all tri-
bute.**

**They should
not be called to
serve in the
warres.
Authority gi-
uen unto bi-
shops to order
kings.**

**They should
not be called to
serve in the
warres.**

thus brought by the Danes, by subduing them in sundrie conflicts, and slaying their two captains the foresaid Hungar and Hubba, as in the same English historie is further expessed.

But now to returne unto Ethus, I find that he was of such swiftnesse of foot, that he would match and make waie in running with harts and hounds, and thereupon was surnamed Lightfoot: but of what nimble lightnesse of bodie soeuer he was, truth it is that he was of disposition in mind vnfit to haue the order of anie publike regiment. For whereas he might haue recovered Fife and Louthian with other regions, whilst the Englishmen and Danes were together by the eares, he passed ouer that occasion, delighting more in following the pleasures of the bodie & sensuall lusts, than to bestow his time in feates of chualrie and other warlike exercises. The nobles of the realme perceiuing him thus to abuse the woorthie gifts of his person, mistrusting least his insolent doings should indamage the publike state of the common-wealth, they toke counsell together how they might apprehend him, and to send him some whither out of the waie where to be safely kept, and then to place some other in the gouernement of the realme, that might rule the same with more discreti- on & better aduise. And least their resolution should be disclosed before it toke effect, they slackt no time, but went speedilie about their businesse. And coming to the king, whome they found a hunting in Calidon wood, they suddenlie arrested him, and therewith committed him to safe keeping: & those whome they knew to be fauourers of his euill rule and mis- gouernance, they put them also fast in irons, till they had answered vnto such articles as should be laid to their charge. This done, they proceeded to the election of a new king; and in the end by the persuasion of one Dongall gouernor of thane of Argile, they chose Gregorie the sonne of that Dongall, which reigned before Alpine, who was not past two moneths old when his father died.

This Gregorie being knowne to be a man woorthie of the reame, though he himselfe onlie was against it, at length by perswasion receiued the inue- sture of the kingdom at Seone, with all due solemnitie. Ethus hearing thereof, through anguish of mind died within thre daies after, in the second yeere of his reigne, and 876, after the birth of our Saviour. There be that write how he was strangled in prison by Dongall his procurement, least by ad- uenture he might haue bene restored vnto libertie, and withall haue made claime to the crowne againe. Gregorie being thus established in the estate, con- sidering that the suertie of all realmes rested in the hands of the diuine maiestie, to begin his govern- ment with some luckie enterprise, caused a conuoca- tion to be holden at Forfar, for the aduancement of Christs religion: where amongst other things, it was ordeined, that priests from thenceforth (to the end they might more frelie attend to their vocation) should be exempt from paying of tribute and all man- ner of exactions. Also that they should not be con- strained to go vnto the warres, neither to come be- fore anie temporall iudges, but onlie before their or- dinaries and bishops, by whome they should be iud- ged in all causes. The same ordinaries and bishops should also haue authoritie to order all men, both publike and priuate, as well for the keeping of faith gi- uen, as to constrain them to confirme the same, and to punish such as should be found in the contrarie; likewise in causes of controuersie touching mari- monie, tithes, testaments, legacies, and such like: moreover the correcting of those that blaspheme ei- ther God or his saints.

Heretikes and necromancers, with other the like

offenders against the lawes and articles of the chri- stian religion, was assigned vnto the bishops and their substitutes, so that all those which were found ob- edient vnto them, and refused to be at their com- mandement, they should haue authoritie to excom- municate them out of the church, and from compa- nie keeping with anie of the congregation, so as they that were thus excommunicated, should be deprived of all abilitie to intoy anie inheritance or right to lands or possessions whatsoeuer they were. Neither should they be accepted as a witness in anie maner of cause, neither beare anie office or rule in the com- mon-wealth. This Gregorie also (as is said) was the first autho of that ordinance, by the which the Scottish kings at their coronation vfe of ancient cus- tome to vswre by soleinne oath, that during their liues, they shall mainteine and defend the church with his ministers, in all ancient liberties and priuileges, and not to suffer anie man to hurt or inringe the same.

There was suertie in this Gregorie a certaine na- turall inclination to vertue, with such aduisednesse in all his wordes, that he differed few or none but that the same seemed to be spoken with verie great con- sideration. He was neuer married, but continued in chastitie all his life time. Of meate & drinke he was verie spare, delighting in all kind of sobrietie, more watchfull than giuen to sleepe. But his fame increa- sed most for his mainteining of iustice and ciuill ad- ministracion concerning the state of the common- wealth, not omitting the practise of warre, where ne- cessitie required. The first expedition which he toke in hand, he made into Fife, to recover that countrie to the crowne of Scotland. At whose entrance into the same, the Bids, whome the Danes had left in those parties at their departure thence, being stricken with feare to fall into the hands of the Scots their ancient enemies, fled forthwith into Louthian, leaving Fife in manner void, and without anie that would offer to defend it against the Scots.

Whereupon Gregorie so finding it desolate of inhabitants, sent for people out of other parts of his realme, appointing them dwellings in that countrie as he thought most expedient. This done he passed into Louthian, where taking the fortresses and pla- ces of defense, some by force, and some by surrender, he easilie reduced that countrie into his subiection, so that within a few daies, hauing there all at his plea- sure, he came vnto Berwik, where there were a great number of Danes joined together with the Bids, as men not minding to doe anie further, but to fight with the Scots cūen there, if they should come forward vpon them. But when they saw what number the Scots were of, and hawewith doubting the Englishmen to come on their backs if the mat- ter went not well with them; they thought it best that such Danes as were of anie great reputation of nobilitie, should withdraw into Berwik before the enemies were at hand, and the residue to passe o- uer the firth into Northumberland, there to ioinie with other Danes that in those parties were latelie arrived.

But the Englishmen within Berwik, abhorring nothing more than to be vnder subiection of the Danes, in the euening after the receiuing of the Danish nobles into their towne, deliuered it toge- ther with their ghesse vnto the Scottishmen, who suf- fering the Englishmen at their pleasure either to go their waies with all their goods, or to remaine still in their houses, due the Danes, without sparing either man, woman, or child. When leauing a strong garri- son of Scottishmen within Berwik, Gregorie marched forth with the residue of his people into Northumberland, to bruite that countrie to other of his

when the
Scottish
kings had
gon to po-
mide by
maintain
libertie of
the church.

King Greg-
orie was
gouerned
godly.
King Greg-
orie was
married.

He made
expedition
into Fife.
The Bids
fled into
Louthian.

The king
inhabitant
in Fife.
He subdued
Louthian.

The Danes
and Bids
came toge-
ther.

They fled
into North-
umberland.

The Danish
nobles fled
into Berwik.

The Danes
are slaine
in Berwik.

his dominions that bordered vpon the same.

In those parties at that selfe time there were two armies lodged in the fields, the one of Danes not far from Boske, vnder the leading of one Herdunt, who had lately taken and sacked that citie, and the other of Englishmen that laie 30 miles off from the said Danes. Herdunt hearing of the slaughter which the Scots had made of his countreymen at Berwikke, threatened fore that he would not leaue a man aloue of the Scottish race within anie part of the confines of Albion. Which bow manie of the companie, following their capitaine example, likewise made. Shortly after, hearing of their enemies approach, the whole host (by commandement of Herdunt) issued forth of their campe to giue battell.

Here the Scottish king standing with his people in order of battell, had thought to haue used some comfortable speech vnto them, thereby to encourage them to fight: but such hast was made by the Scots to preece vpon their enemies, that he saw it more needfull to take heed to the ordering of them in perfect arate, than to stand about to exhort them, whome he saw ready inough of their owne accord to fight. Therefore he said no more vnto them, as he went amongst the ranks, but onelie willed them to remember how cruellie Constantine their king was sometime murdered, after he had yielded himselfe prisoner to these enemies, with whome they should now ioint.

The Scots herevpon running to the battell with no lesse stoutnesse of mind than violent force, gaue their enemies scarce space to charge their weapons, but bare them downe with long speares and iavelins, and withall the bilmen following them made great slaughter on ech side, so that there needed neither exhortation of capitaine, nor diligence of soldiers to keepe them in arate. For the wrathfull stomachs of the soldiers onelie wrought the feat in such sort, that the Danes were quicklie put to flight and chased. Those that could not escape to the campe, got them vnto the next mountaine, who chanced vpon better lucke than those that escaped to the campe, for the egerneesse of the Scots was such in chasing the enemies, that neither ditch nor rampire could staie them from entering the campe vpon the Danes where they made greater slaughter than they had done in the field.

The next daie Herdunt goeth about to assemble his men togither againe, being dispersed here and there: but when he understood how he had lost the more halfe of his whole host, he cursed that unhappie day, and determined to retire vnto Kassin, who at then was capitaine generall of all the Danes that were in England. But Herdunt by reason of his wounded men, whome he was faine to carie with him, could not make forward with anie great speed, so that he was scarce fortie miles got forth on his waie, when word came to him, that Kassin fighting with the Englishmen vnto warlike, at a place called Helcabes, chanced to be slaine with a great multitude of his people: and therevnto his head was caried abroad vpon and downe the countrie from towne to towne to be seene. By such mishaps the prosperitie of the Danes so much flourishing of late, began now manifestlie to decaye.

Herdunt although he was not a little discouraged herewith, yet he chose forth a plot of ground most meet for his purpose, where he determined to abide in campe, till he might understand what the Danes in other places were minded to do. But Gregorie king of Scots, hauing thus expelled the Danes south of Boskethumberland, brought that countie vnder his subiection: neuertheless he permitted the inhabitants to intop all their possessions still, as he did

ceitning of them in name of soueraintie a pærelie tribute. So that within a few daies after, he brake vpon his armie, and went himselfe into Berwikke, where he remained all the winter season in consultation with his nobles about the publike affaires of the realme.

In the beginning of the next summer, he prepared againe for warre, and raising an armie, he purposed to make a iourneie against the Britains, who held (as before ye haue heard) a great part of Scotland. But he was not driuen to vse anie force in this warre: for the Britains being bered afore this time with warre by the Danes, had compounded with them for an huge summe of monie to haue truce for twentie yeres space: but the Danes without regard to their promise, shortly after (with a greater power than at the first) entered into the British borders, renewing the warre so fiercelie, that albeit their force was sore enfebled, by reason of the two last overthrowes; yet the Britains doubting the worst, feared to encounter with them, and therefore after consultation had, they thought it best to assaie if they might happilie allure the Scots, of their enemies to become their friends. Herevpon sending vnto the Scottish king an herald, they require to ioint with them in armes against the Danes, common enemies to both their countries, promising that if they would so do, they would willingly render into his hands all such possessions which they held at anie time belonging vnto the Scottish kingdome.

Gregorie weening with himselfe how necessarie this friendship should be, not onelie to the publike weale of all the whole land of Albion, but also of the good suertie and aduancement of Christiens religion, whereof the Danes were græuous aduersaries (for this he thought, that if Scots, Englishmen, and Britains did ioint in one, and knit themselves togither in aiding each other, there was no nation in the world that they needed to feare) he consented vnto the request of the Britains, and so accepting their offer, he had all those regions which pertained sometime to the Scots, and were now in possession of the Britains, surrendered into his hands, and so by this means were the Scottish confines enlarged and extended vnto their owne ancient limits and former bounds.

This dissention and variance being ceased after this manner, it greatlie reioised the minds of all the inhabitants of this Ile; but contrariwise, the Danes looked for nothing more than present destruction to insue vpon them, if this amitie should continue anie while amongst their enemies. Wherefore they practised sundrie means to breake th amitie thus remaining betwixt their aduersaries, Scots, Englishmen, and Britains. Wherein they needed not greatly to trauell, for within a short time after the conclusion of the same league, the prosperous successe of the Englishmen (which for a season had followed them vnder the conduct and gouernement of their king Alured against the Danes) occasioned the Britains also (hauing now no further feare of the Danish puissance) to repent themselves of the league, which they had lately made with the Scots, so that Constantine, whome a little before they had receiued to be their king after the decaie of his father, raised a power, and with the same entered into Armandale, to recouer that countrie out of the Scottish mens hands. But hearing in the end that Gregorie was coming with a great armie to succour his subiects, whome the said Britains on each side had sore afflicted, they began to draw backe towards Camberland with their botie, thinking there to be in safetie, vntill a time more conuenient.

But king Gregorie coasting the countrie, met with

tants of Boskethumberland to intop their lands.

King Gregorie wintered at Berwikke.

King Gregorie prepared an armie against the Britains.

The Britains send to king Gregorie.

King Gregorie his consideration.

A peace concluded, and lands surrendered to the Scots.

The Britains repent them of the league made with the Scots.

The Scots
ouerthrow the
Britains.

Constantine
is slaine.

Herbert king
of Britaine
sent ambassa-
dours to Gre-
gozie.

King Grego-
rie his an-
swers.

Gregozie re-
quired a refi-
gation of
Cumberland
and Westmer-
land.

Peace was
concluded.

Humf. Lhoid.
870.

with them at Lochmaben, and there gaue them bat-
tell, wherein when Constantine perceiued how his
people began to shrinke backe, as one hauing more
regard to his honoz than to the suertie of his life, he
rushed forth into the foremost pzeale, there to succour
and relieue his standards: but being compassed a-
bout amongst a great companie of his enimies,
his chance was there to be slaine with a number of
the chiefe lords of all the British nation. The other
multitude seeing the day go thus against them, fled
to saue their liues, leauing the victorie so vnto the
Scots.

This ouerthrow did put the Britains in danger to
haue bin vnterly ouerrun, what by the Scots on the
one side, and Danes on the other: for as for foren aid
to be looked for of the English, they had plaine an-
swer they should haue none, sith they had so vntu-
lie broken the league concluded with their confede-
rats the Scots, to the great hinderance of the pro-
perous proceedings of all the inhabitants of this
Ile, against their common enimies the Danes.
Yet the better to establish the estate of their coun-
trie, and in hope of some recouerie of their former
damages; they crowned to their king one Herbert
or (as some copies haue) one Hebert the brother of
the last Constantine, and herewith sent ambassa-
dours vnto Gregozie king of the Scottismen to ex-
cuse themselves, in that they had so wrongfullie at-
tempted the warres against him and his people,
laing all the fault in Constantine, who against the
wills and contrarie to the minds of his subiecs, did
take vpon him that dishonorable and most infortu-
nat enterprise.

Gregozie hauing heard the message of these am-
bassadors, for answer declared vnto them, that
he vnderstood well enough, that the Britains now
sued for peace vpon no reuerend consideration they
had vnto their oaths of couenant; but knowledg that
they saw how if they should pursue the warre still,
they were sure that in the end they should be like to
haue the soile: and therefore he was fullie thus resol-
ued, not to conclude any peace or truce with such
disloyall people, till they had resigned ouer into his
hands the whole possession of the countries of Cum-
berland and Westmerland, with assurance neuer to
pretend any claime or title vnto those dominions
from thenceforth: and herewith for performance of
couenants, to render into his hands not onelie the
heies of all the towne, castles and fortresses in the
same countries, and to auoid quite their waies into
Wales to othe their countrymen there, but also to
deliuer sirtie noble mens sonnes and heires appa-
rant as pledges to remaine with the Scots.

The ambassadors returning home with this
message, and reporting it accordingly vnto their
king, when all men had said their aduise, in the end
they condescended to conclude a peace with the
rehearsed conditions prescribed by the Scottish
king, sith they saw no better meane to preserve their
nation from present destruction. And thus deliue-
ring the appointed number of pledges, they left the
countries of Cumberland and Westmerland void,
surrendering into the Scottismens hands the pos-
sessions of all the towne, castles and fortresses, and
therewith departed into Northwales, where they
placed themselves in the countrie betwixt Contway
and the riuer of Deu, out of the which they expelled the
Englishmen (that were then in possession thereof)
and therewith they erected a kingdome there, which
they named Stradelind, maintaining warres a-
gainst the Englishmen manie yeares after.

King Gregozie hauing thus enlarged his king-
dome, assembled his nobles at Carleill, where he
resolved (with their aduise) to follow such good for-

tune as by Gods prouidence shalliche chanced vnto
them. Wherevpon it was agreed, that they should
go first vnto Powke to conquire that citie, whilst
the Englishmen in Kent were occupied with the
Danes that were come thither; so as neither the
one nation nor the other could attend to make any
attempt to hinder the Scottismens enterprise. But
in the meane time came ambassadors vnto Gre-
gozie from king Alured, to congratulat his prosper-
ous successe against his enimies the Danes and o-
thers. These ambassadors also willed to haue the
ancient league betwixt Englishmen and Scots re-
newed, by which means both their powers might
ioine together against their common enimies, when
they should attempt any wrongfull inuasion.

This request was granted, so that shortly there-
vpon peace was established betwixt those princes
and their people, with confirmation of the old league,
thereto were added these articles; That the Scots
should inioy possession of Northumberland without
any claime to be made to the same by the English-
men; If the Danes chanced to inuade either of their
dominions, the warre should be accounted as com-
mon to them both; Neither should the Scots grant
passage to any enimie of the Englishmen through
Scotland, neither the Englishmen suffer the Scot-
tismens enimies to passe through England; If any
Englishmen did rob or steale any thing out of
Scotland, that should not breake the league; but the
offenders with the receivers should be deliuered to
the Scottish magistrats, to be punished according to
the qualitie of the offense; and the like should be ob-
serued by the Scots towards the Englishmen.

Thus things being quieted with the Englishmen,
as Gregozie was about to lay armour aside, word
came to him of new troubles forth of Galloway, by
reason of an inuasion made by the Irishmen into
that countrie. For the Irishmen hauing knowledge
that the inhabitants of Galloway had spoiled two
ships of Dublin arriuing on their coast, sent ouer a
great power of men, the which landing in Galloway,
made great slaughter of the people on each side.
King Gregozie being aduertised hereof, straightwaies
made towards them, but they hauing knowledge
of his coming drew to their ships with a great prey
of goods and cattels, and returned therewith imme-
diatlie backe into their owne countrie.

Wherevpon Gregozie without delay got together
his ships and followed the enimie with all his armie,
and landing in Ireland, put the nobles of that realme
in great feare, who as then were in contention to-
gether which of them should haue the gouernement, by
reason their king was lately dead, and had left a
sonne behind him being but a child in yeeres, to suc-
ceed him in his throne. Some therefore of the wisest
sort, and such as tendered the wealth of their coun-
trie, went earnestlie about to agree the parties, but
when they saw that it would not be, they did so much
pretiaile, that a truce was taken betwixt them for
a while, least fighting still amongst themselves, they
should put their countrie in danger to be ouerrun
of the Scots; against whome when they had agreed vpon
the foresaid truce, either of the factions raised a
power, one Ben being generall of the one, and Con-
nelius of the other; for these two princes were heads
of the parties, betwixt whom the controuersie for the
gouernement of the realme rested, and therevpon by
consent of the residue had the leading of all them
that were of their faction.

These two capitains with their armies incompassed
themselves vpon the banke of the riuer Bane, be-
tween the mountaine called Fute: their camps being
seuered by a small distance the one from the other,
in such a strong place, that it was not possible for
the

The politie of
the Scots
haue taken
vpon
ye.

King Alured
sent ambassa-
dours vnto
king Grego-
zie.

Peace con-
cluded.

New crea-
tions of peac-

As passage to
be granted
vnto the eni-
mie.

Southwales
of robbers.

Galloway is
raided by the
Irishmen.

A truce was
taken betwixt
the two
parties.

The two Ir-
ishmen ge-
ther their
powers.

Two armies
one nearer the
other.

the enimies to approach them without manifest danger to cast away themselves. Their chiefe purpose was to prolong the time here in this place, till they had furnished the Scottish armie, and then to deale with them at their pleasure. But the industrious prouision of Gregorie passed the politike deuise of the Irishmen: for he had commanded that euerie one of those Scottishmen, which passed the seas with him, should purueie himselfe of vittels, according to the custome of the countrie, for fittie daies space, as of bread, chiese, butter, lard, and powdered bieffe: as for drinke, they knew they should not need to care, sith they were sure to find water inough in euerie place where they chanced to come: for as yet filthie & seruile gluttonie had not softened nor inured with wanton delicacie the warlike natures of the Scottish people.

In the end Gregorie, hauing for certeine daies rested himselfe and his men, and deuising in the meane time which way he might best indamage the enimies; at length concluded to send in the night season two thousand of his souldiours vp to the ridge of the forenamed mountaine called Jute, through the thicke bushes and woods, wherewith the same was couered, to the end that getting to the top of that hill, right ouer where the Irish camps laie, they might in the morning (at what time Gregorie with the rest of the armie went about to assaile his enimies) tumble downe stones from the byowes of the hill vpon them, thereby either to destroy great numbers of them, either else to constrain them to come south of their strength into the plaine fields, and so to fight with them in a place indifferent.

Kenneth Cullan the thane of Carrike, toke vp on him to haue the conduct of them that should go about this interprise, who conueieng his band ouer the water of Bane, and so vp on the backside of the mountaine, in the morning when their felows fell in hand to assaile the Irish campe, where Wren lodged, they tumbled such plentie of mightie stones downe vpon the Irishmen, that aboue a thousand of them being slaine, all the residue were forced to forsake their ground, & to flee in maner without anie stroke stricken. The Scots that were sent to pursue them, toke a great number of them prisoners, and due but a few, hauing befoze hand such commandement from their prince.

Whilest this mischiefe fell vpon Wren and his people, Cornelius with his folkes culling that infortunate daie, left their lodgings, and marched their waies in good order of battell, till they were farre inough out of danger. The bodie of Wren also was found amongst other in the rising of the campe, with the head bruised in peeces, and the bzaines pashed out with some stone throwne downe by the Scottishmen from the hill side: which Gregorie at the request of some of the prisoners, caused to be buried in chistian sepulchre. He caused also women and children to be sent awaie harmlesse, onelie retaining the men of able age prisoners. Furthermoze he commanded that they should vse neither fire nor sword, but against such onelie as with weapon in hand made anie resistance: and commanded them also that they should prouide themselves of vittels to serue them, whilest they should lie abroad & remaine there in that countrie.

Hereupon manie of the Irish people thus tastig the mercifull clemencie of the Scottish king, yielded themselves vnto him with sundrie fortresses, so that Gregorie finding sufficient prouision of vittels to serue his host for a long season, he went vnto the strong citie of Doungarg, or Doungard, which he enuironed about with a strong siege, & continuing the same certeine daies, at length they within wearied

with continuall trauell and lacke of vittels, opened the gate, and suffered him to enter. He would not permit his men to meddle with anie of the spoile, but appointed the townelemen to redeeme the same (their armour excepted) of his souldiours for a peece of monie.

Afterward, tarieng in this citie by the space of thre daies, he departed and came afore another citie called Pontus, which he receined by surrender, and therfore preserued the citizens from all hurt & annoyance. From thence he purposed to haue gone vnto Dublin, about 14 miles distant from Pontus, but as he marched thitherwards, he was aduertised that Cornelius was comming towards him with such an huge armie, as the like had not bene sent with, in the memorie of man in that Ile. Whereupon Gregorie changing his purpose of going to Dublin, vpon report of these newes, he got him vp into the next mountaine.

The next day came the Irishmen ranged in thre battels. In the first there was a great multitude of Barnes with darts and bowes: in the second were a great number of mightie tall men, armed in cotes of male, with bucklers and great long swords, which they caried vpon their right shoulders. In the third battell, wherein stood their generall Cornelius, with all the chiefe nobles of the countrie, were an infinite companie of all sorts of souldiours, chosen forth of all the whole numbers. The Scots (according to their custome) diuided themselves into two wings, and a middle ward, in euerie of the which were thre sorts of souldiours: as first archers, and those with long speares, then bilmen, and last of all such as bare long swords and leaden mallets.

Thus the battels being ordered on both parts, forward they make one towards another to begin the fight. The Scots (after their shot and thzowling of darts was spent, and that they came to ioine) kept off their enimies with long speares or ianelins, in such sort, that they were not able to come nere them: which disadvantage Cornelius perceiuing, commanded on high, that they should with their swords cut those ianelins in sunder. And as he lifted vp the visor of his helmet, the better to exhort his people to the execution hereof, he was so wounded in the face with a speare, that he was faine to withdraw apart out of the field. The Irishmen supposing he had fled, incontinentlie to saue themselves, threw off their armor and fell to running awaie. Thus did the victorie incline to the Scottish standards.

There died but a few (to speake of) in the battell, howbeit in the chase there was a wonderfull number slaine: for the Scots pursued them euen vnto Dublin gates, which citie the next daie Gregorie beset on each side with a mightie siege. There was got into this citie at the same time a wonderfull multitude of people, what of such as were receined into it fleeing from the battell, as also of other which were there assembled befoze, in hope of assured victorie and safeguard of their goods. By reason wherof being thus besieged, they began quicklie to want vittels, so that either they must of necessitie yeld, either else by some issue auoid that danger wherein they were presently belwapped.

But forsomuch as they saw no great likelihood of good successe in that exploit, in the end it was concluded amongst them, that (sith there was no meane for those noble men which were inclosed within that citie to escape the enimies hands, and that there were none other of anie reputation abroad able to defend the countrie from the Scottishmens puillance) they should fall to some treatie with the Scottish king for a peace to be had, with so reasonable conditions as might be obtained: for other remedie in that present

The towne was yielded,

A gentle ransom.

Pontus was surrendered also.

Cornelius came with an huge armie.

The Irishmen came in thre battels. Barnes. These might we name Galloglasses, if they had bene furnished with spees.

The Scots came in two wings.

Two battels ioine.

Cornelius was sore wounded.

The Irish ran away.

Dublin was besieged.

They consulted vpon a treatie of peace to be made.

sent mischief they could devise none, and therefore this was iudged the best waie of the whole number, namelie of Cozmach bishop of Dublin, a man for his singular vertue and reputation of bysight life, of no small authoritie amongst them.

Cozmach B.
of Dublin
went vnto R.
Gregorie.

Duncane.

A Wittie
saing.

King Grego-
rie his wife &
godly answer.

Dublin is fur-
rendered vnto
R. Gregorie.

Gregorie was
receiued with
procession.

Cozmach bi-
shop of Dub-
lin becometh a
crosse-bearer.

He kisseth the
crucifix.

He entred the
castell.

A peace con-
clused with
Ireland.

He toke vpon him also to go vnto Gregorie to breake the matter, & so comming afore his presence, besought him most humbly to haue compassion vpon the poore miserable citie, and in such sort to temper his wrath, if he had conceiued anie peere of displeasure against the citizens, that it might please him yet vpon their humble submission to receiue them vnto his mercie, and further to accept into his protection his couline yong Duncane, vnto whome the kingdome of Ireland was due of right, as all the world well vnderstood. He besought him also to remember, that it appertained more to the honor of a king, to preserue the lawfull right of other kings and princes with the quiet state of cities and countries, than by violent hand to seeke their destruction.

There vnto the king answered, that he was not come into Ireland for anie couetous desire he had to the realme, or to the intent to spoile his kinsman of the gouernement thereof, but onely to reuenge such iniuries as the Irishmen had done to his subiects. Not the Scots but the Irishmen themselves were they that had giuen the occasion of the warre, which they had deseruie bought with no small portion of their blood (which had bene shed) as punished for that crime worthilie by the iust iudgement of almighty God. But as touching an end to be had of his quarrell, & for the referuing of the kingdome vnto yong Duncans behofe, when he had the citie at his pleasure, he would then take such order as he should thinke most conuenient.

This answer of the Scottis king being reported vnto them within the citie, they determined forthwith to set open their gates to receiue him: who, when he had caused search to be made whether all things were truelie ment according to the outward shew or not, he marched forth towards the citie to enter the same in order of battell, with all his whole armie, into the which he was receiued with procession of all the estates: for first there met him all the priests and men of religion, with the bishop the foresaid Cozmach, who hauing vpon him his pontificall apparell, bare in his hand the crucifix: then followed the nobles with the other multitude.

Which order when Gregorie beheld, he commanded his battell to staie a little, and therewith he himselfe aduanced forth on foot till he came to the bishop, and falling downe vpon his knees, he reuerentlie kisseth the crucifix, wherevpon receiuing humble thanks with high commendation of the bishop for such his clemencie, he entered the citie, not staing till he came into the market place, where commanding one part of his armie to keepe their standing, he went with the residue vnto the church of our ladie, and after to that of saint Patrike, where hearing the celebration of diuine seruice, when the same was ended, he entered the castell, where his lodging was prepared. In the morning he caused execution to be done of certeine vncle persons of his armie, who in the night passed had broken vp the houses of some of the citizens, and rauished diuerse women. And for this act Gregorie being had in high reuerence of the Irish people, lodged part of his armie within the citie, and part he commanded to lodge without in the campe.

At length hauing remained a season in this estate at Dublin, he caused the Irish lords to assemble in counsell, where in the end the peace was concluded betwixt him and them, with these articles and conditions. First it was agreed that the yong king

Duncane should be brought vp vnder the gouernement of wise and discret persons, to be instructed in all princelie knowledge, within a strong castell, (wherein he had hitherto remained euer since his fathers decease) till he came to yeeres of discretion. And that in the meane time Gregorie should haue the gouernance of the realme, receiuing all the fortresses into his possession. He should also haue the appointment of the magistrates, who should see iustice ministred according to the old statutes & ordinances of the Irish kingdome. That the Irishmen should receiue neither Englishman, Britaine, nor Dane, into their countrie, nor so much as for trade of merchandize, without safe conuoy to be granted by him. So that things being thus brought to a quietnesse in Ireland, he receiued an oth of the chieftest of them for performance of the covenants, and here- with taking with him these hostages, he returned with his victorious armie backe into Scotland.

After this there chanced no notable trouble to the Scots, neither forreine nor ciuill, by all the time of king Gregories reigne, so that passing the rest of his life in quietnesse, he studied chieflie for the politike gouernement of his people in god order and rule, to the aduancement of the common-wealth: and finally died an happie old man, in a castell called Doundoe within the countrie of Carloth, in the 18 yeere after his entring into his estate, and after the birth of our Sauisur 893. He was neuer married, but liued in continuall chastitie: for his famous victories and other his princelie doings, he deserued of the Scots to be numbered amongst their most high and renowned princes. Amongst other his princelie acts which he set forthward in his life time, to the adorning of his countrie and common-wealth, Aberdine (of a village) was aduanced by him to the state and dignitie of a citie, and the church there indowed with faire reuenues, and sundrie priuileges. His bodie was conueied vnto the abbey of Colmekill, and there buried with all solemne pompe and eseques: over the which his next successor, Donald the first of that name, caused a faire towne to be erected.

In the daies of this Gregorie also, there liued that famous cleark John Scot, a Scottis man in deed borne, but brought vp in studie of god literature at Athens, where hauing learned the Græke tongue, he was sent for into France, to come vnto the emperor Lewis, with whom he remained in seruice for a time: and by whose commandement he translated the booke of saint Dionysie, intituled Hierarchie, into Latine. Afterwards being sent ambassadoe from the same Lewis vnto Alured or Alfred king of England, he continued with him and taught his children, hauing a place thereto appointed him within the abbey of Malinesburie, where he had such resort of hearers and scholars, that it was a wonder to behold. Notwithstanding, at length when he ceased not to blame and sharpe to reprove the corrupt manners of such his scholars, as were giuen more to libertie than learning, he was by them murdered with daggers, as he was reading vnto them, and was afterwards registred amongst the number of martyrs.

But to our purpose. After Gregorie succeeded Donald the 5 in gouernement of the kingdome, he was the sonne of Constantine the second, who finding the state of the realme in god quiet and flourishing in wealth, he applied his whole studie to maintaine the same in semblable plight and condition. And before all things he caused iustice to be onlie ministred, so that no iniurie, speciallie if it were done to anie poore person, escaped unpunished. Christ the Lord of all vertue had giuen him such a godlie disposed

disposed mind, whose religion (to the advancement of his glorie) he had euer in high veneration. Among other his godlie ordinances, he made this statute to be obserued as a law, that such as by swearing vnauulie blasphemed the name of almightie God, or in cursing and banning called vpon the name of the wicked fænds, and betoke anie christian creature vnto his hellish power and domination (a vice naturalie following the people of that nation) should haue his tounge thrust through with a burning iron. But two 10 worth the negligence of such as haue succeeded him, in suffering so necessarie an ordinance to be abolished and woone out of vse, considering the horrible othes and blasphemie, with the bitter and dreadful cursings so much frequented of all estates in this our time, as well in Scotland as elsewhere, as without great hozor of the hearers cannot be halie expelled.

But to our purpose touching the gouernement of Donald, it chanced afterwards, that he had knowl- 20 ledge how Gormond a Dane was landed with a puissant armie vpon the coasts of Northumberland, and had pitched his campe nere vnto the shore, with out doing anie damage to the countrie: so that it was vncertaine what he intended, whether to begin a conquest there, or to passe ouer Humber to make warres on the Englishmen. To pzeuent therefore all dangers, Donald hastened towards Northumber- land; howbeit he was not farre forwards on his iour- nie, but that word came to him, how Gormond was 30 already passed ouer Humber, and entered into the English borders. But yet did not Donald staie his iourne, till he heard certeinlie that Gormond keep- ing vpon his way, was aduanced forward at the least 40 miles off from the riuer of Humber, doubting least happilie he had ment some deceit, as sud- denlie to haue returned vpon the Scots in Northumberland, when the king had bene once gone backe.

But now, when it was knowne that his purpose 40 was onelie to assaile the English countries, according to the league newlie confirmed, Donald sent 5000 Scottishmen vnto the aid of the Englishmen; and also appointed two thousand hoisemen to remaine with him in Northumberland (where he staied for a time) discharging the residue, & licencing them to returne vnto their homes. Shortly after Gormond fought with Alured at Abingdon, where in the end the victorie abode with the Englishmen and Scots, though the same was got with such losse of men after long and doubtfull battell, that they were not able to pursue the enimies in chase, but constrained immediatly after to conclude a necessarie peace 50 with them, on condition that the Danes should enioy common seats with the Englishmen in Albion, & that Gormond with his Danes should be baptised and proffesse the christian religion. Herevpon also were pledges deliuered on both parts, and Gormond comming to receiue baptisme had his name changed and was called Althelfane, during whose life the peace continued betwixt the two nations.

Whilist things passed thus in England, there rose a peece of trouble betwixt the inhabitants of Pur- 60 rep land and Koffe, which disquieted king Donald not a little. The occasion grew by reason of certein theues, which comming forth of Koffe in the night time, secretlie entered into Purrep land, to fetch booties from thence. At the first they of Purrep land made resistance against them as well as they might, but after calling their neighbours to aid them, they skirmished in such wise, that within two moneths space, there were slaine betwixt them two thousand of the one side and of the other. Donald being not a little offended to haue his peace broken with intel-

tine discord, gathered a great power, and with the same halied into Purrep land: where calling the chiefest doers and maintainers of this businesse to make answer to that which was laid to their charge, when they were not able to cleare themselves of the crime, he put them to open execution of death, to the example of other. This trouble being in this sort quieted, he went into Northumberland, to be there in a readinesse, if the Danes or Englishmen (whome he suspected) should attempt anie thing against his subiects in those parties: where in the end, after he had reigned almost 11 yærs, he departed this world. His bodie was buried in Colnehill amongst his ancestors, with a marble tome set ouer his graue, as the manner in those daies was customabie vied.

After Donald the first, there succeeded in rule of the realme Constantine the third of that name, the sonne of Ethus the swift, beginning his reigne in the yeere after the incarnation 903. He was more apt for ciuill gouernement, than for the ordering of warlike affaires. King Edward that latelie succeeded Alured in rule ouer the Englishmen being ware thereof, sent vnto him an herald at armes, commanding him to restore vnto his subiects the Englishmen, the countries of Northumberland, Cumber- land, & Westmerland (which the Scottish king Gregorie had in times past by occasion of the trouble, some season taken from the right owners by force) either else to lake for warres at his hands within 30 fortye daies after this summons.

Constantine herevnto answered, that if king Edward were minded to make him wars for those lands which he held by rightfull title, he with his people would be readie to defend themselves, hoping in the almightie God that he would turne the punishment on them that vniustlie had piked the quarrell. Herevpon ensued manie rodes and forraies betwixt the Englishmen and Scots, made (as occasion serued) into eche others countrie, with diuers skirmishes and light bickerings for twelue moneths space together, without anie notable encounter of their maine powers. In which meane time the Danes increased in puissance, more than was thought requisite for the suertie either of the Englishmen or Scots, which moued king Edward by perswasion of his nobles, to make meanes vnto Constantine to haue the peace renewed: wherevnto Constantine lightlie agreed: so that the league was confirmed againe with the former articles betwixt the English and Scottish nations.

Shortly after also the warre was renewed betwixt the Englishmen and Danes, and a peace againe confirmed by conclusion of a marriage betwixt Sithrike king of Northumberland, and Beatrice daughter of king Edward, till at length Sithrike was poisoned by his wife the said Beatrice: and then because Anaslatus (whome the English writers name Aulafe) and Godtrie, the sonnes of Sithrike, put the same Beatrice to death, hir father king Edward moued warre against them, and in foughten field discomfited them, but was slaine in that battell himselfe (as Hector Boetius saith.) But for the further truth of this matter, ye may read more in the historie of England.

The Danes being certified, that king Edward was thus slaine, conceived such hope of good successe after to come, that albeit they were at this time vanquished, they immediatlie made new preparation for the warre, and first of all Anaslatus the one of the two brethren before mentioned, sent vnto Constantine the Scottish king, to allure him to ioine with them against the Englishmen, which with great gifts and large promises he easilie brought to passe, the league notwithstanding which remained betwixt 60 the

The king went with an armie into Purrep land.

The chiefe doers were put to death. The king went into Northumberland.

Donald died.

Constantine.

Constantine the third.

903.

King Edward sent an herald with defiance.

The answer of king Constantine.

Forerewnings of war.

The peace was renewed and the league confirmed.

The Danes were discomfited.

The Danes conceive hope of good successe.

The Scots are false to the Englishmen.

The Scots
and Danes
confederate
themselves to-
gether.
Malcolme is
made chiefe
general of the
armie.
He is created
also here ap-
parant.
The earle of
Cumberland
here appa-
rant to the
king of Scots.
The Scots
and Danes
ioine their
powers to-
gether.
They begin a
cruell warre.

Athelstane
bath some bnt
to king Ed-
ward.

Athelstane
came against
the Scots.
937.

The Scots
and Danes
out of order.

The Scots
and Danes
ouerthrowne.

The nobilitie
went to
wacke.

Athelstane
toke For-
thumberland.

Westmerland
and Cumber-
land recon-
red.

Malcolme
escaped his
hurt.

A counsell
called by Con-
stantine.

the English and Scottish nations. Whereupon both the Scots and Danes made the greatest prouision that might be, thinking verelie to subdue the Englishmen, and to bring them to bitter destruction.

Malcolme sonne to king Denald was appointed by king Constantine to haue the leading of the Scottish armie, containing the number of twentie thousand men. The same Malcolme also at the same time was created here apparant of the realme, hauing Cumberland assigned vnto him for the maintenance of his estate. And euen then it was ordered, that he which should succede to the crowne after the kings decesse, should euer inioy that prouince. Malcolme ioining his power with Aualassus and Godfrie (who had assembled in like manner a mighty host of Danes) they all together brake into the English confines, sparing no kind of crueltie that might be deuised, murdering the people without any pitie or compassion in all places where they came, to the intent that the Englishmen moued with the slaughter of their kindfolks and friends, should come forth into the field to giue battell, supposing they should not be able to withstand the force of the Danes and Scottishmen now ioined in one armie together.

But the more vilanie they shewed in their doings, the sooner were they punished for the same. For Athelstane the base sonne of king Edward (whome the Englishmen had chosen to succede in gouernement of their kingdome after his fathers decesse) with all speed fought to be reuenged of such inuiolent doings. Whereupon getting together an armie, he encountered with them at a place called Worsingfield, or Brunenburgh, in July, in the yere 937, where the English at the first of purpose gaue something backe, as though they had fled: which manner when the Danes and Scots beheld, supposing the Englishmen had fled in deed, they began to pursue amaine, leauing their order of battell, each of them struing who might be the foremost.

The Englishmen (according to the order appointed to them by their capitaines) suddenly fell into array againe, and fiercelie returning vpon their enemies, did beat them downe in great numbers, & so achieved a most triumphant victorie. There died in this mostall battell manie thousands of Danes and Scottishmen, but chieflie the Scottish nobilitie bought the bargaine most deere, who choosing rather to die in the field than to suffer rebuke by dishonorable flight, it came so to passe that few of them escaped. There died on that side (as some write) 20000 men in this battell, together with Wilfere king of the Cuentes, Hantwall king of Britains, and seuen dukes that came to helpe the Scots and Danes. Athelstane by good aduise following the victorie, entred into Forthumberland, and finding the countrie dispurueied of men of warre, he easilie made a full conquest thereof, hauing all the holds and fortresses deliuered into his hands.

Then without further delaie he passed into Westmerland, and after into Cumberland, where the inhabitants of both those regions bare-footed and bare-headed, in token of most humble submission, yielded themselves vnto him, promising from thenceforth to continue his faithfull subjects. In the meane time Malcolme being sore wounded in the battell, escaped yet with great danger, and in an horse-litter was conueied home into his countrie, where he declared to king Constantine the whole circumstance of the ouerthrow and losse of his countries aforesaid. Whereupon Constantine caused a counsell to be called at Abirneithie, where he perceived how sore his realme was infeebled through lacke of such of the nobilitie as were lost in the last battell, by reason the re-

sidue that were left, seemed through want of yeres, neither able by counsell nor by force to defend the realme, so as he utterlie despaired either to be of power to brate backe the enemies, or to gouerne his realme in such politike sort as he would haue wished. And therefore, to rid himselfe of all such cares and troubles, and withall despiying all such worldly pompe as might withhold him from diuine contemplation (wherevnto he was partie bent) he gaue ouer his kinglie estate, and became a canon within the abbey of saint Andrewes amongst the count canon there.

This was in the yere of our Saviour 943, and in the fortieth yere of his owne reigne (as Hector Boetius saith:) but if he did thus forsake the world, and entred into religion immediatlie after the battell fought at Worsingfield or Brunenburgh (for so we find it named by some writers) then must it needs be before this supposed time alledged by the same Boetius, for that battell was fought anno 937, as the best approued amongst our English writers do report, so that it should rather seeme that Constantine refused in deed to deale with the gouernement of the realme, about the same yere of our Lord 937, or shortly after; and that Malcolme gouerned as regent and not as king whilest Constantine liued, who departed this life (after he had continued in the abbey of saint Andrewes a certeine time) in the foresaid yere 943, falling in the fortieth yere after he first began to reigne. He was first buried in the church there amongst the bishops, but afterwards he was taken vp and translated vnto Colmekill, where he had a toorne set ouer him, as was conuenient for the memorie of his name.

In the 36 yere of his reigne there were two monstrous creatures borne in Albion, the one amongst the Danes being an hermophrodite, that is to say, a child with both sexes, hauing the head like a swine, the best standing forth moze in resemblance than the common shape of man, a fat bellie, with sette like a gosse, legs like a man, full of bristles, and a verie euill fauored thing to behold. The other was a boyne in Forthumberland, onelie hauing a mans fer, with one whole bellie from the nauiel downe, but about the same diuided with two breasts crested or compassed ridge-wise, and not broad like to the shape of man: beside this it had foure armes and two heads. And euen as from the nauiel upwards it was thus diuided into two bodies, so did it appeare there was two contrarie soils or desires in the same, euer lusting contrarie, as when the one did sleepe, the other would wake; when the one required to haue meat, the other passed for none at all. Oftentimes would they chide and bzall together, inasmuch that at length they fell so far at variance, that they did beat and rent either other verie pitifullie with their nailes. At length the one with long sickness wearied away and finally decessing, the other was not able to abide the greuous smell of the dead carcase, but immediatlie after died also.

About the same time there issued forth a founteine of blood out of the side of a mounteine in Callo way, and flowed in great abundance for the space of seuen daies together, so that all the riuers therabout (whereof there is great store in that countrie) had their waters mixed with blood, and so running into the sea, caused the same to seeme bloudie certeine miles distant from the shore. These prodigious sights put men in great feare, for that diuinales did interpret the same to signifie some great bloudshed to fall vpon the Scots shortly after. They were also the better beleued, for that within a while after, that great ouerthrow happened at Worsingfield, as before is specified.

Constantine
became within
become a canon.

943.

March, Wal.

943.

Constantine
died.

1 month.

Another
monstr.

Two com-
me
the
this monst.

One particu-
before the de-
th.

Blond blood
out of an hill.

what was
ment by the
Scotians.

After

Malcolme After that Constantine (as is said) was entred into religion, the before named Malcolme the sonne of Donato was admitted king; or rather regent: who although he perceived right well how the force of the realme was so infiebled, that there was no hope to mainteine warres abroad; yet his chiefe studie was by all means possible to defend the borders of the Scottish dominion, and before all things to procure peace with the Englishmen. But as he was about to haue sent ambassadours vnto king Athelstane, to haue treated for peace, he was suddenly informed, how Athelstane had giuen Northumberland vnto Anlafus, and made a league with him to haue his aid against the Scots. Which newes put Malcolme in wonderfull dread, for that he understood how his realme was unpurueied of skillfull capitaine to make resistance. Yet he caused a counsell to be called, wherein when such as were assembled proponed manie fond and childishe reasons, it might happen there was small hope of anie good conclusion; but euen as they were at a point to haue broken by without anie certeine resolution, word was brought how through seditious discord, which had chanced betwixt the Danes and Englishmen being assembled together in campe, they had fought a right cruell and bloodie battell, the victorie in the end remaining with the Englishmen, who ceased not to pursue the Danes in chase, so long as anie day light appeared in the skie.

Anlafus with such Danes as he might get together after that ouerthrow, fled into Westmerland, and within three daies after, in such ships as he found there vpon the coast, he sailed ouer into the Ile of Man, and spoiling the same, with all the preie he passed from thence ouer into Ireland. In the meane time king Athelstane hauing lost no small number of his people in the foresaid battell, omitted his iourne into Scotland, and lay still in Northumberland, no man understanding what he intended to do. Which newes were so pleasant to the Scottishmen, that there was common supplications and processions made through the whole realme, in rendering thanks to almightie God for deliuering the people by this means from so great and present a danger.

Shortlie after came ambassadours from Athelstane vnto Malcolme, to moue means for a peace to be concluded betwixt the Scottish and English nations, according to the articles of the old league, which motion was iustlie heard of Malcolme, though he set a countenance of the matter as though he passed not whether he had warre or peace: but in the end, for that (as he said) peace was most necessarie for all parts, he shewed himselfe willing to haue the old former league renewed betwixt the Englishmen and Scots, with anie reasonable conditions which should be thought requisite.

After the returne of the ambassadours, the league was newlie confirmed betwixt the two kings and their people, with the semblable articles as were comprised in the old league, with this article onelie added thereto; that Northumberland, being as now replenished most with Danish inhabitants, should remaine to the Englishmen; and Cumberland with Westmerland to the Scots: vpon this condition, that he which should succeed as heire vnto the crowne of Scotland after the kings decesse, being heire apparant, should hold those regions, and do homage vnto the king of England as his vassall perpetuallie for the same. The peace being thus established betwixt these nations, Indulph the sonne of Constantine the third was proclaimed prince of Cumberland, and inheritour to the crowne of Scotland.

After this, Malcolme passed the residue of his life

in good quiet, without anie troubles of warre, as a man onelie studieng to mainteine the state of his realme in good order, as well for the wealth of the temporallie, as spiritualle, whereunto he was equallie inclined. At length, as he rode about the prouinces of his realme, to see the lawes duly ministered, at Uffine a villiage in Murray land, where he caused iustice to be somewhat streictlie executed vpon offenders, he was murdered in the night season by treason of a few conspirators, in the fiftieth yeare of his reigne. But such as did this wicked deed with their complices, by diligent examination were tried out, and on the next day being apprehended, suffered due execution, according as they had deserved, being torne in peeces with wild horkes, and those peeces sent vnto sundrie cities, where they were hanged vpon the gates and towers, till they rotted away.

They that were the deuissers of the murder also, and procured the doers thereunto, were thrust quite through vpon sharpe stakes, and after hanged vpon aloft on high gibbets; and other of the conspirators were put to other kinds of death, as the case seemed to require. The death of Malcolme chanced in the

yeare after the death of our Saviour 959. Here we haue thought good to put you in remembrance, that either the Scots are deceived in their account of yeares; or else mistake the names of the kings of England: for where they write that this Malcolme departed this life about the 22 yeare of Athelstane king of England, that can not be; if Malcolms decesse chanced in the yeare 959, for Athelstane was dead long before that time, to wit, in the yeare 940, and reigned but fiftie yeares.

Moreover, where the Scottish writers make mention of the warres which king Edmund that succeeded Athelstane had against Anlafus and the Danes of Northumberland, in the daies of king Indulph that succeeded Malcolme, it can not stand by anie means (if they mistake not their account of yeares) for the same Edmund was slaine in the yeare 948. But verelie this fault in the first account of yeares is but too common in the Scottish historie, and therefore to him that should take vpon him to reforme the errors thereof in this behalfe, it were necessarie to alter in a maner the whole course of the same historie. And therefore we will not with anie man to giue anie credit vnto their account in yeares, touching the reignes of the English kings, further than they shall see them to agree with our writers, whom in that behalfe we may more safelie follow, and by conferring the same with the Scottish writers in some places, happlie perceiue the true time, as well of the reignes of their kings, as of acts done, to fall out in yeares and seasons, much differing from their account: whereof to admonish the reader, as well here as in the English historie, we haue thought it not impertinent.

And albeit that some may aske what reason we haue to moue vs to doubt of their account of yeares, more than we do of that in our owne writers: We will referre the same vnto their iudgements that are learned, and haue trauelled indifferentlie alike, as well in perusing the one as the other without affection. But as the errors are sooner found than amended, so haue we thought good to set downe in the margent of this booke, the yeares as we find them noted in the Scottish writers, speciallie in places where we differ anie thing from them, because we will not seeme by way of controulment to preiudice the authors, further than by due consideration the well aduised reader shall thinke it expedient.

But to my purpose. After the corps of Malcolme was once buried (according to the custome) amongst

King Malcolme was murdered.

The conspirators were put to execution.

The murderers were torne with horkes.

The procurers of the murder were stoned.

959.

The mistake of the names and times of the English kings in the Scottish writers.

Indulph.

mongst his predecessors in the abbie church of Colmekill, Indulph prince of Cumberland was placed in the marble chaire at Scone, there receiving the crowne and other the investitures of the kingdome. In the administration whereof he continued for the space of five yeares without anie notable trouble, in the end of which terme, he was required by messengers sent unto him from Analassus, to joine with him in league against the Englishmen, in revenge of that overthrow, which aswell the Danes as Scots had received at Biontingfield, alledging that opportunity was now offered, sith after the decease of Athelstane, the Englishmen had created Edmund to be their king, a man of a dull wit, & not fit for the administration of high affaires: neither did the league concluded betwixt Athelstane and Malcolme enforce anie impediment, but that he might enter the warre against the Englishmen, considering that both the princes that were the authors of that league were departed out of this life, by whose deceasse the said league was ended.

Indulph is provoked by Analassus to warre against England.

His persuasions.

Indulph his answer.

But Indulph for answer hereunto declared, that the league was concluded betwixt Malcolme and Athelstane, by great deliberation of advice, and by consent of all the estates of both realmes, taking their solenne oths for the true observing thereof, so that he could not, unless he should violate that oth, attempt anie thing to the breach of peace with the Englishmen, procuring the iust indignation of almighty God against him and his people in that behalf. Whereupon the Danes accounting Indulph but a slouthfull and negligent person for this kind of answer, as he that regarded not the honor of his realme and people, in letting passe so great opportunity to be renewed of the Englishmen for the death of such Scots as died in the overthrow at Biontingfield, determined not to be noted with the like spot of reproch: but with all speed sending for aid into Norwaie, prepared to passe over into England, under the conduct of Analassus, who joining his power with the Norwegians, which came to his aid under the leading of a right ballant capitaine called Rainold, transported with all speed over into Northumberland, unto whome the gouvernour there named Elgarine, acknowledging himselfe to be descended of the Danish blood, yielded all the castles, townes & forts, promising to aid Analassus against king Edmund to the uttermost of his power.

The Danes not pleased with such an answer procure warre against England.

The Norwegians come to the aid of Analassus. Rainold a ballant capitaine.

Elgarine yielded the forts unto the Danes.

10000 soldiers sent unto king Edmund.

Elgarine is taken prisoner.

These newes comming to the knowledge of Edmund, with all speed he gathereth his power, and sending into Scotland for such aid as he ought to have from thence by covenants of the league, there came unto him ten thousand Scottishmen with ready wills to serve him in these his wars against the Danes. Then joining his owne people with those Scottishmen, he set forward towards the enemies. There were an 8000 Northumberland men with Analassus, the which upon the first encounter with the Englishmen, fell straight to running away, which made an open and readie breach unto the English part, to attaine the victorie: for the Danes being not able to resist the violent force of their enemies, incouraged now with the sight of the Northumbrians, were quicklie constrained to give backe, and in the end to see amaine, the Englishmen and Scots following in the chase with such fiercenesse, that all such as they overtooke died upon the sword, though they submitted themselves never so humble in requiring mercie.

Elgarine yet chancing to fall into his enemies hands was taken alive: for so had Edmund commanded, that if anie man might take him, he should in anie case save his life, that he might put him to death in most cruell wise, to the example of other.

After this, and for the space of thre daies after the battell, Edmund lay still in the fields nere unto the place where they fought, and then repaired unto Forke, where Elgarine for his treason was drawn in peeces with wild horses. Where chanced also no notable trouble in Albion, during the space of foure yeares after this said overthrow of the Danes with their capitaine Analassus, who is also otherwise called Aulase, as is to be seen in the English histories, where the same make mention of the foresaid king Edmund, whome likewise they affirme to be the brother of Athelstane, and not his sonne, as before is partly touched. Indulph in this meane time did with great diligence see to the good order of his realme, shewing therein what belonged to the office of a worthy prince. But even as all things seemed to rest in peace & quietnes through the whole Ile of Albion, Hagon king of Norwaie, and Helrike king of Denmarke, of purpose to revenge the slaughter of their countymen lately made in Northumberland, came with a mightie naue unto the coasts of Scotland, assailing to land with their whole armie, first in the Forth, then in the river of Taine, but yet through such resistance as the Scots made, being assembled together to keepe them off, they were faine to withdraw, and waiking alongst the coasts of Angus, the Sparnes, Spar, and Buthghane, at length failing as though they would have taken their course homewards, they lanchd forth into the high seas. But within foure daies after returning againe to the shore, they landed their people earlie in one morning upon the coast of Boen, at a place called Cullane, a countrie joining unto Buthghane, putting such of the countrie people to flight, as presented themselves to impeach their landing and invasion.

Elgarine is drawn in peeces.

Indulph was diligent in his office.

The kings of Denmarke and Norwaie enter with an armie into Scotland.

The countie are put off.

They lande Boen.

King Indulph by his wits merrly overcomes the enemies.

Indulph prepared to battell.

The Danes give the battle.

Indulph comes unto the Scots.

The Danes die.

The king with his company.

But Indulph being advertised hereof, forthwith assembling the whole power of his realme, drew towards that part with such speed, that he was come into Boen before his enemies were certified that he was set forward. So some therefore as they heard he was come, such as were abroad forraeing the same countrie, were called backe to the campe. But Indulph without protracting of time came still forward, and upon his approach to the enemies, he prepared to give battell, and with a short oration began to incourage his people to fight manfullie. But before he could make an end, the Danes gave the onset with such violence, that the battell a long space continued doubtfull on both sides, the Danes on the one part and the Scots on the other, doing their uttermost endeavours to achieve the victorie, till at length they of Louthian with their captains Dunbar and Crame began to appeare on the backe halfe of the Danes, with which sight they were put in such feare, that those which fought in the foreward, retired backe unto the middle ward, whome the Scots eagerlie pursuing, beat downe even till they came unto the reare ward, which couetting rather to die in the fight, than to give backe, and so to be slaine in the chase (for those in the reare ward were heaue armed men) continued the battell moze with a certaine stiffe stubbornnes of mind, than with anie great force or forcast, being so overmatched as they were, & forsaken of their fellowes: for other of the Danes, namelie the archers and harnes fled their waies, some towards their ships, and some here and there being scattered abroad in the fields, fell into the moles, the marshy grounds, and other streits, where they were slaine euerie one by such as followed in the chase.

Indulph himselfe with certaine companies about him, departing from his maine battell to discover the fields, as though all had bene quiet on each side, fell by chance upon a whole band of the Danes, where

the same lay in covert within a close vallie, being fled from the field thither upon the first losing of the battels, with the which entering into flight, he was shot through the head with a dart, and so died; but not before he was revenged of those his enemies, the whole number of them being slaine there in the place. His bodie was first buried in Cullane, a towne of Boene, and after translated unto the abbie of Colmekill, and there interred amongst other his predecessors the Scottis kings. Andulph reigned about nine yeares and died thus valliantlie, though infortunatlie, in the yeare after the incarnation 968, as saith Hector Boetius.

After the corps of Andulph was remoued unto Colmekill and there buried, Duffe the sonne of B. Malcolm was crowned B. at Scone with all due solemnitie. In the beginning of his reigne, Cullen the sonne of B. Andulph was proclaimed prince of Cumberland: immediatlie whereupon the king transported ouer into the westerne Isles, to set an order there for certeine misdeemeanors vsed by diuers robbers and pillers of the common people. At his arrivall amongst them he called the thanes of the Isles afore him, commanding freighthlie as they would auoid his displeasure, to purge their countreies of such malefactors, whereby the husbandmen and other commons might liue in quiet, without veration of such barretious and idle persons as sought to liue onlie vpon other mens goods.

The thanes vpon this charge giuen them by the king, took no small number of the offenders, partly by publike authoritie, & partly by lieng in wait for them where they supposed their haunt was to resort, the which being put to execution according to that they had merited, caused the residue of that kind of people either to get them ouer into Ireland, either else to learne some manuell occupation therewith to get their liuing, yea though they were neuer so great gentlemen borne. Whobeit the nobles with this extreme rigor shewed thus by the king against their linage, were much offended therewith, accounting it a great dishonor for such as were descended of noble parentage, to be constrained to get their liuing with the labor of their hands, which onlie appertained to plowmen, and such other of the base degree as were borne to trauell for the maintenance of the nobilitie, and to serue at their commandment by order of their birth, and in no wise after such sort to be made in manner equall with them in state and condition of life.

Furthermore, they murmured closelie amongst themselves, how the king was onlie become friend to the commons & cleargie of his realme, hauing no respect to the nobilitie, but rather declared himselfe to be an bitter enemie thereof, so that he was knowen thie to haue the rule of the nobles and gentlemen, vnles he knew better what belonged to their degree. This murmuring did spread not onlie among them in the Isles, but also through all the other parts of his realme, so that they ceased not to speake verie euill of the gouernement of things. In the meane time the king fell into a languishing disease, not so greuous as strange, that none of his physicians could perceiue what to make of it. For there was saine in him no token, that either choler, melancholie, slegne, or any other vicious humor did any thing abound, whereby his bodie should be brought into such decaye and consumption (so as there remained but a little anie thing vpon him saue skin and bone.)

And sithens it appeared manifestlie by all outward signes and tokens, that naturall moisture did nothing faile in the vitall spirits, his colour also was fresh and faire to behold, with such liuelines of looks, that more was not to be wished for; he had also a

temperat desire and appetite to his meate & drinke, but yet could he not sleepe in the night time by anie prouocations that could be deuised, but still fell into exceeding sweats, which by no means might be restrained. The physicians perceiuing all their medicines to want due effect, yet to put him in some comfort of helpe, declared to him that they would send for some cunning physicians into foreigne parts, who happlie being cured with such kind of diseases, should easilie cure him, namelie so soone as the spring of the yeare was once come, which of it selfe should helpe much thereto.

Whobeit the king, though he had small hope of recoverie, yet had he still a diligent care vnto the due administration of his lawes and good orders of his realme, dealing oft with his counsell about the same. But when it was vnderstood into what a perillous sicknesse he was fallen, there were no small number, that contemning the authoritie of the magistrats, began to practise a rebellion. And amongst the chiefest were those of Spurreyland, who slaying sundrie of the kings officers, began to rage in most cruell wise against all such as were not consenting to their misordered tumult. The kings physicians forbad in anie wise, that the king should be aduertised of such businesse, for doubt of increasing his sickness with trouble of mind about the same. But about that present time there was a murmuring amongst the people, how the king was bered with no naturall sicknesse, but by sorcerie and magicall art, practised by a sort of witches dwelling in a towne of Spurreyland, called Fores.

Wherevpon, albeit the author of this secret talke was not knowne: yet being brought to the kings eare, it caused him to send forthwith certeine wittie persons thither, to inquire of the truth. They that were thus sent, dissembling the cause of their iourne, were receiued in the darke of the night into the castell of Fores by the lieutenant of the same, called Donwald, who continuing faithfull to the king, had kept that castell against the rebels to the kings vse. Vnto him therefore these messengers declared the cause of their coming, requirring his aid for the accomplishment of the kings pleasure.

The souldiers, which laie there in garrison, had an inkling that there was some such matter in hand as was talked of amongst the people; by reason that one of them kept as concubine a yong woman, which was daughter to one of the witches as his par amour, who told him the whole manner vsed by his mother & other his companions, with their intent also, which was to make awaie the king. The souldier hauing learned this of his lemman, told the same to his fellows, who made report to Donwald, and he shewed it to the kings messengers, and therewith sent for the yong damosell which the souldier kept, as then being within the castell, and caused hir vpon streit examination to confesse the whole matter as she had sene and know. Wherevpon learning by hir confession in what house in the towne it was where they wrought there mischievous mysferie, he sent forth souldiers about the middelt of the night, who breaking into the house, found one of the witches roffing vpon a wooden boord an image of war at the ster, resembling in each feature the kings person, made and deuised (as is to be thought) by craft and art of the diuell; an other of them sat reciting certeine words of inchantment, and still basted the image with a certeine liquor verie busilie.

The souldiers finding them occupied in this wise, took them together with the image, and led them into the castell, where being streitlie examined for what purpose they went about such manner of inchantment, they answered, to the end to make away

The king being sicke, yet he regarded iustice to be executed.

A rebellion practised.

The rebellion was kept from the kings knowledge.

Witches in Fores.

Inquire was made.

The matter appeared to be true.

A witcher daughter is examined.

The witches are found out.

An image of war roffing at the ster.

The witches were examined.

The whole
matter is
confessed.

The nobles
of the countrie
set the witch-
ches on worke.

The witches
were burnt.

The king is
restored to
health.

The king
with an armie
pursued the
rebels.

The rebels
are executed.

Captain Don-
wald craved
pardon for
them but not
granted.

Donwald
conceivd ha-
red against
the king.

Donwalds
wife counsell-
ed him to mur-
der the king.

The woman
counsell
is followed.

the king: for as the image did waste afore the fire, so did the bodie of the king brake forth in sweat. And as for the words of the enchantment, they served to kepe him still waking from slepe, so that as the war euer melted, so did the kings flesh: by the which meanes it should haue come to passe, that when the war was once cleane consumed, the death of the king should immediatlie follow. So were they taught by euill spirits, and hired to worke the feat by the nobles of Murray land. The standers by, that heard such an abhominable tale told by these witches, straightwaies brake the image, and caused the witches (according as they had well deserved) to be burnt to death.

It was told, that the king at the verie same time that these things were a doing within the castell of Forres, was deliuered of his languor, and slept that night without anie sweat breaking forth upon him at all, & the next daie being restored to his strength, was able to doe anie manner of thing that lay in man to do, as though he had not bene sicke before anie thing at all. But howsoever it came to passe, truly it is, that when he was restored to his perfect health, he gathered a power of men, & with the same went into Murray land against the rebels there, and chasing them from thence, he pursued them into Ross, and from Ross into Cathness, where apprehending them, he brought them backe vnto Forres, and there caused them to be hanged vp, on gallows and gibets.

Amongest them there were also certaine young gentlemen, right beautifull and goodlie personages, being nere of kin vnto Donwald captaine of the castell, and had bene perswaded to be partakers with the other rebels, more through the fraudulent counsell of diuerse wicked persons, than of their owne accord: whereupon the foresaid Donwald lamenting their case, made earnest labor and sute to the king to haue begged their pardon; but hauing a plaine deniall, he conceivd such an inward malice towards the king (though he shewed it not outwardlie at the first) that the same continued still boiling in his stomach, and ceased not, till through setting on of his wife, and in reuenge of such vnthankfulnessse, hee found meanes to murder the king within the foresaid castell of Forres where he vsed to sojourn. For the king being in that countrie, was accustomed to lie most commonlie within the same castell, hauing a speciall trust in Donwald, as a man whom he neuer suspected.

But Donwald, not forgetting the reproch which his linage had sustained by the execution of those his kinsmen, whome the king for a spectacle to the people had caused to be hanged, could not but shew manifest tokens of great griefe at home amongst his familie: which his wife perceiuing, ceased not to trouble with him, till she vnderstood what the cause was of his displeasure. Which at length when she had learned by his owne relation, she as one that bare no lesse malice in hir heart towards the king, for the like cause on hir behalfe, than hir husband did for his friends, counselled him (with the king oftentimes vsed to lodge in his house without anie gard about him, other than the garrison of the castell, which was wholie at his commandement) to make him awaie, and shewd him the meanes wherby he might himself accomplish it.

Donwald thus being the more kindled in wrath by the words of his wife, determined to follow hir aduise in the execution of so heinous an act. Wherupon deuising with himselfe for a while, which way hee might best accomplish his cursed intent, at length gat opportunitie, and sped his purpose as followeth. It chanced that the king vpon the daie before he purposed to depart forth of the castell, was long in his or-

atorie at his praiers, and there continued till it was late in the night. At the last, comming forth, he called such afore him as had faithfullie serued him in pur-
fute and apprehension of the rebels, and giuing them heartie thanks, he bestowed sundrie honorable gifts amongst them, of the which number Donwald was one, as he that had bene euer accounted a most faith-
full seruant to the king.

At length, hauing talked with them a long time, he got him into his priuite chamber, enclie with two of his chamberlains, who hauing brought him to bed, came forth againe, and then fell to banquetting with Donwald and his wife, who had prepared diuerse delicate dishes, and sundrie sorts of drinks for their reare supper or collation, wherat they fate vp so long, till they had charged their stomachs with such full gorges, that their heads were no sooner got to the pillow, but asleepe they were so fast, that a man might haue remoued the chamber ouer them, sooner than to haue awaked them out of their drunken slepe.

Then Donwald, though he abhorred the act greatlie in heart, yet through instigation of his wife hee called foure of his seruants vnto him (whome he had made priuite to his wicked intent before, and framed to his purpose with large gifts) and now declaring vnto them, after what sort they should worke the feat, they gladlie obeyed his instructions, & speedilie going about the murder, they enter the chamber (in which the king laie) a little before cocks crow, where they secretlie cut his throte as he lay sleeping, without anie busking at all: and immediatlie by a posterne gate they caried forth the dead bodie into the fields, and throwing it vpon an hollie there provided readie for that purpose, they conuey it vnto a place, about two miles distant from the castell, where they staied, and gat certaine labourers to helpe them to turne the course of a little riuer running through the fields there, and digging a deepe hole in the chancell, they burie the bodie in the same, ramming it by with stones and grauell so close, that setting the water in the right course againe, no man could perceiue that anie thing had bene netolie digged there. This they did by order appointed them by Donwald as is reported, for that the bodie should not be found: & by bleeding (when Donwald should be present) declare him to be guiltie of the murder. & for such an opinion men haue, that the dead corps of anie man being slaine, will bleed abundantlie if the murderer be present. But for what consideration soeuer they buried him there, they had no sooner finished the worke, but that they due them whose helpe they vsed herein, and straightwaies thereupon fled into Dyynie.

Donwald, about the time that the murder was in doing, got him amongst them that kept the watch, and so continued in companie with them all the residue of the night. But in the morning when the noise was raised in the kings chamber how the king was slaine, his bodie conueied auaie, and the bed all be-
rated with blood; he with the watch ran thither, and though he had knowne nothing of the matter, and breaking into the chamber, and finding cakes of blood in the bed, and on the floore about the sides of it, he forthwith due the chamberlains, as guiltie of that heinous murder, and then like a mad man running to and fro, he rancked euerie corner within the castell, as though it had bene to haue sene if he might haue found either the bodie, or anie of the murderers hid in anie priuite place: but at length comming to the posterne gate, and finding it open, he burdened the chamberlains, whome he had slaine, with all the fault, they hauing the keyes of the gates committed to their keeping all the night, and therefore it could not be otherwise (said he) but that they were of counsell in the committing of that most detestable

ble murder.

Finallie, such was his ouer earnest diligence in the seuerie inquisition and triall of the offendours hereint, that some of the lordes began to mislike the matter, and to smell forth shewd tokens, that he should not be altogether cleare himselfe. But for so much as they were in that countrie, where he had the whole rule, that by reason of his friends and authoritie together, they doubted to utter what they thought, till time and place should better serue thereunto, and hereupon got them awaie euerie man to his home. For the space of six moneths together, after this heinous murder thus committed, there appeared no sunne by day, nor mone by night in anie part of the realme, but still was the skie couered with continuall clouds, and sometimes such outrageous winds arose, with lightnings and tempests, that the people were in great feare of present destruction.

In the meane time Culene prince of Cumberland, the sonne (as I haue said) of king Ingulph, accompanied with a great number of lordes and nobles of the realme, came vnto Scone, there to receiue the crowne according to the manner: but at his coming thither, he demanded of the bishops what the cause should be of such vntemperate weather. Who made answer, that vndoubtedly almightie God shewed himselfe thereby to be offended most highlie for that wicked murder of king Duffe: and suerlie unless the offendours were tried forth and punished for that deed, the realme should feele the iust indignation of the diuine iudgement, for omitting such punishment as was due for so greivous an offense. Culene hereupon required the bishops to appoint publicke processions, fastings, and other goodlie exercises to be vsed of the priests and people, through all parts of the realme, for the good appeasing of Gods wrath in this behalf; and in such sort and manner as in semblable cases the vse and custome in those daies was. He himselfe made a solemne vow, confirming it with a like oath, before all the pères & nobles there assembled, that he would not cease till he had reuenged the death of king Duffe vpon the false inhabitants of Spurrey land, to the example of all other.

The multitude being present, getting them to arm, followed their prince, taking his iourne without further delay towards Spurrey land, the inhabitants of which region hearing of his approach, and the cause of his coming, were stricken with exceeding feare: but namely Donwald, being gilty in conscience, doubted lest if he were put to torture, he should be forced to confesse the truth. Whereupon without making his wife priuie to his departure, or anie other of his familie, saue a few such as he tooke with him, he secretly got him to the mouth of the riuer of Spey, where finding a ship readie, he went aboard the same, purposing to haue fled his waies by sea into Norwaye: for this is the peculiar propertie of a gilty conscience, to be afraid of all things, and either in gesture or countenance to bewaie it selfe, accounting flight most sure, if occasion may serue thereto. For this Donwald, whome no man (though some partlie suspected him) might well haue burdened with the crime of his maisters death (by reason of his faithful service shewed towards him aforetime) had he not thus sought to haue avoided the countrie, was now detected of manifest treason, euerie man detecting his abominable fact, and wishing him to be ouerwhelmed in the raging floods, so to paie the due punishment, which of right he owgth, for his vile treason in murdering his naturall lord.

Culene being hereof aduertised, passed ouer Spey water, and taking the castell of Forres, flue all that he found therein, and put the house to sacke and fire. Donwalds wife with his three daughters were

taken: for Culene commanded, that whosoeuer could light vpon them, should in anie wise saue their liues, and bring them vnto him. Which being done, he had them to the racke, where the mother vpon hir examination confessed the whole matter, how by hir procurement chiefe his husband was moued to cause the deed to be done; who they were that by his commandement did it, and in that place they had buried the bodie. Here would the multitude haue run vpon hir and tozned hir in peeces, but that they were restrained by commandement of an officer at armes. The day with the residue for that night rested themselves, and in the morning toke order for due prouision of all things necessarie to take by the bodie of king Duffe, and then to conueie it vnto Colmekill, there to be buried amongst his predecessors.

But as they were busie hereabout, word came that the traitor Donwald was by shipwracke cast vpon the shore within foure miles of the castell, as though he were by Gods prouision brought backe into his owne countrie to suffer worthy punishment for his demerits. Whereupon the inhabitants of the places next adioining tooke him, and kept him fast bound till they knew further of the kings pleasure: who verie glad of the newes, sent forth immediatlie a band of men to fetch him. They that were sent did as they were commanded: and being scarce returned, there came in diuerse lordes of Rosse, bringing with them Donwalds foure seruants, which (as before is said) did execute the murder. Thus all the offendours being brought together vnto the place where the murder was both contriued and executed, they were arraigned, condemned, and put to death in manner as folloiweth, to the great reioicing of the people that beheld the same.

They were first scourged by the hangman, and then bowelled, their entrails being thzowen into a fire and burnt, the other parts of their bodies were cut into quarters, and sent vnto the chiefest cities of the realme, and there set by aloft vpon the gates & highest towres, for example sake to all such as should come after, how heinous a thing it is to pollute their hands in the sacred blood of their prince. This dreadful end had Donwald and his wife, before he saw anie sunne after the murder was committed, and that by the appointment of the most righteous God, the creator of that heauenlie planet and all other things, who suffereth no crime to be vnreruenged. Those that were the takers of the murderers were highlie rewarded for their paines and trauell therein sustained, being exempt from charges of going forth to the warres, and also of all manner of payments belonging to publicke duties, as tributes, subsidies, and such like.

These things being thus ordered, the bodie of king Duffe was taken vp, and in most pompous manner conueied vnto Colmekill, accompanied all the waie by Culene, and a great multitude of lordes both spirituall and temporall, with other of the meaner states. There be that haue written how his bodie (though it had laine six moneths vnder the ground) was nothing impaired either in colour or otherwise, when it was taken vp, but was found as whole and sound as though it had bene yet alliue, the skarres of the wounds onelie excepted. But to proceed, so soon as it was brought aboue the ground, the aire began to cleare vp, and the sunne brake forth, shining more brighte than it had bene sene aforetime, to anie of the beholders remembrance. And that which put men in most deepe consideration of all, was the sight of manifold flowers, which sprang forth ouer all the fields immediatlie thereupon, cleane contrarie to the time and season of the yere.

Within a few yeres after this, there was a bridge made

The murder is whole confessed.

King Duffe his bodie to be taken vp.

Donwald is taken prisoner.

Donwalds four seruants were taken also.

Donwald with his confederats are executed.

Rewards giuen vnto the takers of those murderers.

The bodie of king Duffe honorablie buried.

Marvellous things are sene.

Some tolke that other. The matter is agreed.

The king of the house.

Culene.

The king of the house.

The king re- quired pub- licke processions to be used.

The king made an oath.

The king went forth and came into Spurrey land.

A gilty conscience accuseth a man.

Donwald getteth him selfe away.

The murder of the king is reuenged.

The castle of Forres is taken and all the inhabitants slain.

Kilflor.

How they ate
their owne
flesh.
A monstrous
child.
A sparhawk
strangled by
an owle.

972.

King Culene
did not contin-
ue as his be-
ginning was.

He followeth
his sensuall
lusts.

Guilldomers
were not pun-
ished.

God counsell
was not heard

The kings
answer vnto
his grene
pares.

He soonld not
displease.

made ouer the waier in the same place, where the bo-
die had bene buried, and a village builded at the one
end of the bridge, which is called vnto this day Kil-
flor, that is to say, the church of flowers: taking that
name of the wonder there happened at the remo-
uing of the kings bodie, as the same authoꝝ would
seeme to meane. But there is now (or was of late) a
rich abbey, standing with a verie faire church, conse-
crat in the honoꝝ of the virgine Marie. Spontaneous
fights also that were seene within the Scottish king-
dome that yere were these: hostles in Louthian, be-
ing of singular beautie and swiftnesse, did eate their
owne flesh, and would in no wise taste any other
meate. In Angus there was a gentlewoman
brought forth a child without eyes, nose, hand, or foot.
There was a sparhawk also strangled by an owle.
Neither was it any lesse wonder that the sunne, as
before is said, was continually covered with
clouds for six moneths space. But all men under-
stood that the abhominable murder of king Duffe
was the cause hereof, which being reuenged by the
death of the authoꝝ, in maner as before is said; Cu-
lene was crowned as lawfull successor to the same
Duffe at Scone, with all due honoꝝ and solemnitie,
in the yere of our Lord 972, after that Duffe had
ruled the Scottish kingdome about the space of foure
yeres.

The beginning of Culenes reigne, begun with
righteous execution of iustice, promised a firme hope
of an other manner of pꝛince, than by the admini-
stration which followed he declared himselfe to be:
for shortly after losing the rains of lasciuious wan-
tonnesse to the youth of his realme, through giuing
a lewd example by his owne disordered doings, all
such as were inclined vnto licentious lining, follow-
ed their sensuall lusts and vnbridled libertie, aban-
doning all feare of correction more than euer had
bene seene or heard of in any other age. For such
was the negligence of the king, or rather mainte-
nance of misordered persons, that what former any
of the nobilitie did either against merchants, pꝛiests,
or any of the commons, though the same were ne-
uer so great an iniurie, there was no punishment
used against them: so that all men looked for some
commotion in the common-wealth thereupon to in-
sue, if there were not other order provided therfore
in time. The ancient pꝛinces of the realme also being
griued thereat, spared not to admonish the king of
his dutie, declaring vnto him into what danger the
realme was likelie to fall through his negligent be-
haviour.

Culene answered them, that he wist well enough
how young men were not at the first borne graue and
sage personages, like to them with hoarie heads:
wherefore their first youthfull yeres could not be so
stable as they might be hereafter by old age and con-
tinuance of time. But as for such rigorous extreni-
tie as diuerse of his elders had used towards their
subiects, he minded not (as he said) to follow, being
taught by their example (as by the kings, Indulph,
Duffe, and such other) into what danger he might in-
curre by such sharpe seneritie shewed in the govern-
ment of the estate. Whereupon he was determined
so to rule, as he might giue cause rather to be be-
loved than feared, which was the onelie meane (as he
thought) to retaine his subiects in due and most faith-
full obedience. This answer was such, that although
it seemed nothing agreable for the preservation of
the publike state in quiet rest and safetie, yet was
there no man, by reason of his regall authoritie, that
durst reproue the same, but diuerse there were that
praised him therein, as those that hated all such as lo-
ued the bright administration of iustice.

But such ancient counsellors as had trulie ser-

ued in rule of the common-wealth in the daies of the
former kings, Indulph & Duffe, mistaking the state
of that present world (wherein the youth of the realme,
namelie all such as were descended of noble paren-
tage, and used to be about the king, followed their
willfull & sensuall lusts, growing euery day through
want of correction to be worse and worse) departed
from the court, and withdrew to their homes, with-
out meddling any further with the publike admini-
stration. In whose place there crept in others, that
with their flatterie corrupted the residue of such
sparks of god inclination as yet remained in the
king, if any were at all; insomuch that in the end he
measured supreme felicitie by the plentifull mis-
eng of voluptuous pleasures and bodilie lusts. He
sanctified onelie such as could devise pꝛouocations ther-
vnto, and in filling the bellie with excess of costlie
meates and dꝛinks, those that could excell other
were chieflie cherished, and most highe of him este-
med.

Here withall he was giuen vnto lecherie beyond
all the bounds of reason, sparing neither maid, vir-
dow, nor wife, prophane nor religious, sister nor
daughter (for all was one with him) that to heare of
such villanie and violent forcings as were practised
by him and his familiars, it would loth any honest
hart to vnderstand or remember. He was so farre
past all shame in this behalfe, that when his leche-
rous lust by too much copulation was so tired, that he
might no more exercise his former lewdnesse, he
toke speciall pleasure yet to behold other to do it in
his pꝛesence, that his decayed lust might be the more
stirred by with sight of such filthinesse. This abhomi-
nable trade of life he practised for the space of thre
yeres together, giuing occasion of much spoile, ra-
uine, manslaughter, forcings, and rauishments of
women, with all such kind of wicked and diuelish
transgressions: no execution of lawes (instituted by
authoritie of the former kings, for restraint of such
flagitious offenses) being put in vze, through negli-
gence of this monstrous creature.

So farre forth also increased the libertie of thieues,
robbers, and other offenders, maintained by such of
the nobilitie as consented vnto their vnlawfull do-
ings, and were partakers with them in the same,
that if any man went about to withstand them, or
refused to accomplish their requests and demands, he
should be spoiled of all that he had, and hapilie haue
his house burnt ouer his head, or otherwile be mis-
sed in such outrageous and violent sort, that it would
griue all those that had any zeale to iustice, to heare
of such enormities as were daile practised in that
countre. Holobett, at length the death of king
Culene brought an end to all such wicked dealings:
for falling into a filthy disease (through abuse of ex-
cessiue dꝛinking and lecherie) called the wasting of
nature, he consumed a waie in such wise by rotting
of his flesh, that he appeared more like vnto a dead
carcase, than vnto a liuelie creature, insomuch that
his owne seruants began to abhor him.

Whereupon the lords and other honorable perso-
nages of the realme, vnderstanding his case, caused
a parlement to be summoned at Scone, where they
determined to depose king Culene, and appoint some
other (whome they should iudge most meetest) to
reigne in his place. Culene also not knowing where-
fore this counsell was called, as he was going thi-
therwards, at Herten castell, being almost in the
mid waie of his iourne, was murdered by one
Cadhard the thane of that place, whose daughter he
had rauished before time amongst diuerse other. This
end had Culene together with all his filthy sensuali-
tie: but the reprochfull infamie thereof remaineth in
memoꝝ with his posteritie, and is not like to be for-
gotten.

Antient coun-
sellors leave
the court.

The pꝛincelie
court followeth
with their
sensuall lusts.

A wicked
time of living
consumeth.

A lecherous
king.

Forcing of
women vnto
excess.

He becometh
barren.

All benefits
eniled.

Robbers,
thiefes, &c. were
maintained.

Death made
an end of all.

Guilldomers.

A parlement.

King Culene
was murder-
ed.

gotten the least the world goeth about. He was thus dispatched in the fifth yeere of his reigne, and after the birth of our Saviour 976, the nobles & great pères of the realme reioicing at his death, though they allowed not of the manner thereof.

After that the bodie of king Culene was once conveyed unto Colmekill, and there buried amongst his elders, the nobles and great pères assembled together at Scone, where they proclaimed Kenneth the sonne of Malcolme the first, and brother unto Duffe, king of the realme. In the beginning of his reigne, he had inough to do to reduce the people from their wild and savage kind of life (into the which they were fallen through the negligent government of his predecessour) unto their former trade of civill demeanour. For the nature of the Scottishmen is, that first the nobles, and then all the residue of the people transforme themselves to the vſage of their prince: therefore did Kenneth in his owne trade of living shew an example of chastitie, sobrietie, liberallitie, and modestie, misusing himselfe in no kind of vice, but restraining himselfe from the same. He banished all such kind of persons as might prouoke either him or other unto anie lewd or wanton pleasures. He maintained amitie aswell with strangers as with his owne people, punishing most rigorously all such as sought to moue sedition by anie manner of meanes. He toke busie care in causing the people to auoid sloth, and to apply themselves in honest exercises, iudging (as the truth is) that to be the waie to aduance the common-wealth from decaye to a flourishing state.

Thus when he had somewhat reformed the misorders of his subjects, he indured himselfe by all meanes he could deuise to punish offenders against the lawes and wholesome ordinances of the realme, and to purge all his dominions of thieues, robbers, and other such as went about to disquiet common peace. At Lanerke, a towne in Aile, was a sessions appointed to be kept for execution of iustice, where certaine offenders were summoned to appeere. But at their comming thither, perceiving that such manifest proofes would be brought against them of such crimes as they had committed, that they were not able to excuse the same, through perswasion of diuerse noble men unto whom they were of kin, they fled secretly their waies, some into the westerne Isles, and some into other places, where they thought most expedient for safeguard of their liues. The king perceiving that through the dissolall meanes of the lords his purpose was so hindered; that he might not minister iustice, according to the institution of his lawes, he dissembled his wrath for a time, and licensed euerie man to depart to their houses, his traine onelie excepted. Then went he into Galloway to visit saint Ninian for performance of his voie, which he had made so to do. Where he inuented (by conference which he had with some of his priue counsell) a deuise, whereby he might fetch againe the offenders unto iudgement: but this was kept close till the yeere following, for doubt least if those lords which bare them good will had come to anie inking thereof, they would by uttering it haue disappointed his purpose.

At length, after a yeere was passed, he appointed all the lords and nobles of his realme to assemble at Scone, as though it had bene to haue communed about some weightie affaires touching the state of the realme. The night then before they should come together into the counsell-chamber, he caused by some of his faithfull ministers, a sort of armed men to be laid close in a secret place, with commandement giuen to their capteine, that in no wise he should stirre with his hand till the next day that all the lords were assembled together, and then without delaye to execute that which should be giuen him in commandement.

On the morrow after the nobles comming together into the counsell-chamber, they had no sooner taken their places, euerie one according to his degree about the king, but that the armed men before mentioned, came rushing into the house, placing themselves round about them that were set, according to the order prescribed by former appointment. The lords with this present sight being much amazed, beheld one another, but durst not speake a word. When the king perceiving their feare, began to declare vnto them the whole cause of his calling them to counsell at that time, and why he had appointed those armed men to be there attendant. The effect of his oration there made vnto them was, that he had not caused those armed men to come into the chamber for anie harme ment towards anie of their persons, but onelie for the publike preservation of the realme. For so much as they knew, there was one kind of people much noisome to the common-wealth, being confederate as it were together by one consent to exercise all sorts of mischief and oppression against the poore people, as to rob, spoile, and take from them all that they had, to rauish their wiues, maids, & daughters, and some times to burne their houses: the which licentious libertie in such wicked persons, through want of due punishment in the daies of king Culene, what danger it had brought vnto the whole state of the Scottish common-wealth, there was none but might well vnderstand.

For sith it was so, that the lords and other high estates liued by the trauell of the commons, then if the same commons should in anie wise decaye, the lords and such other high estates could in no wise prosper: for if the labourer through iniurie of the robber were forced to giue ouer his labour, where should the lord or gentleman haue whereupon to liue: so that those which robbed the husbandman, robbed also the lord and gentleman; and they that sought to mainteine such loitering persons as bled to rob the poore man, went about the destruction both of king, lord, and gentleman; yea and finally of the vniuersall state of the whole common-wealth. Therefore he that loued the common-wealth, would not seeke onelie to defend the commons from such iniuries as thieues and robbers baile offered them; but also would helpe to see iust execution done vpon the same thieues and robbers, according to the laudable lawes and customes of the land. The last yeere (said he) you your selues remember (I thinke) how I purposed by your helpe and counsell to haue proceeded by order of the lawes against all enemies and perturbours of the peace. At Lanerke was the day appointed for them to haue appeared, but there was not one of them that would come in, but contemptuously disobeying our commandement kept them awaie, by whose counsell I know not. But I haue bene informed by some how diuers of you fauoring those rebels, by reason they were of your linage, were of counsell with them, in withdrawing themselves so from iudgement.

The often sending of messengers betwixt them and you, well nere perswaded vs to thinke that this report was true. But yet not withstanding, I haue put away all such sinister suspicion out of my head, wishing you (as I trust you be) void of all such dissimulation. And now I require you, not as fauours of the rebelles, but as defenders of the common-wealth, though happilie somewhat slacke heretofore in discharge of your duties, to shew your selues such in helping to apprehend the offenders, as that the world may perceiue you to haue made full satisfaction for your fault and error, if before in you there were

The king and lords sitting, the armed men stood forth.

The king perceiving the lords out of doubt.

An oration made by the king.

A rehearsal of all enormities.

Lanerke, or Lanerke.

were anie. In the end he was plaine with them, and told them flatlie that they should assure themselves to haue those armed men which they saw the present, to be continually attendant about them, till he might haue all the rebelles at commandement.

The lords gentle submission, with a large promise.

The lords hauing heard the kings speech, and perceiving what his meaning was, first partly excused themselves so well as they might of their cloaked dissimulation, and then falling downe vpon their knees afore him, besought him to put away all displeasure out of his mind, and clearelie to pardon them, if in anie wise they had offended his maiestie, promising that they would with all diligence and faithfullnesse accomplish his desire, in causing the offenders to be brought in vnto iudgement: and till the time that this were brought to passe, they were well contented to remaine in such place where he should appoint them to abide. The counsell then being broken vp, the king with those lords passing ouer the riuer of Taie, went vnto Bertha, which towne during the kings abode in the same, was strictly kept with watch and ward, that no creature might enter or go forth without knowledge of the officers appointed by the king to take heed thereunto. If anie idle person were espied abroad in the streets, straightwaies the sergeants would haue him to ward.

The king went to Bertha.

Rogues punished.

Furious men brought vnto Bertha.

A great number of vagabonds were iudged to die.

The lords hence licence to depart.

The Danes seeke for to reuenge old losses.

The Danes take the sea to go into Albion.

The Danes arrive at the red head, or red Bales in Angus.

The nobles remained in the kings house, or in other lodgings to them assigned, procuring by their friends and ministers to haue such offenders as used to rob and spoile the husbandmen, apprehended and brought to the king to Bertha, there to receiue iudgement & punishment according to their merits: for so they perceived they must needs worke, if they minded the safegard of their owne liues. Hereof it followed also, that within short space after, there were brought vnto Bertha to the number nere hand of five hundred such idle loiterers as used to liue by spoile and pillage, manie of them being descended of famous houses: all which companie being condemned for their offenses to die, were hanged vp on gibbets about the towne, and commandement giuen by the king, that their bodies should not be taken downe, but there to hang still to giue crample to other, what the end was of all such as by wrongfull means sought to liue idelie by other mens labours.

The rebelles being thus executed, king Kenneth licenced the lords to depart to their owne houses, exhorting them to remember their duties towards the common-wealth, and to studie for preservation of peace and quietnesse according to their vocation. After this, the realme continued in quietnesse without anie foraine or inward trouble for the space of certeine yeares following, and had remained in the same state still, if the Danes had not made a new inuasion, who being sore grieved in their hearts for such displeasures as they had sustained in Albion, determined now with great assurance to reuenge the same. Wherevpon gathering an huge multitude of men together, they were imbarcked in vessels provided for them; and sailing forth, they purposed to take land vpon the next coast of Albion where they should chance to arrive; & being once on land, to destroye all before them, except where the people should submit & yeld themselves vnto them. This manie being once got abroad, within short time arrived at that point of land in Angus, which is called the red Bales, or red head, not far from the place where the abbie of Abirborth, or Abirborthoke was afterward founded.

Here the Danish fleet first casting anchor, their captains fell in consultation what they were best to do. Some of them were of this opinion, that it was

not most expedient for them to land in that place, but rather to passe from thence into England; for at the Scottismens hands being poore, and yet a fierce and hardie nation, there was small god to be got, being thereto accustomed to giue more overthrowes than they commonlie receiued. Again, the soil of that countrie was but barren, and in manner overgrown with woods (as it was in deed in those daies) with few towne & small habitations, and those so poore, that no man knowing the same, would vouch safe to fight for anie possession of them: therein contrariwise England (that part namelie which lieth towards the south) was so fruitfull of corne and cattell, so rich of mines, and replenished with so manie notable cities and towne inhabited with men of great wealth and substance, that few were to be found comparable thereto. So that the matter being well considered, they could not do better, than to saile into Kent, where they might be sure of rich spoile, without anie great resistance. Other there were that held how that this iourne was attempted by the counsell of their superiors, onlie to reuenge such iniuries as the Danish nation had receiued at the hands of the Scottismen, and not to attaine riches or anie dominion.

The Scots also being a cruell people, & ready to fight in defense of other mens possessions (as in the warres of Northumberland it well appeared) would faine be ready to come to the aid of the Englishmen into Kent, euen so soone as it was known that the Danes were on land in those parts: so that by this means they should be constrained to haue to do both with the Scottismen and Englishmen, if they first went into Kent: where if they set on land here in Scotland, they should encounter but onlie with the Scots. Therefore, the best were according to their first determination, to land amongst the Scots, with chance had brought them vnto those coasts; adding that when they had somewhat abated the arrogant presumption of their enemies there, then might they passe more safely into England. After a luckie beginning of fier and sword, to proceed against their aduersaries in those parties as fortune should lead them. This deuise was allotted of the greatest number, being glad to get beside the water. Wherevpon the mariners (vpon commandement giuen) drey with their ships into the mouth of the riuer called Esk, the which in those daies washed on the walles of a towne in Angus called then C. lurke, but now Mountros. Here the Danes taking land, put the inhabitants of the countrie thereabouts in great feare; so that with all speed for their safegard they got them into Mountros: but the towne being quicklie assailed of the Danes, was taken, put to the sacke, and after rased, castell and all to the bare ground, not one liuing creature being left alieue of all such as were found within the same.

From thence the armie of the Danes passed through Angus vnto the riuer of Taie, all the people of the countries by which they marched fleeing afore them. King Kenneth at the same time late at Sterling, where hearing of these greivous newes, he determined forthwith to raise his people, & to go against his enemies. The assemble of the Scottish armie was appointed to be at the place where the riuer of Erne falleth into the riuer of Taie. Here then they were come together in great numbers at the day appointed, the day next following word was brought to the king, that the Danes hauing passed ouer Taie, were come before the towne of Bertha, and had laid siege to the same. Then without further delay, he raised with the whole armie, and marched straight towards his enemies, comming that night

The Danes come to the river of Taie.

The Danes come to the river of Taie.

The Danes come to the river of Taie.

Some thought but to land in Scotland.

The Danes do land at Mountros.

Mountros taken, and all within was slain.

The Danes come to the river of Taie.

King Kenneth gathered a great armie.

The Danes lay before Bertha.

unto Doncart a village not far distant from the river of Eide, famous ever after, by reason of the battell fought then nere unto the same. The Danes hearing that the Scots were come, detracted no time, but forthwith prepared to giue battell.

Kenneth as soon as the sunne was up, beholding the Danes at hand, quicklie brought his armie into order. Then requiring them earnestlie to shew their manhood, he promisseth to release them of all tributes and payments due to the kings coffers for the space of five yeares next ensuing; and besides that he offered the summe of ten pounds, or else lands so much worth in value to euery one of his armie, that should bring him the head of a Dane. He willed them therefore to fight manfully, and to remember there was no place to attaine mercie; for either must they trie it out by dint of sword, or else if they fled, in the end to looke for present death at the enemies hands, who would not cease till time they had found them forth, into what place so euer they resorted for refuge, if they chanced to be vanquished. The Scots being not a little encouraged by the kings words, kept their order of battell according as they were appointed, still looking when the onset should be giuen. Malcolm Duffe prince of Cumberland led the right wing of the Scots; and Duncane lieutenant of Atholl the left: King Kenneth himselfe governed the battell. The enemies on the other part had taken their ground at the foot of a little mountaine right afoze against the Scottish campe. Thus both the armies stood readie ranged in the field, beholding either other a good space, till at length the Scots desirous of battell, and doubting least the Danes would not come forth to anie euen ground, auanced forward with somewhat more hast than the case required, beginning the battell with shot, and throwing of darts right freshlie.

The Danes being backed with the mountaine, were constrained to leaue the same, and with all speed to come forward vpon their enemies, that by joining they might auoid the danger of the Scottish mens arrowes and darts: by this meanes therefore they came to hand-strokes, in maner before the signe was giuen on either part to the battell. The fight was cruell on both sides: and nothing hindered the Scots so much, as going about to cut off the heads of the Danes, euer as they might overcome them. Which maner being noted of the Danes, and perceiving that there was no hope of life but in victorie, they rushed forth with such violence vpon their aduersaries, that first the right, and then after the left wing of the Scots, was constrained to retire and flee backe, the middle ward stoutly yet keeping their ground: but the same stood in such danger, being now left naked on the sides, that the victorie must needs haue remained with the Danes, had not a renewer of the battell come in time, by the appointment (as is to be thought) of almighty God.

For as it chanced, there was in the next field at the same time an husbandman, with two of his sons busie about his worke, named Haie, a man strong and stiffe in making and shape of bodie, but indured with a valiant courage. This Haie beholding the king with the most part of the nobles, fighting with great baliance in the middle ward, now destitute of the wings, and in great danger to be oppressed by the great violence of his enemies, caught a plow-beame in his hand, and with the same exhorting his sonnes to do the like, passed towards the battell, there to die rather amongst other in defense of his countrie, than to remaine aliuie after the discomfiture in miserable thraldome and bondage of the cruell and most unmercifull enemies. There was nere to the place of the battell, a long lane fenced on the sides with dis-

ches and walles made of turf, through the which the Scots which fled were beaten downe by the enemies on heapes.

Here Haie with his sonnes, supposing they might best staie the flight, placed themselves ouerthwart the lane, beat them backe whome they met fleeing, and spared neither friend nor fo: but downe they went all such as came within their reach, wherewith diuerse hardie personages cried vnto their fellows to returne backe vnto the battell, for there was a new powder of Scottishmen come to their succours, by whose aid the victorie might be easilie obtained of their most cruell aduersaries the Danes: therefore might they chafe whether they would be slaine of their olde fellows committing to their aid, or to returne againe to fight with the enemies. The Danes being here staied in the lane by the great valancie of the father and the sonnes, thought verely there had bene some great succours of Scots come to the aid of their king, and thereupon ceassing from further pursute, fled backe in great disorder vnto the other of their fellows fighting with the middle ward of the Scots.

The Scots also that before was chased, being incouraged herewith, pursued the Danes vnto the place of the battell right fiercelie. Whereupon Kenneth perceiving his people to be thus recomforted, and his enemies partlie abashed, called vpon his men to remember their duties, and now with their aduersaries hearts began (as they might perceiue) to faint, he willed them to follow vpon them manfully, which if they did, he assured them that the victorie undoubtedly should be theirs. The Scots incouraged with the kings words, laid about them so earnestlie, that in the end the Danes were constrained to forsake the field, and the Scots egerlie pursuing in the chase, made great slaughter of them as they fled. This victorie turned highlie to the praise of the Scottish nobilitie, the which fighting in the middle ward, bare still the hant of the battell, continuing manfully therein euen to the end. But Haie, who in such wise (as is before mentioned) staied them that fled, causing them to returne againe to the field, deserued immortall fame and commendation: for by his meanes chieflie was the victorie atchieued. And therefore on the morrow after, when the spoile of the field and of the enemies campe (which they had left void) should be diuided, the chieffest part was bestowed on him and his two sonnes, by consent of all the multitude; the residue being diuided amongst the souldiers and men of warre, according to the ancient custome vsed amongst this nation.

The king hauing thus vanquished his enemies, as he should enter into Bertha, caused coslie robes to be offered vnto Haie and his sonnes, that being richlie clad, they might be the more honoured of the people: but Haie refusing to change his apparell, was contented to go with the king in his old garments whither it pleased him to appoint. So entring with the king into Bertha, he was receiued with little lesse honor than the king himselfe, all the people running forth to behold him, whome they heard to haue so valiantlie rescued the battell, when the field was in maner lost without hope of all recouerie. At his entring into the towne he bare on his shoulder the plow-beame, more honourable to him than anie sword or battell are might haue bene to anie the most valiant warrior. Thus Haie being honored of all estates, with in certaine daies after, at a councill holden at Secone, it was ordeined, that both he and his posteritie should be accepted amongst the number of the chieffest nobles and pæres of the realme, being rewarded (besides monie and other great gifts)

lands and reuenues, such as he should chooe sufficient

Haie staied the Scots fro running away

The Scots were giuen to their battell againe.

The Danes fled towards their fellows in great disorder.

A Kenneth called vpon his men to remember their duties.

The Danes forsake the fields.

The spoile is diuided.

Haie refused coslie garments.

The king came to Bertha.

Haie is made one of the nobilitie.

He had reuenues assigned to him.

sufficient for the maintenance of their estates.

It is said, that by the counsell of his sonnes, who knew the fruitfulness of the soile, he did aske so much ground in those parts where the river of Tait runs by the towne of Arrol over against Jfife, as a falcon would flie over at one flight. Which request being freely granted of the king, the place was appointed at Jfifchire for the falcon to be cast off: the which taking hir flight from thence, neuer lighted till she came to a great stone nere a villiage called Kofse, not passing foure miles from Dundee. By which means all that countrie which lieth betwixt Jfifchire afore said, and the said stone (being almost six miles in length, and foure in breadth) fell vnto Haie and his sons. The name of the stone also being called the falcons stone to this daie, doth cause the thing better to be beleued, and well nere all the foresaid ground still continueth in the possession of the Haies euen vnto this day. Besides this, to the further honoring of his name, the king gaue him armes thre scutcheons gules in a field of silver, a plowbrame added thereto, which he used in stead of a battell are, when he fought so valiantlie in defense of his owne countrie. Thus had the Haies their beginning of nobilitie, whose house hath attained vnto great estimation of honor, and hath bene decorated with the office of the constableness of Scotland, by the bounteous beneuolence of kings that succeeded. These things happened in the first yere of king Berneth.

In the residue of the time that he reigned, though there chanced no great buisnesse by forein enemies, yet by ciuill sedition the state of the realme was wonderfullie disquieted. First a companie of Berns of the westerne Isles invading Kofse, to the intent to haue fetched a bottie, were met withall by the waite and ouerthrowne by the inhabitants of that countrie. After this sturre, another followed, farre more dangerous to the whole state of the common-wealth, raised by one Cruthlint, one of the chiefest lords of the Bernes, who was sonne vnto a certeine ladie named Fenella, the daughter of one Cruthneth, that was gouernor of that part of Angus which lieth betwixt the two riuers, the one called Southeske, and the other Jfiftheske. So it chanced, that on a time Cruthlint came vnto the castell of Delbogie to see his grandfather, the said Cruthneth as then lieng in the same: where vpon light occasion a fraie was begun amongst the seruicingmen, in the which two of Cruthlints seruants fortunated to be slaine. Which iniurie when Cruthlint declared by waite of complaint vnto his grandfather, he was so tenderlie heard, and answered in such repprochfull wise, as though he himselfe had bin the author of the buisnes, so that Cruthneths seruants perceiuing how little he was regarded of their master, fell vpon him and beat him, that not without danger of life he brake forth of their hands, and hardlie escaped away.

In his returne homewards, he came to his mother Fenella, where she lay within the castell of Jfifthcarne, the chiefest fortresse of all the Bernes. There being incensed through his mothers instigation, being a woman of a furious nature, he attempted forthwith to be reuenged of the iniurie received: so that assembling a number of his friends and kind folks so secretlie as he might togithor, with a band of the inhabitants of the Bernes, he entereth into Angus, and comming vnto the castell of Delbogie in the night season, was suffered to enter by the keepers of the gate, nothing suspecting anie treason in the world, by reason wherof was Cruthneth suddenly oppressed, the house sacked and rased, not one that was found within the same being left alieue. The spoile also was diuided by Cruthlint amongst them which came with him. The next day likewise he for-

raied the countrie all thereabouts, returning home with a great bottie.

They of Angus prouoked herewith, rested not long; but assembling themselves togither invaded the countrie of Bernes, where making great slaughter on each side, they left the countrie void almost both of men and cattell. Thus did the people of those two countries pursue the warre one against another a certeine time, with daile incursions and waikings of either others countries, in such cruell wise, that it was thought the one of them must needs shortly come to vtter destruction, if speedie remedie were not the sooner prouided. The king being informed of this mischief and great trouble, which was fallen out through sedition amongst those his subiects, he made proclamation by an herald, that those of Angus and Bernes, whom he understood to be culpable, should appeare within fiftene daies after at Stone, there to make answer afore appointed iudges, to such things as might be laid to their charge, vpon paine of death to euerie one that made default. When the day of appearance came, there were but few that did appeare.

The most part of them doubting to be punished for their offences with Cruthlint their capteine, fled out of Bernes, taking with them their wiues, and their children, and all their goods. The king being sore moued herewith, perceiued how readie the Scottish people were by nature vnto rebellion, when they were gentlie used: and againe how they obeyed the magistrates best when they were restrained from their wild outragious doings by due punishment and execution of iustice. He considered therefore that if he did not cause those seditious rebels which had thus disobeyed his commandements to be punished according to the order of the lawes, he should haue the whole realme shortly disquieted with ciuill warre and open rebellion. Wherevpon with all speed he caused earnest pursuit to be made after Cruthlint, and the residue of the offenders, the which at length being taken in Lochquahar, were brought vnto a castell in Cotwye called Downfennan, where after iudgement pronounced against them, Cruthlint first, and then other the chiefest stirrers on either side were put to execution. The commons, for that it was thought they followed their superiors against their willes, were pardoned and licenced to depart to their houses.

For this equitie shewed in ministering iustice by the king, he was greatlie praised, loved, and bread of all his subiects; so that great quietnesse followed in the state of the common-wealth, greatlie to the aduancement thereof, and so continued till the 22 yere of this Berneths reigne. At what time the blind loue he bare to his owne issue, caused him to procure a detestable fact, in making away one of his neere kinemen. This was Malcolme the sonne of king Duffe, created in the beginning of Berneths reigne prince of Cumberland, by reason wherof he ought to haue succeeded in rule of the kingdome after Berneths death. Whereat the same Berneth grieuing not a little, for that thereby his sonnes should be kept from inhering the crowne, found means to poison him. But though the physicians vnderstanding by such euident signes as appeared in his bodie, that he was poisoned indeed, yet such was the opinion which men had of the kings honor and integritie, that no suspicion at all was conceiued that it should be his deed.

The cloked loue also which he had shewed toward him at all times, and so sudden commandement giuen by him vpon the first newes of his death, that his funerals should be celebrated in euerie church and chappell for his soule; and againe, the teares which he

Haie his request.

The falcon measured Haie his lands out.

Haie had armes giuen him.

Ciuill wars in Scotland.

In other common in Bernes by Cruthlint.

Cruthlint went to see his grandfather.

Two of his seruants were slaine.

They set vpon Cruthlint also.

Cruthlint was instigated to reuenge.

He killed all them that were in the castell.

The countie is forsworn.

They of Bernes requite their injuries.

The king made a proclamation by an herald.

The culpable should appeare at Stone.

The families men are gone.

The king foretold the rebelling.

The king was bound to punish the disobedient rebels.

He is content with execution of others.

The king was thought to be his iudice.

He is content with execution of others.

The king was not suspected of this fact.

The king was not suspected of this fact.

shed for him, in all places where anie mention chan-
ced to be made of the losse which the realme had su-
stained by the death of so worthie a prince, made men
nothing mistrustfull of the matter, till at length some
of the nobles perceiving the outward sorrow (which he
made) to passe the true griefe of the heart, began to
gather some suspicion, that all was not well: but yet
because no certaintie appeared, they kept their
thoughts to themselves. About the same time came
ambassadors forth of England from king Edward
the sonne of Edgar (which after through treason of
his stepmother Escolda, was made a martyr) requir-
ing that sith Malcolme the prince of Cumberland
was deceased, it might please the king with the
states of the realme to chuse some other in his place,
who doing his homage unto the king of England,
according as it was covenanted by the league,
might be a meane to confirme the same league be-
twixt the two nations for the avoiding of all occasi-
ons of breach thereof that otherwise happilie might
insue.

Kenneth at the same time held a councell at
Stone, where having heard the request of these am-
bassadors, in presence of all his nobles, he answered
that he was glad to understand that king Edward
was so careful for maintenance of loue and amitie
betwixt his subjects and the Scottishmen, according
to the articles of the ancient league in times past
concluded betwixt them, the ratification whereof for
his part he likewise most earnestlie desired, and
therefore in rendering most heartie thanks unto
him for his gentle advertisement, he purposed by the
advice of his nobles, and the other estates of his
realme as then there assembled, to elect a new prince
of Cumberland, without anie further delate: and
thereupon required the ambassadors to be present on
the morrow, to heare what he was whom the nobles
should name to be preferred unto that dignitie. The
ambassadors hereupon departing forth of the coun-
cell chamber, were conveyed to their lodging by di-
uerse of the nobilitie that were appointed to keepe
them companie.

Then Kenneth with a long oration went about
to perswade the peeres, and other the estates of the
realme there (as I said) assembled, to alter the cus-
tome and ancient order vsed by their elders in cho-
sing of him that should succeed in the gouernance of
the realme, after the deceasse of him that was in
possession. He vsed so manie reasons as was pos-
sible for him to deuise in that behalfe, thereby to in-
duce them to his purpose, which was to haue an act
established for the crowne to go by succession, onelic
to this end, that one of his sonnes might intop the
same immediatlie after his deceasse. He declared
also what discommodities, seditions, and great incon-
ueniences had growne, in that the crowne had gone
in times past by election: for though it was ordeined
at the first that it should so do, vpon a good intent
and great consideration, yet in proccesse of time proue
and experience had shewed, that moze hinderance
happened vnto the common-wealth thereby (beside
the danger euer insuing incidentlie vnto such issue
as the king left behind him) than profit, if the sundrie
murthers, occasions of ciuill discord, and other wic-
ked practises were throughlie tried and considered,
the summe whereof he recited from point to point,
and so in the end with great instance besought them,
that so pernicious a custome might be abolished and
taken away, to the great benefit of the whole state
of the realme, speciallie sith in all realmes common-
lie the order was, that the sonne should without anie
contradiction succeed the father in the heritage of the
crowne and kinglie estate.

The king had no sooner made an end of his long

oration, which he handled after the pitifull sort he
could, but that diuerse of the noble men which were
there amongst other, being made priuie to the mat-
ter aforesaid, motioned meanes to haue Malcolme
the son of Kenneth created prince of Cumberland,
that he might so haue an entrance to the crowne af-
ter the deceasse of his father. This motion by and
by was in manie of their mouthes, which Kenneth
perceiving, he required of the most ancient peeres
whome they would name to be prince of Cumber-
land, that there might be a meane to ratifie and con-
firme the league betwixt the Scots and English-
men, Constantine the sonne of king Cullin, and
Grime the nephue of king Duffe by his brother Mo-
gall: howbeit by the force of the former law they
might by god reason haue looked to haue had the pre-
ferment themselves.

But yet perceiving it was in vaine to denie
that which would be had by violence (although they
should neuer so much stand against it) being first de-
manded of the herald what they thought, they an-
swered (notwithstanding against their minds indeed)
that the king might order all things as should
stand with his pleasure, appointing whom he thought
most meet to be prince of Cumberland, and to ab-
rogate the ancient law of creating the kings, in
deuising new ordinances for the same, as should
seeme vnto him and those of his councell most requi-
site and necessarie. The multitude then following
their sentence, cried with loud & indiscreet voices,
to haue Malcolme the sonne of king Kenneth crea-
ted prince of Cumberland. And thus the same Mal-
colme (though as yet vnder age) was by the voices
of the people ordeined prince of Cumberland, in
place of the other Malcolme sonne to king Duffe.
The daie next following, the ambassadors comming
into the councell chamber, heard what was decreed
touching their request, and then being highlie re-
warded of the kings bountious liberalitie, they re-
turned into England, and Malcolme with them, to
be acquainted with king Edward, and to do his ho-
mage for the principallitie of Cumberland, as the cus-
tome was.

At the same time also there was a new act deuised
and made, the old being abrogated (by the appoint-
ment of the king) for the creation of the Scottish
kings in time to come, manie of the nobles rather
consenting with silence, than greatlie allowing it ei-
ther in hart or voices, though some curriauours a-
mong them set forward the matter to the best of
their powers. The articles of this ordinance were
these. The eldest heire male of the deceased king,
whether the same were sonne or nephue, of what age
soeuer he should be, yea though he should be in the
mothers wombe at the time of the fathers deceasse,
should from thence forth succeed in the kingdome of
Scotland. The nephue by the sonne should be prefer-
red before the nephue by the daughter, in attaining
to the heritage of the crowne. And likewise the bro-
thers sonne should be admitted before the sisters son.
The same law should be obserued of all such of the
Scottish nation, as had anie lands or inheritance
comming to them by descent. Where the king by this
meanes chanced to be vnder age, & not able to rule,
there should be one of the chiefe peeres of the realme
chosen and elected to haue the gouernance of his per-
son and realme, till he came to 14 yeeres of age. The
which foureteenth yeere of his age being accompli-
shed, he should haue the administration committed
to his owne hands. The heires of all other persons
of ech estate and degree should remaine vnder the
wardship of their appointed gouernors, till they came
to the age of 21 yeeres, and not till then to meddle
with anie part of their lands and liuings.

D.f.

These

The peeres of
the realme did
willinglie
grant to his
request.

The herald
required Co-
stantine his
voice first.

Constantine
his saying.

The multi-
tude wel plea-
sed, cried Mal-
colme.

A new act for
the succession
of the crowne.

Articles con-
cluded in that
parlement.

These lawes and ordinances being once published and confirmed, king Kenneth supposed the kingdome to be fullie assured vnto him and his posteritie, and thereupon inducured himselfe to win the hartes of the people with vpright administration of iustice, and the fauour of the nobles he sought to purchase with great gifts which he bestowed amongst them, as well in lands belonging to the crowne, as in other things greatlie to their contentation. Thus might he seeme happie to all men, hauing the loue both of his lords

The good will of the nobilitie he bought with gifts.

The king had a guiltie conscience.

A voice heard by the king.

The king confessed his sinnes.

The king testified great repentance.

The king went to Fordune in pilgrimage, and parke with wild beasts at the castell of Fethircarne.

Fenella was of kin vnto Malcolme.

and commons: but yet to himselfe he seemed most unhappie, as he that could not but still liue in continuall feare, least his wicked practise concerning the death of Malcolme Duffe should come to light and knowledge of the world. For so commeth it to passe, that such as are prickled in conscience for anie secret offense committed, haue ever an vnquiet mind. And (as the same goeth) it chanced that a voice was heard as he was in bed in the night time to take his rest, uttering vnto him these or the like words in effect: *Thinke not Kenneth that the wicked slaughter of Malcolme Duffe by thee contrived, is kept secret from the knowledge of the eternall God: thou art he that didst conspire the innocents death, enterprising by traitorous meanes to doe that to thy neighbour, which thou wouldest haue reuenged by cruell punishment in anie of thy subiects, if it had bene offered to thy selfe. It shall therefore come to passe, that both thou thy selfe, and thy issue, through the iust vengeance of almightie God, shall suffer worthy punishment, to the infamie of thy house and familie for euermore. For euen at this present are there in hand secret practises to dispatch both thee and thy issue out of the waie, that other maie intop this kingdome which thou dost endeavour to assure vnto thine issue.*

The king with this voice being stricken into great dread and terror, passed that night without anie sleepe comming in his eyes. Wherefore in the morning he got him vnto bishop Spouean, a man of great holinesse of life, vnto whome he confessed his heinous and most wicked offense, beseeching him of counsell, which waie he might obtaine pardon and forgiveness at Gods hands by worthy penance. Spouean hearing how the king bemoaned his offense committed, he willed him to be of god comfort. For as the wrath of almightie God was prouoked by sinne and wicked offenses, so was the same pacified againe by repentance, if so be we continue penitent and willing to amend. King Kenneth being confirmed in hope of forgiveness by these and sundrie other like comfortable words of the bishop, studied vnfeinedlie to doe worthy penance, leauing nothing vndone which he thought might serue for a witnesse of his penitent hart, thereby to auoid the vengeance which he stood in feare of to be prepared for him, by reason of his heinous and wicked crime.

It chanced hereupon, that within a short time after he had bene at Fordune, a towne in Bernes, to visit the relikes of Valadius which remaine there, he turned a little out of the waie to lodge at the castell of Fethircarne, where as then there was a forrest full of all manner of wild beasts that were to be had in anie part of Albion. Here was he receiued by Fenella ladie of the house, whose son (as ye haue heard) he caused to be put to death, for the commotion made betwixt them of Bernes and Angus. She was also of kin vnto Malcolme Duffe, whome the king had made awaie, and in like manner vnto Constantine and Grime, defrauded of their right to the crowne, by the craftie deuse of the king (as before is partly mentioned.) This woman therefore being of a stout stomach, long time before hauing conceived an immortal grudge towards the king, vpon the occasions before rehearsed (namelie aswell for the death of

his sonne Cruthlint, as hauing some inkling also of the impossioning of Malcolme Duffe, though no full certaintie thereof was knowne) imagined might and day how to be reuenged.

She vnderstood that the king delighted aboute measure in goodlie buildings, and therefore to the end to compass his malicious intent, she had caused a tower to be made, joining vnto his owne lodging which in the foresaid castell of Fethircarne. The which tower was couered ouer with copper finelie ingrauen with diuerse flowers and images. Whereunto was it hong within with rich cloths of arras wrought with gold and silke, verie faire and coslie. Behind the same were there crossebowes set readie bent with sharpe quarrels in them. In the middell of the house there was a goodlie brazen image also, resembling the figure of king Kenneth, holding in the one hand a faire golden apple set full of pretious stones, deuised with such art and cunning, that so lone as anie man should draw the same vnto him, or remoue it neuer so little anie waie forth, the crossebowes would immediatlie discharge their quarrels vpon him with great force and violence.

Fenella therefore being thus provided aforehand, after meate desired the king to go with her into that inner chamber, into the which being entered, he could not be satisfied of long with the beholding of the goodlie furniture, aswell of the hangings as of diuerse other things. At the last hauing viewed the image which stood (as is said) in the middell of the chamber, he demanded what the same did signifie: Fenella answered, how that image did represent his person, and the golden apple set so richlie with smaragds, lacincts, sapphires, topases, rubies, turkallies, and such like pretious stones, she had prouided as a gift for him, and therefore required him to take the same, beseeching him to accept it in god part, though it were not in value worthy to be offered vnto his princelie honoz and high dignitie. And herewith she herselfe withdrew aside, as though she would haue taken some thing forth of a chest or coffer, thereby to auoid the danger.

But the king delighted in beholding the gems and orient stones, at length remouing the apple, the better to aduise it, incontinentlie the crossebowes discharged their quarrels so directlie vpon him, that striking him through in sundrie places, he fell downe starke dead, and lay flat on the ground. Fenella as sone as she beheld him fall to the ground readie to die, she got forth by a backe doze into the next woods, where she had appointed hostes to tarie for her, by meanes whereof she escaped out of all danger of them that pursued her, per the death of the king were openlie knowne vnto them. His seruants still waiting for his comming forth in the vpper chamber, at length when they saw he came not at all, first they knocked at the doze softly, then they rapped hard thereat: lastlie, doubting that which had hapened, they brake open doze after doze, till at length they came into the chamber where the king lay cold dead vpon the floze.

The clamor and crie hereupon was raised by his seruants, and Fenella cursed and sought for in euerie place, that had committed so heinous and wicked a deed: but the vngenerous woman was conueied so secretlie out of the waie, that no where could she be heard of. Some supposed that she fled first vnto Constantine, by whose helpe she got ouer into Ireland. The ambitious desire which the same Constantine shewed he had to succeed in gouernment of the kingdome after Kenneths decease, increased that suspicion greatlie. For immediatlie after it was known that Kenneth was dead, he got his friends together, and went vnto diuerse places requiring the lords to

She was the cause of his reuenge.

Fenella the malicious intent.

Crossebowes readie bent.

Fenella had the key into the inner chamber.

The king was slain with the crossebowes.

Fenella escaped from the king.

His seruants looked for the king.

The doze was broken open, they find him dead.

Fenella could not be found.

Fenella got first into Ireland by the helpe of Constantine.

Constantine aspired vnto the crowne.

amiss him in attaining to the crowne, which by the old ordinance and law of the realme (instituted in the beginning, and observed till now of late; that Kenneth by his private authoritie had gone about to abrogate the same) ought to descend unto him, as all the world verie well understood.

Constantine procured friends so on each side, that by their meanes being of high authoritie in the realme, he was brought by them unto Stone, and there crowned king the 12 day after Kenneths deceasse, in the 25 yere after that the same Kenneth had begun his reigne ouer the Scottishmen, and in the yere of our saluation a thousand iust in the which yere (as is said) sundrie vnketh fights were scene as well in Albion, as in other places. The sea left upon the sands on the coasts of Buchquane, an infinite multitude of fishes, the which lying there dead, caused such a stinking fauour, that the aire being therewith infected, great death of people ensued. The more appeared of a bloudie colour, to the great terror of them that beheld it. In the summer next following, come failed, and cattell died so generallie, that if there had not bene more plentie of fish got than was accustomed to be, the people had bene famished in manye places. In Albion and also France it rained stones. But all these dreadfull wonders might not with draw the Scottishmen from their wicked vices, whereunto in those daies they were wholly giuen, though there wanted not diuerse vertuous men, as well bishops as other, that in their sermons exhorted the people to repent and amend their naughty liuings: for other wise vndoubtedlie such gristlie sights and tokens as chanced in those daies, menaced some great mischief to fall vnto the whole nation. And snerlie their words proued true: for the Scots continuing in their wilfulnesse, being stubborne harted one against another, brought their countrie into danger of vtter destruction.

Malcolme the sonne of Kenneth, created (as ye haue heard in his fathers life time) prince of Cumberland, hearing that Constantine (against the ordinance lately made) had usurped the crowne, as sone as his fathers bodie was buried in Colmekill, with such funerall pompe as appertained, he desired his fathers friends to giue him such faithfull counsell as they thought most expedient, which way he were best to walke for the appeasing of the sedition now begun, by reason of Constantines presumptuous attempt. There were some amongst that compaignie that toke it to be best, first to vnderstand the minds of all the peeres and nobles of the realme, before they went about anie exploit against the tyrant; least whilest Malcolme should seek to deliuer himselfe from danger, he might hapilie wind himselfe further into trouble, than without extream perill of the common wealth he should be able to get forth thereof againe. Other there were that iudged it best suddenly to go against Constantine before he made himselfe strong: for if they came vpon him yet he were provided for their coming, manie of them that feigned themselves to be his friends, would forsake him, so sone as they saw anie power of his enemies at hand. And then should he either fall into their hands, or be driven to flee the realme for safeguard of his life.

The fierce young man following this counsell as the best to his seeming, & trusting more to his owne wit than to the graue aduise of men of skill, assembled together in all hast possible about the number of ten thousand men, with whom making towards Constantine with speedie iornies, at length he came into Louthian. Constantine being informed of all his aduersaries doings, had gotten together also an huge power, so that passing forth with the same to

incounter them, the hate which ran of his great number and puissance, caused Malcolme for verie feare that he should not be able in anie part to match him, to breake vp his armie, and to flee backe into Cumberland: by reason whereof he had bene put to such hindrance and dishonour, as would not easilie haue bene recovered, had not Kenneth the bastard sonne of his father the aboue mentioned Kenneth incamped with a mightie power about Sterling, & defended the passages of the Forth, that Constantine with his armie could not come ouer. Then rose there great famine and penurie of vittells in both hostes, so that Constantine with great indignation was constrained to breake vp his campe, and so to leaue his enterprise for that season.

Thus was the realme diuided into two sundrie factions, whereupon followed wastings and incursions made into each others possessions, with such crueltie, that the same might be a sufficient instruction what mischief happeneth through ciuill discord. The poore commons and husbandmen were brought to such miserie through the often spoilings and robberies vsed by the men of warre, that they were not able to till their grounds. Finally, there rose one mischief so fast in the necke of an other, that no kind of crueltie was spared, robbing, reauing, and forcible extortion was exercised on all sides without hope of anie redresse or amendment. Whilest the Scottishmen were thus at diuision amongst themselves, renting and pulling in peeces their owne miserable native countrie, Edward king of England being oppressed with inuasion of Danes, was glad to buye peace at their hands, for himselfe and his people, with right large summes of monie; but perceiving that his enemies ceased not daile to spoile and rob his subiects, he purposed to trie what he might doe by making them warre: and to make his part the stronger, he required Malcolme prince of Cumberland to aid him against the Danes, according to the couenant of the ancient league. Malcolme consenting to K. Edwards request, came with a mightie armie of Cumberland men to support him: by reason whereof the Danes doubting to be overmatched, after certeine light skirmishes, without anie great bloodshed, condescended to haue peace, which was concluded with these conditions: that king Edward should paie vnto the Danes a thousand pounds of gold, for the which they should content themselves with those lands which they had alreadie in possession, and to inuade no further vpon the Englishmen: but contrariwise to be readie to fight in their defense, if anie forreine enemy sought to make anie warres vpon them. In the meane time, whilest Malcolme was thus in England occupied in aid of king Edward against the Danes, king Constantine thought the time to serue verie well for his purpose, to reduce all those regions of Scotland, which toke part with his aduersarie (the fore said Malcolme) vnder his subiection.

He assembled therefore twentie thousand men, and coming into Louthian, heard how Kenneth the bastard aforesaid (being left by his brother Malcolme to resist Constantines attempts) had got together an huge armie of his brothers friends, and was come vnto Cratmond, where the riuer falleth into the Forth, thre miles from Edinburgh, purposing there to abide his enemies, if they minded to assaile him. Constantine hereupon halted thitherwards, and coming within sight of his enemies, straightwaies ioined battell with them; immediately therewith there rose such an outrageous tempest of wind, coming out of the east, & diuing the sand in the faces of Constantines men, that they were not able to see about them to make anie defense against

Malcolme thought himselfe too weak

Lacke of vittells caused Constantine to breake vp his campe.

King Edward, or rather Ethelred, purchased peace of the Danes.

Malcolme is readie to helpe king Edward against the Danes.

King Edward made peace with the Danes.

King Constantine renewed warre with Malcolme.

Constantine ioined battell with Kenneth the bastard.

King Con-
stantine is
slaine.

1002

Grime.

Grime was
liberalitie and
gentlenesse
towards Con-
stantines
friends.

Malcolme
prince of
Cumberland
is moved as
against
Grime.
A good coun-
sell.

Malcolme
kneweth
the lords
of Scotland.

Malcolme
his promise
unto the
Scots.

Malcolme his
messengers
are committed
to prison.

Malcolme be-
ing offended
therewith, ga-
thered an ar-
mie.

Grime is of
greater force
than Mal-
colme.

Malcolme
would not
have his peo-
ple to under-
stand the
treach thereof.

His advice
was not.

gainst their enemies that then preased upon them right eagerlie. By means wherof the discomfiture lighted upon Constantines side, though neither part had anie great cause to reioise: for in the hottest of the fight, Constantine and Kenneth chanced to encounter together, and so fighting man to man, either slue other. Thus Constantine ended his life by dint of the enemies sword, in the third yeare of his reigne; & in the yeare after the incarnation 1002, his bodie was buried in Colmekill amongst his predecessors.

Then Grime nephew to king Duffe, hearing of the slaughter made betwixt king Constantine and Kenneth, gathered together the residue of Constantines armie, being scattered abroad after the overthrow, supposing that by the death of Kenneth, the partie of his brother Malcolme was foreweakened, & thereupon he came unto the abbete of Scoon, and there caused himselfe to be crowned king; and latofull successor unto Constantine, by force of the old laws and ordinances of the realme. And to establish himselfe the more firmelie in the state, he showed great gentlenesse towards all them that were friends unto Constantine, and bestowed upon them manie bountifull gifts. Neither was his liberalitie shut up from other that had favored Malcolme, for to the end he might allure them to beare him good will, he rewarded them highly both in lands and treasure: but other of the same faction, to whom he saw by no means could be wonne, he caused them to be proclaimed traitors, and confiscated their goods as rebels to his person, and enemies to the crowne.

Malcolme prince of Cumberland sore moved in his mind that Grime had thus taken upon him the crowne, called his friends together, requiring to haue their advice, which way he were best to walke in this so great a matter. They counselled him in no wise he should despise the force of his enemies; but rather to assaie by all means to draw those nobles unto his purpose, which were assiant unto Grime. Whereupon Malcolme following the counsel of his friends, sent forth secret messengers unto those lords that took part with Grime, requiring them to remember their promised faith, giuen unto his father king Kenneth, concerning the obseruance of the law established by their consent for the succession of their kings: which if they would doe in renouncing their obseance unto the usurper Grime, he promised so to gouerne the realme with equall iustice, that no estate in reason should find cause to midlike with his doings. Manie of the nobles by means of this message revolted from the said Grime soliciting their friends by earnest trauell to doe the like. But other & the greater number took those that brought the message, & sent them as prisoners unto Grime, who presentlie committed them to prison.

Malcolme sore offended therewith, by counsel of his friends, assembled an armie to go against them, that (contrarie to the law of all nations, as he seemed to take the matter) had imprisoned his purseruants and messengers: but as he was marching forward on his purposed iourne, he heard by the way, how his aduersarie king Grime had gathered a farre greater power than he had with him, not onelie of all such of the Scottish nation inhabiting beyond the riuers of Forth and Clide, but of them also of the weserne Isles. Malcolme doubting least if the certaintie hereof were once bruted amongst his people, the same would increase the terror more than needed; he gaue commandement therfore that no maner of taight should be suffered to come into his armie, vnlesse he were first brought to his presence. But this denise nothing auailed him: for thereby that which he desired to be concealed and kept most secret, became the more manifest,

by reason that such as had some inkelling of the matter, told it from one to another; making it much more than it was in truth. For there rose a murmuring amongst them; that there was such treason contriued, that if Malcolme with his armie went forward to ioin with his aduersaries, he should not be in danger onelie of them, which he knew to come against him in Grimes host; but also of no small number of them which were in his owne armie; who upon the iourning had determined to turne their speare points against him in Grimes quarrell.

This rumour passing from one to another, put the whole armie in great disorder: it was so troubled by certaine merchants, of whom there was a great number in Malcolmes host, hauing store still in being and selling, that in anie warlike enterprises, which at the first being for licence to depart home, and could haue no grant, began to lament their miseries, as high dolefull wiffe, that all the campe was troubled with the noise; insomuch that euen the old men of warre, and diuers of the capteins, were not a little discomfited and amazed with such wailefull clamors. Malcolme being aduertised hereof, thought it good to match in battell against his fierce enemies with his people furnished with through bread and terror; and therefore gave licence to the most part of his host to depart for that time, and aboad onelie in the certaine bands of his most faithful friends were to the water of Forth, to stop his enemies from passing over that river.

Whilist the realme of Scotland was thus disquieted and troubled with ciuill discord; Fothadus the great bishop of Scotland, a man of right approved vertue and clemencie, lamenting to see his countrie thus diuided and rent as it were in peeces, got him into his pontificall bestures, with a multitude of other reuerend priests and ecclesiasticall ministers, in humble wise comming and presenting themselves before king Grime, who with great reuerence receiuing them, willed to understand the cause of their comming. Then Fothadus answered, that he was come as the seruant of Christ, the author of all peace and concord, beseeching him by way of humble supplication to take ruth and pittie of the great trouble and miserie fallen to the realme, since the time he had taken the gouernance upon him, the state of things being such, as if some redyelle were not found in all speedie wise, the utter ruine of the common-wealth must needs ensue, by reason of the sundrie debates and factions baile rising among the people of all sorts and degrees, so that murders, robberies, rapes, with all other kinds of iniuries & mischiefe were still put in practice without restraint or punishment, in such licentious sort that no man could assure himselfe of his owne: for whether it were within doores, or without, the robber was as redie to laie hands on it as the owner. Neither was there anie hope of reformation so long as the ciuill wars lasted: Therefore if it might stand with the pleasure of king Grime in reliefe of the poore commons of Scotland, to condescend unto some necessarie agreement with Malcolme, Fothadus offered to undertake to conclude a peace betwixt them, in such wise as should in no manner of behalfe be preiudiciall to his honor and roiall maiestie.

Grime moved with the words of the bishop (who most instantlie besought him, although the calamitie and great affliction of his people did but little mollifie his heart; yet in respect of his owne laertie, which might not continue if his people were once destroyed, to remit part of his high displeasure) answered, that peace he could be contented to haue, so the same might be concluded with his honor saued: for suchlike wars he neuer desired but onelie in defence of

of his good title and right, which he had to the crowne descended vnto him by the old lawes and ancient ordinances of the realme, and therefore he purposed not to leaue the same with life, but to fight for it against Malcolme, and all his partakers, euen vnto death. But if it were so, that Malcolme would content himselfe with the principallitie of Cumberland, and so thereupon breake vp his campe, and depart south of the lands pertaining vnto the crowne, he would gladly come to a communication with him for peace; but if Malcolme refused thus to do, he assured him that he would not leaue off to pursue him to the uttermost of his power, as his most cruell and fierce enemy.

Fothadus hauing heard Crimes words, besought him to staie a time, till he might go vnto Malcolme, to vnderstand what his full mind was in this behalfe not doubting but to find him conformable vnto anie reasonable motion, for relieuing of the poore afflicted state of the land. Crime granting vnto this request, Fothadus in like sort and habit as he came vnto Crime, went vnto Malcolme, whome he found at Sterling; where comming before his presence with a long oration, he greatly bewailed the dolorous calamities of the Scottish common-wealth, into the which it was fallen through ciuill sedition onlie, and herewith declared also by great likelihood of substantiall reasons, how infortunat and miserable the end should be of the warres, if the same were pursued to the uttermost. His tale being throughlie heard and well digested, wrought so with Malcolme, that he promised to withdraue into Cumberland without anie further attempt, if Crime would in like case breake vp his campe, and agree to haue a truce for thre moneths space, in which meane time they might by certeine commissioners appointed and authorised thereto, talke and common for concluding of a finall peace and concord betwixt them.

Crime refused not this offer, and so thereupon licenced his people to depart to their homes, repairing himselfe with certeine of his nobles into Angus vnto the castell of Fofair, there to take further aduise what was to be done touching the appointed communication of peace. But Fothadus would in no wise rest, till the commissioners were met and assembled together in communication at Scone, where within few daies after (chiefly through his earnest diligence) peace was concluded with these conditions. First, that Crime during his life time should intoy the crowne, and after his deceasse the same to remaine to Malcolme & his heirs by lineall descent for euer, according to the ordinance & decree made & established by R. Benneth. And whosoever should go about either by word or deed to impeach or hinder the said ordinance and decree, should be reputed for a traitor to the common-wealth & realme. Furthermore all the lands lieng betwixt Northian & Northumberland, and betwixt Clide and West-merland, euen from the Almatine seas to the Irish seas, should presentlie remaine & be transported vnto the dominion & gouernement of Malcolme, with the which contenting himselfe, during the naturall life of Crime, he should continue in friendship with the said Crime, & so in no wise stirre or moue anie warre or debate, either against him or anie of his friends: for if he did, and went about to breake anie of the articles of this peace, he should not onelie lose those lands which he now held, but also be deprived of all the right, title, claime, and interest which either he or his posteritie might make or pretend vnto the crowne at anie time hereafter.

When both the princes had bound themselves by solempne othes to performe euerie point and points in these articles compised, they laid armes aside,

and began to take order for reforming of all misde-meanours, which had happened within the land, by reason of the ciuill contention moued betwixt them and their partakers. Whobbeit, commandement was giuen by either of these princes, that their subjects should be still in a readinesse with armour and weapons (if need required) to defend themselves against all sudden inuasions of their neighbours, whereby it may be gathered, that the one had the other still in some mistrust, that countenance soeuer they shewed outwardlie. Yet notwithstanding, for the space of 8 yeares together, the peace continued without breach, or any notable trouble betwixt them.

But Crime at length of a chaste & liberall prince, through long flouth and increase of riches, became a most couetous tyrant, and so corrupted in maners and conditions, that it passed the bounds of all reason and equitie: insomuch that when he had put vnto death diuerse of his nobles, to the end he might haue their lands and goods as forfeited by attendoz, he oppressed the people by continuall exactions also each day more than other. His subjects being thus brought into extreame miserie through his wicked and vniust gouernement, not knowing where to seke for redresse, saue onelie at the hands of almighty God, the punisher of all sinne, besought him to haue pittie of their afflictions and miseries, and to change the gouernment of the realme into some better state. The lordz also hauing great indignation of the trouble fallen to the realme, by the kings misgouernance and anaricions crueltie, appointed a certeine number of gentlemen to go vnto him as ambassadors from them, to require him to put alwaie from him such naughtie persons as by euill counsell had peruerterd his mind, & moued him to do things contrarie to his honor, and the wealth of his realme.

One of these ambassadors (to whome the charge was giuen) had the words in name of them all, who comming before the kings presence, declared to him that they were sent from the residue of the nobles and pæres of his realme, to admonish him of things pertaining to the suertie of his estate, and common wealth of his dominions: which was, that whereas through perswasion of euill counsellors he suffered manie enormities to be committed by his ministers and officers against his subjects, to their utter impoverishment and vndoing, the rebuke wherof did rebound vnto his dishonour, if it would please him to remoue out of his presence and seruite all such disloyall persons as sought the hinderance of the common-wealth, he should win thereby the loue of all his liege subjects, which now could not but grudge and repine at this his gouernement, as men by the same brought into such calamitie, that better it were for them in their iudgements to be dead than aliue, if reformation were not the sooner had against such extortioners as his seruants and officers did daile practise, and for the which no doubt he must needs answer, sith the sword was committed vnto him, not to enrich couetous persons, nor to oppress innocent and true dealing people, but contrarie to punish and correct gulltie and vniust dealers.

When king Crime had heard what message these ambassadors had brought, he answered to the same with fained words, and willed them vnder the pretext of courtesie to a banquet, in purpose to haue put them all in prison: but they being aduertised thereof got them in all hast to their houses, and fled forthwith vnto Bertha, where the residue of the nobles at the same time were assembled. Crime hauing thus no regard to the wholesome aduertisement of his nobles, thought that all things would come forward with such felicitie and hap as he wished, not ceassing from raising new painments and exactions still of

applied their studies to reforme misde-meanours.

King Crime his alteration from noble qualities vnto detestable vices.

The common peoples prayer

The lordz require Crime to reforme the misgouernment of his officers.

The office of the sword.

King Crime purposed to haue slaine the messengers.

The lords of Scotland are ere warre against Crime their king.

what mischief ensued.

Malcolme is required to relieve the Scottish estate.

Malcolme consenteth to make warres against Crime.

Crime assembleth an armie to encounter Malcolme. The camps were the one to the other. Crimes policie.

Malcolmes request.

The battell betwixt Crime and Malcolme. Crimes part discomfited.

The end of king Crime.

his subiects, till at length he was advertised how his nobles had raised open warre against him, at which netoes being soe kindled with displeasure, he got together a great number of men, and marched forth towards them that had so rebelled against him. Then followed moze mischief and trouble than ever had bene scene afore that time in Scotland: for by reason of this ciuill dissention, castles were rased and overthrowne, towncs burned by, cozne destroyed, fields waisted, and the people slaine in all places, yea as well in churches as elsewhere.

Malcolme prince of Cumberland hearing of such cruell wars as were thus raised in Scotland betwixt the king and the nobles of the realme, to the danger of the utter euerfion of the whole common-wealth, returned with all speed forth of England (where he was with an armie as then in aid of king Egeldred against the Danes) into his owne countrie for defense of his subiects, if anie attempt should happilie be made against them in that troublesome season. Wherupon, he was no sooner returned home, but the nobles of Louthian came unto him, beseeching him to take pitie vpon his miserable and toynes countrie, & to imploie his whole force to remove away from the people such imminent destruction as daillie hastned towards them, which to do they thought it was partlie euen his dutie, sith God had bestowed vpon him such gifts, both of bodie, mind, and fortune, as most pientiously appeared in him, not onlie for the weale of himselfe, but also of his friends & countrie, & therefore his part was to shew his earnest diligence to deliuer the common-wealth of such tyrannie as was practised by the misgouernement of Crime and his unhappie counsellors. Which being done, he might order all things as should like him best.

Malcolme moued with these and the like perswasions of the Scottish lords, which daillie resorted vnto him, resolved with promise of their support to leue warre against Crime in this so necessarie a quarell, and so assembling a great puissance together, he did set forth towards his aduersarie. By the way also there came still vnto him great numbers of men from each side to aid him in this enterpryse, offering by solenne othes to become his liegemen and subiects. Crime likewise being advertised of those netoes, with all speed got together such people as he might assemble for the time, and coming forward with the same at the towne of Auchnabart, both the armies pitched downe their tents, the one fast by the other, on the Ascension daie. Here Crime supposing that he might take his enemies at some aduantage, if he came vpon them on the sudden, for that being giuen to deuotion, they would loke for nothing lesse than for battell on that daie, he got forth of his campe in the dawning of that morning, in purpose forthwith to assaile them.

Notwithstanding, Malcolme being advertised thereof, sent vnto Crime, requesting him to desist from battell for reuerence of that blessed feast, but Crime would in no wise assent thereto, but naides would come on without stop or staie; wherupon both the armies rushing together met right fiercelie, so that in the beginning there was great slaughter made on both sides, but within a while king Crimes side was put to the worse, and in the end cleerlie discomfited. In the chase were manie slaine, but yet no such number as so notable a victorie required. It is said that Crime was taken alive standing at defense, & most fiercelie fighting, who being soe wounded in the head, had both his eyes put out, and afterwards continuing so in great miserie and languor certaine daies, at length departed out of this life, in the 9 yere of his reigne, and was buried in Colme-

kill, after the incarnation 1010 yeres.

After this victorie thus obtained by Malcolme, he called such noble men as were taken prisoners in this battell before him, vsing manie gentle wordes toward them, declaring that the right of the crowne appertained vnto him, and that the warres which he had made, were not attempted against the common wealth of the Scottish estate, but rather in reliefe thereof, to the end the people might be deliuered of the tyrannie exercised by Crime and his counsellors. When he had thus vttered his mind vnto them, he appointed a publike assembly to be kept at Scone (for the election of a new king) there to be holden within 15 daies after. Whither the Scottish nobilitie comming together at the time & place appointed, and consenting to crowne Malcolme king, he vtterlie refused to receiue the crowne, except the law established by his father Kenneth for the succession thereof were first confirmed and approued, wherupon the lords bound themselves by solenne othes to perforce the same, and neuer to breake and violate it in anie condition. His request herein being granted with generall consent both of the nobles and commons, the crowne was set vpon his head, he being placed in the chaire of marble, to the great reioysing of all the people present.

When the sollemnitie of this coronation was ended, he called before him againe all the lords and pæres of his realme; of the which, part had aided him in the last warres, and part had bene assistant vnto his aduersarie Crime: and there bled the matter in such wise amongst them, that he made them all friends, each one promising to other to forget all former offenses, displeasures, and controuersies past, which he did to avoid all intestine trouble that might grow out of the rotes of such rancor and malice, as in tyme of the ciuill discord had sprung vpon among them. Further, for the better administration of iustice in due forme and maner, he bestowed publike offices vpon discret persons, skilfull in the lawes and ordinances of the realme. Other offices pertaining to the warres & defense of the realme, he committed to such as were practised & trained in such exercises, so that iustice was ministred on all sides throughout the kingdome, with such equitie and by rightnesse, as had not bene heard of in anie age before him. Whilest the Scottish estate was gouerned in such happie wise, by the prudent policie of king Malcolme; it chanced that Sueno king of Danes landed in England with a mightie nauie, in purpose to reuenge the iniuries done before vnto his people by the Englishmen.

This Sueno (as appeareth moze at large in the historie of Denmarke) first being an earnest persecutor of christian men, and punished by the diuine prouidence for his crueltie in that behalfe, shewed by sundrie onerthrowes receiued at the enemies hands, as in being thrise taken prisoner, and in the end by iuen and expelled out of his kingdome, he came into Scotland for reliefe and succour, where through the wholesome instruction of goodlie and vertuous men, he renounced his heathenish belefe, and receiued the christian faith, and being baptised, at length was restored home to his kingdome. Shortly after with a mightie armie of Danes, Gothes, Norwegians, and Swedencers, with other northerne people, he arrived (as is said) in England, and chased king Egeldred into Northumberland, who there receiuing aid from the Scots, according to the league which latelie before he had contracted with them, he determined effronces to trie the chance of battell with his enemies. Marching forwards therfore towards them, he came to the riuer of Wuse, nere to the banks whercof, not farre from Forke, he pitched downe

1004. M. 1010. H. B. Malcolme was crowned at Scone.

Malcolme refused the crowne but upon compulsion.

The opinion of king Malcolme for the succession of the crown was confirmed.

Malcolme

Malcolme greatly therewith was pleased.

Malcolme was crowned at Scone.

Sueno king of Denmarke landed in England.

Sueno was chased to the chace of Forke in Scotland.

Egeldred as the Scots were chasing him, he fled into Northumberland, and from thence to the Scots.

downe his tents.

Then Sueno not forgetfull of the benefitts and pleasures received but latelie at the Scottismens hands, sent an herald at armes vnto them, commanding them to depart their waies home, and to refuse Egeldreds companie; either else to take for most cruell battell at the hands of the Danes, the Forwegians, and others the people of Germanie, there ready bent to their destruction. Egeldred being aduertised that his aduersaries messenger was thus come into his campe, caused him to be staied and arrested for a spie. And the same day he brought forth his battels readie ranged into the fields, to trie the matter by dint of sword, if Sueno were so minded; who being desirous to accept the offer, brought forth also his people in perfect order and well arrayed to fight, so that there was no staie on either part, but that together they shue most fiercelie, & in such eger tosse, that neither side had leasure to bestow their shot, but euen at the first they buckled together at handblowes, continuing certeine houres with great & cruell slaughter, till at length the Englishmen were put to flight, leaving the Danes a verie dære and bloudie victorie. The murder also that day of the Scots was great, but yet nothing to the number of the Englishmen. Egeldred himselfe with a few other, got a bote and passed ouer Duse, so escaping out of the enemies hands, but the rest were for the most part either taken or slaine.

Thus Egeldred being vtterlie vanquished and despairing of all recouerie, fled out of England ouer into Normandie, where he was verie friendlie received of Richard as then duke of Normandie, and afterwards purchased such fauour there amongst the Normans, that he married the ladie Emma, daughter vnto the said duke, and begot of hir two sonnes, Alured and Edward, as in the English chronicles more at large it dooth appere. Sueno hauing thus overcome his enemies, and now put in possession of the whole realme of England, was in mind to haue destroyed all the English generation, so to establish the kingdome to him and his posteritie for euer, without anie impeachment afterwards to be made by such as should succed of them that were then aliue. But the nobles of England aduertised of Suenos determination, came humble before his presence, & falling downe on their knees at his feet, besought him in most pittifull wise to haue compassion on their miserable estate, who in times past being a most puissant nation, both by sea and land, were now satisfied (if he would grant them life) to continue vnder what bondage and seruitude it should stand with his pleasure to prescribe, for they desired neither possession of castles, townes, or other souerainties, but onelie to liue with their wiues and children vnder subiection within their owne native countrie, at the victors will and appointment.

Sueno, albeit he was of nature verie cruell, yet he qualified his displeasure by this humble submission of the English nobilitie; in such sort, that he vsed the victorie farre more gentlie, than at the first he had purposed, commanding that the whole English nation should remaine in the countrie, but in such wise, as by no meanes they should presume to beare anie armoz or weapon, but to applie themselves vnto husbandrie, and other seruaile occupations vnder the gouernement of the Danes, vnto whom they should resigne and deliuer all their castles, forts, and strong holds; and taking an oth to be true liege men vnto Sueno, as their soueraigne lord and king; they should bring in (to be deliuered vnto his vse) all their weapons and armoz, with other munition for the warres, also all their gold and siluer, aswell in plate as coine. If anie of the Englishmen refused thus to

do, proclamation was made that he should immediatlie lose his life as a rebell and a disobedient person. These conditions were hard, and hardlie vged. The Englishmen were brought vnto such an extremitie, that they were faine to accept these conditions of peace, for other meane to avoid present death they knew none. And thus was the dominion of England conquered by the Danes, after the Saxons had reigned in the same 564 yeeres.

Such tyrannie also after this was vsed by the Danes, that none of the English nation was admitted to anie office or rule within the realme, either spirituall or temporall, but were vtterlie removed from the same, and some of them cast in prison and daile put in hazard of their liues. Finaltie, the Englishmen were brought into such miserable thraldome, that euerie houtholder within the realme was constrained to receiue and find at his owne proper costs and charges, one Dane, who should continually giue good watch what was said or done in the house, and to aduertise the king thereof, for doubt of conspiracies or treasons to be contriued and practised against his person and roiall estate. This Dane by the good man of the house and his familie, for honor sake, was called lord Dane, which word was afterwards turned to a name of reproch, as where anie sole person liued loitering, without the vse of some honest exercise to get his liuing withall, the people were and yet are accustomed to call him a lordaine.

Thus farre out of Hector Boetius we haue shewed of Suenos doings in England, the which although it agree not in all points with our English histories, yet sith the historie of Scotland in this place seemeth partlie to hang thereon, we haue thought good to set it downe as we find it in the same Boetius: but aduertising the reader withall, that if our histories be true, this which followeth touching Suenos inuading of Scotland, chanced before that Egeldred, whome the Scottish writers name Eldred, was diuened to flee into Normandie. For when that Sueno lastlie returned into England, and constrained Egeldred so to forsake the land, he liued not long after but departed this life about Candelmas, in the yeere 1014 (as in the English histories ye may read more at large) not hauing time to make anie such iourne into Scotland: so that it may be thought, if he did enterprize anie such exploit there, it was before this his last arrivall in England.

But now to proceed according to that which we find in the foresaid Boetius. Sueno hauing spoiled the Englishmen of their libertie (in manner before remembred, or rather brought them to become tributaries vnto him, as at the first time of his arrivall here he did in deed, he thought it necessarie, for the more suertie of his estate in England, to conclude some peace or league with his neighbours the Normans, Britains, & Scots, vnder condition that they should not support anie Englishman against him. But for so much as he could not compass his intention here in, he furnished all the castles and fortresses on the sea-coasts, ouer against Normandie, with men, munition, and vittels, to resist all sudden inuasions that might be attempted on that side. And on the other part towards the north, he made all the prouision he could deuise to make moztall wars vpon the Scots: and the more to annoie his enemies, he sent commandement vnto Olauus his lieutenant in Norwaye, and to Diethus his deputie in Denmarke, to come with all the power they might leaue into Scotland, to make warres on his enemies there.

Wherevpon shortly after those foresaid capitains arrived with an huge armie in the mouth of Spie, and landed in such puissant order, that the inhabitants of Murray land fled out of their houses, with their

529. H.B.

The miserie of the Englishmen vnder the bondage of the Danes.

The name of lordaine bestowed came by.

Sueno landed here this last time of his coming south of Denmarke into England in June, in the yeere 1013, & departed this life in the beginning of February, in the yeere 1014.

Sueno prepared to inuade the Scots.

Olauus, and Diethus.

The Danes landed in such puissant order, that the inhabitants of Murray land fled out of their houses, with their

The crueltie
of the Danes.

their wives, children, and goods (such as they could conueie awaie with them) into places where they thought to remaine most out of danger. But the Danes, after their manner, burne and spoile all before them, as well churches and chappels, as other buildings and edifices. Such of the people as could not flee in time, but by chance fell into their hands, were slaine without all mercie. Also all the strengths and holds in the countrie were taken by the Danes, these castles onelie excepted: that is to say, Elgin, Forres, and Jarne, which the Danes named after wards Burg, and for that they trusted (when the same was wonne) the other two would yeld without anie further defense, they first laid siege vnto this castell of Jarne, informing themselves with all their power to win it: but in the meane time, they were informed how Malcolme the Scottish king was come within fife miles of them with all the forces of his realme to giue them battell.

The castell of
Jarne besieged
god.

Malcolme
sendeth am-
bassadors to
the Danes.

The Danes
hear the am-
bassadors.

Incontinentlie hereupon they raised their siege, and hastened forth to meet him, with no lesse courage than if victorie were already present in their hands. Shortly after, there came vnto them heralds also from Malcolme, to vnderstand whie they had thus invaded his realme with open and most cruell warre, hauing no occasion giuen by him or his subiects so to do: who scarcelie had done their message, but that they were slaine forthwith by cruell outrage of the Danes. Malcolme being sore moued to vnderstand the law obserued by all nations for the safetie of messengers to be thus violated by the enemies, kept on his iourne with the more fierce courage, till he came to a meadow a little beside Killos, where he incamped for that night. Great noise and clamour was heard throughout the armie, euery man being desirous of battell, to reuenge the iniuries done by the Danes against their friends and countrymen: notwithstanding on the morrow, when they saw their enemies in farre greater number, and in better order than ever had bene sene by anie of them before that time, their hart began to wax faint, hauing greater care which waie to saue their owne liues, than to giue the onset vpon their enemies.

The Scots
through feare
are astonished.

Malcolme
sends to his
nobles.

Loncart.

Whon the se-
pulture of
Danes.

Malcolme perceiuing such dread to be entred into the harts of his people, that they were now more like to run awaie than to fight, if he should bring them forth to battell, got him to a little hill, and calling his nobles about him, he declared vnto them how he could not but detest their great cowardise, that were thus astonished at the first sight of their enemies, without further triall of their forces. At home (said he) ye are most hardie and valiant, where no danger appereth. What rebuke then is it vnto you, to be thus faint harted (now that ye are come where ballancie should be shewed) in degenerating so far from your worthy fathers and noble progenitors, the which at Loncart vnder the conduct of my father Kenneth, obtained so famous a victorie of the selfe same nation, whose furious puissance ye seme now so much to feare: There hath bene triall made in battell with this enemy in our time, both within the bounds of Scotland, and also of England, to the great honor and renowne of our elders. What discomfitures the Danes haue receiued are yet fresh in memorie, so manie of them losing their liues amongst vs, that Albion may well be reckoned the sepulture of Danes; as some of you can well record by your owne remembrance, and other haue heard by report of their forefathers and ancestors. Ye ought then (said he) to be of good courage, rather than to faint now at need, considering ye haue to doe with those enemies, who are but the remnant of the other, which before haue bene vanquished and ouerthrowne by Scottishmen, both at Loncart, and in diuerse other

places: yea and besides that, such as mouing warres now at this present without iust occasion, haue violated the lawes both of God and man, deserving thereby iust vengeance at Gods hands, the punisher of all such vniust offenders. There is great hope therefore of victorie (said he) left vnto all such as fight against these enemies, if we take manlie harts vnto vs, and shew our selues in valiant constancie like to our elders, whereby it shall then appere what outrageous follie remained in the Danes, to invade vs without occasion of iniuries preceeding. Therefore if ye haue not more regard to the safetie of your fraile bodies, which must needs at length perishe, than to the defense and preservation of your common countrie, why passe ye not forward, for there is now no place nor time to take longer aduise in the matter, as ye may well vnderstand by the presence of the enemy ready to ioine.

The nobles moued with these words of their prince, began boldly to exhort their people to battell. Incontinentlie whereupon rose such noise and raging furie through the armie, that without measuring either their owne forces or their enemies, they rush forth vpon them without anie order or good ararie. Darius & Dmetus beholding the Scots to come thus furiously against them, boldly incourted them with arrayed battels. Whereupon ensued a verie terrible fight, with great manhood shewed on both sides, nothing being let passe that might appertene to either captiues: the Scots informing themselves to defend their countrie and ancient liberties on the one side; and the Danes doing their best endeavour by valiant hardinesse to saue their liues and honors on the other. At length, after huge murder & slaughter made on both parts, the Scots were put to flight, Malcolme was sore wounded, & had his helmet so fast beaten to his head, that it might not well be got off, yet was he conueied out of the field in manner for dead, and kept secret in a wood, till he was somewhat amended, and then got him into places out of danger. The Danes hauing got this victorie, and gathered the spoile of the field, returned to besiege againe the castell of Jarne, with more force and violence than before.

This castell in those daies was inclosed on each side with the sea, hauing one narrow passage as an entrie vnto it, made by craft of man in manner of a bridge. Those that were within it, hauing knowledge of the ouerthrow and losse of the field, rendered the fortresse, on condition, that leauing all their armor, weapon, and other munitions behind them, they might depart with their liues and other goods saued. Neuertheless the Danes, contrarie to their faith giuen, being once entred the castell, hanged all those which they found within it ouer the wailes, in most despightfull manner. Thus was Jarne wonne by the Danes, the strongest hold within Murray land, and so garnished with men, munition, and bittels, that it was thought impregnable. Then those souldiers which kept Elgin and Forres, hearing what crueltie the Danes had thus vsed, fled out of those castles, and left them void without anie person to defend them. The Danes reioicing at this good fortune, trusted to establish themselves sure seates in Murray land, and thereupon sent backe their ships into Froland and Denmarke, to fetch from thence their wives and children. In the meane time they constrained such Scots as they had laid hands on, to reape and inne the corne growing abroad in the fields, vnto their bile and commoditie.

Malcolme being aduertised of all these things, doubting least by the arrivall of new aid, his enemies might wax more puissant, in the beginning of the next summer he assembled a great multitude of war-
riors,

The Scots
without order
rush forth to
battell.

The Scots
put to flight
Malcolme &
his nobles.

The castell
of Jarne re-
sued by com-
pulsion.

The Danes
breakers of
faith and per-
nicious.

Elgin and
Forres left
void.

and came in good order and most warlike arraie
unto Spurthlake, a towne of Spar, where the first e-
rection of the bishops see of Abirdeen was founded.
Here the one armie comming in sight of the other,
they were suddenly both amazed: For the Scots ha-
ving had too much experience of the crueltie the woe-
men had by the Danes; were put in no small feare
now at the plaine & open sight of them. The Danes
being farre off from the sea side, and upon an un-
known ground, were more afraid of some guile-
full practise, than of the open violence and force of
their enimies. Yet neuertheless in the end, by the en-
couragement of the capitaine on both sides, they
buckled together with great fiercenesse and most cru-
ell malicious hatred on eche hand.

In the first brunt three valiant capitaine, that is to
say, Kenneth of Ala, Crine of Strathcrine, and Ma-
trike of Dunbar, rushing over fiercetie on their eni-
mies, were slaine, and gaue occasion to manie of the
Scottishmen to flee, but the place was such, that they
could not well make their couragious waie forth, by
reason of the narrownesse thereof: felled on either
side with deepe trenches full of water and mud: also
in traueise were laid sundrie trees, as it had bene of
purpose to impeach the passage, denied in that sozt
(as was thought) in time of some ciuill warres. Here
though Malcolme like a valiant champion, did his
best to staie them that fled, yet was he borne backe
with the pyrrasse, till he came to the middest of this
place, where stood a chapell dedicated in the hono-
r of saint Spoloke, the which Malcolme beholding, cast
by his hands towards heauen, making his praier on
this wise. O Great God of vertue, rewarder of pie-
tie, and punisher of sinne, we thy people seeking to de-
fend our native countrie granted to vs of thy bene-
uolence, as now destitute of all mortall helpe, and
thus oppressed with the inturious inuasion of Danes,
doe flee vnto thee in this our extreme necessitie, besee-
ching thee to haue compassion vpon our miserable e-
state: remoue (oh mercifull lord) this dreadfull ter-
ror from thy people. And oh thou mother of God, the
sweet refuge of mortall people in their distresse and
miserie: and thou saint Spoloke to whom this chap-
pell was dedicate, helpe vs at this present, and in the
honor of you I here make a vow to build a cathe-
dral church for a bishops see, to remaine as a monu-
ment, to testifie vnto our posteritie, that by your sup-
port our realme hath bene defended.

Scarcelie had Malcolme made an end of this
praier, when diuers of the nobles with a lowd voice, as
though they had bene assured that his praier was
heard, cried to their companies; Stand good fellows,
for suerlie it is the pleasure of almighty God, that
we retorne and renew the battell against our eni-
mies. Whereupon rose a wonderfull noise amongst
the souldiers, eche one encouraging other to withstand
the enimies, and to fight in most manfull wise in de-
fence of their countrie and ancient liberties, & forth-
with as it had bene by miracle they returned vpon
their enimies, making great slaughter on eche side,
without regard to their liues or bloudie wounds,
which they boldlie and without feare received. Here-
with Malcolme with an ambushment of stout war-
riors came vpon Dnetus, who was prancing vp and
downe the field without anie helmet on his head, as
though the Scots had bene already without recou-
rie clearelie discomfited, and so there was he beaten
downe beside his horse, and amongst the footmen
slaine out of hand. The residue of the Danes behol-
ding the slaughter of their capitaine, staid from fur-
ther pursue on the Scots. Whereof ensued great
boldnesse to the Scots, and discouragement to the
Danes: albeit the battell continued still a long
space, the souldiers doing their best on either side, till

at length the Danes were put to flight, manie of
them being slaine, and but few taken. Malcolme behol-
ding the discomfite of his people, & how his com-
panion in authoritie was slaine, fled into Spurrey
land with a small companie about him.

The next day, Malcolme considering that a num-
ber of his most valiant capitaine he had left in this
battell, & diuers the spoile of the field amongst his
men, and fearing from further pursue of the Danes
at that time, went into Angus, where he remained
the residue of the yere with his wife of Forfar,
taking counsell with his nobles touching the pub-
like affaires of the realme; & how to recouer his
countrie of Spurrey land out of the enimies hand.
King Surrio hearing in the meane time hold infor-
timatelie his people had fled thus in Scotland, at
the battell of Spurrey land, in reuenge thereof deter-
mined to inuade the Scots with two mightie na-
uies, the one to be rigged in England, and to come
south of the riuer of Thames; and the other to be sent
from Denmarke, one Camus a Dane, vertie expert
in warlike knowledge, being appointed to be gouer-
nor of all the men of warre that should come from
both those parties.

The yere next ensuing, both these fleets according
to commandement and order giuen, arrived and
met together within the mouth of the Forth, nere to
saint Ebbes head. Here Camus going about to
land his men, was kept off by the stout resistance
of the Scots, there assembled for the same intent.
Camus then plucking vp the sailles, directed his
course vnto the Ile of Sketh, where riding at anchor
for the space of one moneth, and abiding for some
prosperous wind, at length when the same came
on, he passed from thence vnto the Red-
braies, called in Latine *Rubrum promontorium*, & there
landed his whole armie, before the countrie could be
gathered to resist him. Camus being once landed,
got him to the next hill, and beholding the ruine of
the towne of Spontros, which a few yeres before
had bene destroyed by the Danes, he reioiced not a
little, for that his chance was to come on land in the
selfe same place, where the Danes had earst vanqui-
shed their enimies, hoping of like lucke in this his
enterprise and present expedition.

After this, he took his iourne through Angus,
sparring no maner of crueltie that might be deuised:
cities, townes, villages, and churches, with all ma-
ner of other buildings publike and priuat were con-
sumed with fire. At his comming to Brechine, for
that the castell there in those daies was of such
strength, that it might not be hastilie wone, he
caused the towne and church being right faire and
sumptuouslie built in honor of the Trinitie (to whom
it was dedicated) to be spoiled, & so rased to the earth,
that one stone was not left standing vpon an other.
With these and the semblable cruelties, Camus
raging both against God and man, was final-
lie aduertised that king Malcolme was come to
Dundee with all the power of Scotland. Then sud-
denlie he took the next way towards the sea side,
comming the next day following vnto a village cal-
led Balhib, where he pitched downe his tents. The
same day, king Malcolme making all hast possible
to succour his subjects, and preserue the countrie
from the cruell outrage of the Danes, came to the
towne of Barre two little miles from the place,
where his enimies were incamped. In the morning
he drew into the field, in purpose to giue them an open
battell.

But before he arraigned his battels, he called his
nobles and capitaine together, desiring them to con-
sider how they should match in fight against people
blinded with vile auarice, lining on the spoile and pil-
lage

The Danes
put to flight.

Malcolme fleth
into Spurrey
land.

Surrio prepa-
reth a new ar-
mie to inuade
Scotland.

Camus ap-
pointed cap-
taine generall
of the Danes.

Saint Ebbes
head. The Scots
kepe off the
Danes from
landing.

Camus with
his armie lan-
ded at the
Redbraies.

Camus mar-
chet through
Angus. The crueltie
of the Danes.

The towne
and church of
Brechine de-
stroyed.

King Mal-
colme hasteth
forward to
fight with the
Danes.

Malcolme
orator.

Canus exhorteth his Danes.

The nature of valiant hearts and noble stomachs.

A bloudie battell.

Malcolme winneth the field. Canus is slaine.

An obeliske.

The house of Keithes advanced to hono.

Danes slaine at Abirlemnon.

lage got by theuerie, and not by anie iust warres: enimies not onelie to the christian faith, but also to all innocent people, whome they sought vniuſlie to innade, without hauing occasion so to do, saue onelie vpon an iniurious meaning to liue by spoile of other mens goods, wherein they haue no maner of propriety. He willed them therfore to remember how they were come thus against those enimies in defense of their native countrie, appointed vndoubtedlie by God to reuenge the cruell iniuries done by the Danes against his name, and people that professed the same. They ought not then to measure force in number of souldiers, but rather in manhood and valiance of heart. Canus likewise exhorted his people, not vsing manie words, but yet pitthie, desiring them to remember how it becometh them either to win immortall fame by victorie, either else to die with miserie in an vnconquy land, by the hand of their most fierce and cruell enimies.

Herewith Malcolme imbattelling his people, brought them forth stronglie ranged in good order to encounter the Danes, which likewise approached towards him in good arraie of battell. His heart was filled the more with hope of victorie, for that he had tried sundrie times before the force of the enimies in diuers conflicts and encounters. For such is the nature of noble and valiant stomachs, the more experience they haue in honorable enterprises, the more are they kindled in desire to shew their powers in famous acts and worthie attempts. The armies here vpon on both sides, fiercelie rushing together, began a battell right cruell & terrible, continuing certeine houres with such bloudshed, that the riuer of Lochte ran with a purple hue downe into the Almaine seas. The fields also where they fought, though they were full of sand (as the nature of the soile giueth) yet were they made moist by the abundance of blood spilled in the same. Sparie there were so earnestlie bent to be reuenged on the enimie, that after they had their deaths wound, they would run themselves forward vpon their aduersaries weapon, till they might close with him, enforcing their uttermost powers to dispatch him also; so that diuers were seene to fall to the ground together fall grasping one another, and so immediatlie both of them to die withall: such burning hatred kindled their hearts, that thus were they whole set on reuenge. At length yet the hono. of the field remained with Malcolme.

Canus perceiuing the discomfort to light on his side, with a small companie about him thought to haue escaped by sight vnto the next mounteins, but being pursued of his enimies, he was slaine by them per he was got too miles from the place of the battell. The place where he was slaine, is named after him vnto this day, and called Camelstone, where is an obeliske set by in memorie of the thing, with his picture grauen therein, and likewise of those that slue him. The principall scar of Canus was one Keith, a yong gentleman of right hardie courage, whose seruice in the battell was verie notable, in recompense whereof he was rewarded by king Malcolme, with sundrie lands and faire possessions in Louthian. His familie (saith Hector Boetius) bath and dath continue in great hono. amongst Scotishmen euen vnto this day, and is decorated with the office of the marshallship of Scotland, to the high renowne and fame thereof, amongst the chiefeſt peers of the realme.

An other companie of the Danes flieng from this ouerthrow were slaine at Abirlemnon, not past foure miles from Brechin, where is set by a great stone or obeliske, grauen with certeine characters or letters, to aduertise them that passe that waies

forth, of this slaughter of Danes there made by our worthie elders. The residue of the Danes that escaped with life from the field, hauing certeine Scotishmen to their guides corrupted with monie fled to their ships, declaring to their fellowes what mishap had fortuned. King Malcolme after he obtained this famous victorie (as before is said) at Barre, he caused the spoile of the field to be diuided amongst his souldiers, according to the lawes of armes; and then caused the dead bodies of the Danes to be buried in the place where the field had bene fought, and the bodies of the Scotishmen which were found dead were conueied vnto the places of christian buriall, and there buried with funeral obsequies in sundrie churches and churchyards. There are seene manie bones of the Danes in those places where they were buried, there lieng bare aboue ground euen vnto this day, the sands (as it often chanceth) being blownen from them. The other Danes, which escaped to their ships, pulled vp sailles to haue passed into Spurrey land vnto Mlauius, but remaining on the seas the space of foure daies together, tossed to and fro by contrarie winds, at length by a streinable east wind they were dizen vpon the coast of Buchquhan, and through want of conuenable harbzough were in present danger to haue bene cast away. At length, after they had ridden at anchor in the firth there, to their great displeasure a long space, and finding no prosperous winds to depart from the shoze, for that their bittels began to faile them, they set fure hundred of their best and lustiest souldiers on land, to fetch in some botie or pzele of cattell, therewith to relieue their hunger and famine. They that were thus sent forth, being perfectlie appointed with armour and weapon, ranged abroad till they had got together a great number of beasts, with the which drawing towards their ships, they were encountred by the way by Parnachus the thane of Buchquhan accompanied with the power of that countrie, whose force when they saw how they were not well able to resist without some aduantage of place, they got them vp into an high crag, where, with tumbling downe stones vpon the Scotishmen as they mounted vp towards them, they caused them some what to staie; but at length through the earnest exhortation of Parnachus, the Scots (as people inflamed with wood desire to be reuenged) mounted the hill in despight of their enimies, though diuers of them were slaine in that assault. Those which wan the height of the crag vpon the Danes, made such a cruell battell with them, that there was not one Dane that escaped their hands.

This conflict was fought nere vnto Semmer a village or towne in Buchquhan, where, in memorie thereof, lie manie great bones of the Danes to be seene yet euen vnto these daies. It should appeare by the same bones, that men in former time were of more huge growth and stature, than they be at this present. The other Danes which were on ship board, understanding what had happened to their fellowes (because they returned not againe to the ships) so lone as the wind came about for their purpose, holled vp sailles, and took their course forthright towards Spurrey land. In the meane time king Sueno hearing of these ouerthrowes, which his people had in such sort receiued at the Scotishmens hands, as a prince of a right haughtie courage, not lightlie overcome with anie aduerse fortune, made preparation in all speede wise to be reuenged, appointing his brother Canute, as then hauing the administration of Denmarke; to come from thence with a new flete and armie against the Scots. It is said, that this Canute, according to order prescribed him by his brother Sueno, landed first in Buchquhan, and

The burning of the ships.

Bones of Danes.

Parnachus thane of Buchquhan.

Danes slaine nere vnto Semmer.

Sueno prepareth the fleet to invade Scotland. Canute his brother landed first in Buchquhan, and

desstroyed a great part of that countrie by fire and sword, in reuenge of the slaughter of his countrie-men the Danes, which had bene there made lately before.

Malcolme fore kindled in wrath by these iniuries, though through continuance of the wars his power was greatly decayed, yet did he assemble an armie with all speed he could deuise, and marched with the same towards the Danes, in purpose to staie them with often skirmishes and light encounters, but in no wise to leaue them in anie pitch field or generall battell, for feare least if he had the opportunity, he should not be able to furnish a new power for defense of his countrie, against the rage of the enimies. For the space therefore of sixene daies together, there was often skirmishing betwixt the parties. The which terme being expired, the Scots beholding so huge number of their countrie-men and friends, with the spoile of the fields, and destruction of the towines and villages, burning and blasing on each side before their faces, they come to king Malcolme, and desired him that he would grant them licence to fight with their enimies, professing plainly, that if he would not consent thereto, they would giue battell at their owne choise.

Malcolme perceiving the earnest minds of his people to encounter their enimies in plaine field, and that he might no longer protract the time, he granted their petition, and therewith beseeching them to remember their honors and duties: incontinentlie the onset was giuen with great hatred and malice on either part, so that most egerlie continuing in fight a long time, they enforced themselves to rid each other out of life: so that all the nobles well nere on both sides were slaine, the name of victorie rather than the victorie it selfe remaining with the Scots, who were so facile and faint with long fight & slaughter, that in the end of the battell they were not able to pursue those few of the Danes, which escaping with life fled faintlie out of the field. And so for that night, which followed the day of this bloudie battell, they lodged here and there in seuerall places, at aduenture as well as they might.

On the morrow after, when it was understood on both parties, what losse they had sustained, their minds were conuerted rather to peace than to renew battell, because they were not of power longer to mainteine it. Whereupon by mediation of such as tolde upon them to treat a peace, the same was concluded with these articles. First, that the Danes should depart out of Murray land, Buchquhan, and all other the bounds of Scotland. That the warres should cleaerlie cease betwixt the Danes and Scottishmen, during the naturall liues of Sueno and Malcolme, or either of them. That neither of those two nations should aid or in anie wise support the others enimies. That the field where the last battell was fought, should be hallowed for christian buriall, within the which the Danes that were slaine in the same battell should be buried, and a church to be built there, and lands appointed forth for the maintenance of priests, to celebrate there according to the order of the christian religion, then vsed by both the people: for the Danes latelie before that season had also receiued the faith. This peace being ratified by the solemn othes of both the kings, Sueno and Malcolme, Canute with his Danes resigning by the possession of such holds and places as they held in Murray land, Buchquhan, or else where within anie part of the Scottish dominions, got him to his fleet, and departed with the same home into Denmarke.

King Malcolme hauing thus restored his countrie into full peace, thought nothing so good as to performe the articles of the agreement accorded be-

twixt him and the Danes, and therefore caused a church to be builded in the place appointed, dedicating the same in honor of saint Blains patrone of Denmarke and Norwaie, to signifie vnto such as came after, that sundrie nobles of the Danes laie buried in that church. In memorie hereof, the lands that were giuen to the same church, are called euen yet vnto these daies Crowdan, which signifieth as much as if ye should say, The slaughter of Danes. The church which was first builded there, chancing as often happeneth in those parties, to be ouercast with sands, an other was erected in place not farre off, hauing a more commodious site. Sundrie of the bones of them that were buried in this place, being left bare by reason that the sands were blowne away besides them, Hector Boetius (the writer of the Scottish chronicle) beheld in the yere 1521, which seemed more like vnto giants bones, than to men of common stature (as he auoucheth) whereby it should appear, that men in old time were of much greater stature and quantitie of bodie, than anie that are to be found in these our daies.

Malcolme being thus deliuered of his enimies the Danes, caused publike prayers generallie to be made throughout the realme, in rendering thanks to almightie God, that it had pleased him to deliuer his people from the troubles of warre. He tolde order also, that churches should be repaired, which by the enimies in time of the warres had bene destroyed. And further, he caused the administration of the lawes and wholesome ordinances of the realme to be vsed and put in practise, according to the due forme of the same, which manie yeeres before could haue no place, by reason of the warres. He caused an assemble of all the estates of his realme to be called at Bertha castell, in those daies standing not farre from the place where the towne of Perth now standeth. In which conuention were manie things enacted, both for the setting forth of Gods honor, and the weale of the realme, whereby Malcolme wan much praise amongst his subiects, to the eternall memorie of his name.

After this, supposing it most honorable to aduance the blood of such as had serued well in the last warres, or had their fathers or other friends slaine in the same, he called a parlement at Scone, in the which, causing partition to be made of the realme, by diuiding it into baronies, he bestowed it amongst the nobles, according to the qualitie of euerie one his merits, reseruing in maner nothing to the maintenance of the crowne, common entries onelie excepted, with the mountaine wherin the marble chaire stood, and a few other possessions which he purposed to giue vnto churches and chapels. The nobles on the other part, to the end the king might haue sufficient wherewith to mainteine his roiall estate, granted vnto him and his successors for euer the custodie and wardship of their heires, if they chanced to die leauing them vnder the age of 21 yeeres: and in the meane time till the same heires came to the said age, they agreed that the king and his successors should inioy the vse and profits of their lands, whether they were men or women, and when they came to the age of 21 yeeres, that then they should enter into the possession of their lands, yielding vnto him or his successors one yeeres rent in name of a reliefe: and if they chanced not to be married before their fathers deceasse, then also should they marrie at the kings appointment, or else compound with him for the same.

Thus ended the parlement for that season, with great ioy and comfort on each hand, for that the king had shewed such liberrall bountifullnesse towards his barons, and they no lesse mindfull of their duties had declared

A church
builded.

Crowdan.
what it sig-
nifieth.

Bones of
Danes.

Publike
prayers.

The repara-
ring of churches.
The restoring
of lawes and
iustice.

A parlement
at Bertha.

A parlement
at Scone.
Diuision of
the realme into
baronies.

The ward-
ship of heires
granted to
the king.

Marriage of
wards.

The see of
Gurthlake,
or otherwise
Gurthen.

The booke
called Regia
maiestas.

Malcolme
warreth auar-
itious.
Covetousnes
and age arri-
uing together.

Malcolmes
cruelty to pur-
chase riches.

The conspi-
racie of the
Scottish nobi-
les against
Malcolme.

Malcolme
slaine at
Clammis.

The murthe-
res drowned.

21. H.B.
1040. H.B.

Strange
sights.

declared such benedictent hearts, as appeared in that their free and large gift granted in forme and maner as before is exprest. Neither did Malcolme forget the vow which he made at Gurthlake, when he was in danger to have received the overthrow at the hand of the Danes. For according to the same vow, he caused a church to be built in the same place, erecting a bishops see there, and endowed it with the lands & possessions of these three places, Gurthlake, Cleometh, and Dummeth, with all ecclesiasticall jurisdictions and tithes appertaining thereto. The bishops that sat in this see were called the bishops of Gurthlake, till the daies of king David the first, who changing the name, caused them to be called the bishops of Abirden, augmenting the see with sundrie faire revenues to the better maintenance thereof.

Malcolme thus having purchased rest from further troubles of warre, governed the realme a certeine time after in good order of iustice, and caused a booke to be set forth, called *Regia maiestas*, containing the lawes and ordinances wherby the realme should be governed: and assigning forth in the same what fees also should be given unto the chancelor, secreta-rie, constable, marshall, chamberleine, iustice, treasurer, register, comptroller, and other the officers of his house. Such princelie doings and noble virtues were found in this Malcolme for a season, that if the same had continued with him in his latter age, there had neuer reigned anie king in Scotland, that might have bene thought to have passed him in two: this same: neuertheless his excellent qualities were stained at length by that reprochfull vice of avarice. For as it oftentimes happeneth, covetousnesse and age laid hold on him both at once. He then began to repent in that he had bene so liberrall in giuing away his lands to his barons; & to recover the same againe, he furnished feigned matter by untrue suggestions against diuerse of the chiefe nobles, putting some to death, & banishing other, that he might by this meanes inioy their lands and goods as confiscate to the crowne for their supposed offenses.

The nobles hauing great indignation at such cruelty vsed by the king against them and their linage, and that vpon no iust causes, but onely vpon forged deuises, they conspired in sundrie meetings secretly appointed amongst them, to find some meanes to dispatch him out of life. At length he chanced to haue some inkling whereabout they went, & doubting to fall into their hands, fled for safegard of his life vnto Clammis, where diuerse of the conspirators were brought into his lodging, by some of his owne household seruants, and there slue him in reuenge of their friends, whome he before had wrongfullie put to death. These murderers with their complices incontinentlie fled with all speed possible to avoid further danger for this their act: but missing their way (for the ground was quite couered as then with snow) they finallie came to the loch of Fofair, which was the same time frozen ouer. They therefore thinking to passe ouer it, when they came into the midst, the ice brake vnder them, so that sinking in, they were finallie drowned. Howbeit their bodies were afterwards braue forth of the loch with drags, and dismembred, and their heads and quarters were sent to diuerse tostones of the realme, and there hang vpon for a signification of their wicked treason. This was the end of king Malcolme in the 32 yere of his reigne, if ye reckon from the death of Constantine, or 25 after the death of Crine, and after the incarnation of our Saviour 1034 yeres. He was buried in Colmekill with his ancestors.

In this season was scene manie wonders and strange sights in Albion. On Christmas daie there was an earthquake, and a great rift of the earth

made therewith in the midst of Strueling towne, out of the which issued such an abundant streame of water, that it bare away the next wood that was adjoining to the riuer of Fofair. In the summer the sea rose higher, & flowed further into the land, than euer it had bene scene at anie other time. On Midsummer daie, which is the feast of saint John Baptist, there was such a vehement frost, that the corne and other fruits of the earth were blasted and killed, so that thereupon followed a great dearth in all the countrie.

After Malcolme succeeded his nephew Duncane the sonne of his daughter Beatrice: for Malcolme had two daughters, the one which was this Beatrice, being giuen in marriage vnto one Abbanath Crinen, a man of great nobilitie, and thane of the Isles and west parts of Scotland, bare of that marriage the foresaid Duncane; the other called Doda, was married vnto Sinell the thane of Clammis, by whom he had issue one Hakbeth a valiant gentleman, and one that if he had not bene somewhat cruell of nature, might haue bene thought most worthy the gouernement of a realme. On the other part, Duncane was so soft and gentle of nature, that the people wished the inclinations and manners of these two cousins to haue bene so tempered and interchangeablie bestowed betwixt them, that where the one had too much of clemencie, and the other of crueltie, the meane vertue betwixt these two extremities might haue reigned by indifferent partition in them both, so should Duncane haue proued a worthy king, and Hakbeth an excellent capitaine. The beginning of Duncans reigne was verie quiet and peaceable, without anie notable trouble; but after it was perceiued how negligent he was in punishing offenders, manie misrulerd persons took occasion thereof to trouble the peace and quiet state of the common-wealth, by seditious commotions which first had their beginnings in this wise.

Wanguho the thane of Lochquhaber, of whom the house of the Stewards is descended, the which by order of linage hath now for a long time inioied the crowne of Scotland, euen till these our daies, as he gathered the finances due to the king, and further punished somewhat sharpelie such as were notorious offenders, being assailed by a number of rebels inhabiting in that countrie, and spoiled of the monie and all other things, had much ado to get awate with life, after he had received sundrie grievous wounds amongst them. Yet escaping their hands, after hee was somewhat recovered of his hurts, and was able to ride, he repaired to the court, where making his complaint to the king in most earnest wise, he purchased at length that the offenders were sent for by a sergant at armes, to appeare to make answer vnto such matters as should be laid to their charge: but they augmenting their mischievous act with a more wicked deed, after they had misruled the messenger with sundrie kinds of reproches, they finallie slue him also.

Then doubting not but for such contemptuous demeanour against the kings regall authoritie, they should be intruded with all the power the king could make, Hakdovald one of great estimation amongst them, making first a consideracie with his nearest friends and kinsmen, took vpon him to be chiefe capitaine of all such rebels as would stand against the king, in maintenance of their grievous offenses latelie committed against him. Manie slanderous words also, and railing taunts this Hakdovald uttered against his prince, calling him a faint-hearted milkesop, more meet to gouerne a sort of idle monks in some cloister, than to haue the rule of such valiant and hardie men of warre as the Scots were.

bled also such subtil persuasions and forged allu-
ments, that in a small time he had gotten together a
mightie power of men: for out of the weslerne Isles
there came vnto him a great multitude of people, of-
fering themselves to assist him in that rebellious
quarrell, and out of Ireland in hope of the spoile came
no small number of kernes and Galloglasses, offer-
ring gladlie to serue vnder him, whither it should
please him to lead them.

Spakdowald thus hauing a mightie puissance
about him, incountered with such of the kings peo-
ple as were sent against him into Lochquhaber, and
discomfiting them, by mere force took their capteine
Spalcolme, and after the end of the battell smote off
his head. This overthrow being notified to the king,
did put him in wonderfull feare, by reason of his
small skill in warlike affaires. Calling therefore his
nobles to a counsell, he asked of them their best ad-
uise for the subduing of Spakdowald & other the re-
bels. Here, in sundrie heads (as cuer it happeneth)
were sundrie opinions, which they vttered according
to euery man his skill. At length Spakbeth speaking
much against the kings softnes, and ouermuch slack-
ness in punishing offenders, whereby they had such
time to assemble together, he promised notwithstanding,
if the charge were committed vnto him and
vnto Banguho, so to order the matter, that the re-
bels should be shortly vanquished & quite put downe,
and that not so much as one of them should be found
to make resistance within the countrie.

And euen so it came to passe: for being sent forth
with a new power, at his entring into Lochquha-
ber, the same of his coming put the enimies in
such feare, that a great number of them stole secre-
lie awaye from their capteine Spakdowald, who ne-
uertheless enforced thereto, gaue battell vnto Spak-
beth, with the residue which remained with him: but
being ouercome, and fleeing for refuge into a castell
(within the which his wife & children were inclosed) at
length when he saw how he could neither defend the
hold any longer against his enimies, nor yet vpon
surrender be suffered to depart with life saued, he
first slue his wife and children, and lastlie himsele,
least if he had yelded simple, he should haue bene
executed in most cruell wise for an example to other.
Spakbeth entring into the castell by the gates, as
then set open, found the carcase of Spakdowald li-
eng dead there amongst the residue of the slaine bo-
dies, which when he beheld, remitting no pece of his
cruell nature with that pittifull sight, he caused the
head to be cut off, and set vpon a poles end, and so
sent it as a present to the king, who as then laie at
Bertha. The headlesse trunk he commanded to be
hong vpon an high paire of gallowes.

Them of the weslerne Isles suing for pardon, in
that they had aided Spakdowald in his traitorous en-
terpryse, he fined at great sums of monie: and those
whome he took in Lochquhaber, being come thither
to beare armes against the king, he put to execution.
Wherevpon the Islanders conceiued a deadly grudge
towards him, calling him a couenant-breaker, a
bloudie tyrant, & a cruell murderer of them whome
the kings mercie had pardoned. With which reproch-
full words Spakbeth being kindled in wrathfull ire
against them, had passed ouer with an armie into the
Isles, to haue taken reuenge vpon them for their li-
berall talke, had he not bene otherwise perswaded by
some of his friends, and partlie pacified by gifts pre-
sented vnto him on the behalfe of the Islanders, se-
king to auoid his displeasure. Thus was iustice and
law restored againe to the old accustomed course, by
the diligent means of Spakbeth. Immediatlie where-
vpon word came that Sueno king of Norwaie was
arrived in Scife with a puissant armie, to subdue the

whole realme of Scotland.

But here to the intent it maie be the better per-
ceined, what this Sueno was, I will somewhat touch
from whence he descended. That Sueno, who (as ye
haue heard) conquered the realme of England, be-
ing also king of Denmarke and Norwaie, had three
sonnes, Harold, Sueno, and Canute; the first he
made king of England, the second king of Norwaie,
and the third king of Denmarke. Harold intied not
the same dominion of England past three yeres af-
ter his fathers deceasse, but was slaine by Ethel-
dred or Etheldred, whom his father Sueno had chased
into Normandie. But the same Etheldred kept not
long the kingdome in peace, for Canute king of
Denmarke, to reuenge his brothers death, landed in
England with a mightie host, and slaying Etheldred,
recovered the kingdome to the vse of the Danes:
but yet one Edmund sonne to the foresaid Ethel-
dred, surnamed Ironside, maintained the warre a-
gainst Canute for a season, till at length by both their
consents they agreed to fight a combat singularlie
man to man, so to trie the matter betwixt them, who
should reigne as king ouer the Englishmen.

In this fight when they had continued a long
space, and shewed right notable proofes of their man-
hood: Edmund (saith Canute) sith it hath pleased al-
mightie God, that thou shouldest thus trie the force
of my hand without hurt or wound, I thinke it be-
likewise his pleasure, that thou shouldest inioy part
of the realme: go to therfore, I receiue thee as parte-
ner with me in the kingdome, so that (if thou be con-
tented let vs diuide the kingdome betwixt vs with-
out any more contention. Edmund gladlie accepted
this condition of agreement, supposing it better to
haue halfe the kingdome, than to stand to the doubt-
full trial of losing the whole: for he had receiued a
wound at Canutes hands, though Canute under-
stood not so much: againe, he foresaw that occasion
hereafter might be offered, whereby he might with-
out all trouble come to inioy the whole. Wherevpon
either of them leapt beside their wearied horses in that
fierce & earnest fight, & embracing each other became
good friends, in diuiding the realme according to the
aboue mentioned motion of Canute. That part of
England that lieth ouer against France was assign-
ed vnto Canute; and the other, that is, the north
parts vnto Edmund. In the meane time Emma
the wife of Etheldred with hir two sonnes (which she
had by the same Etheldred) Alured and Edward, fled
ouer into Normandie, doubting least this concord
betwixt Canute and Edmund should turne smallie
to hir aduancement.

But now touching the arrivall of Sueno the
Norwegian king in Scife (as before is expressed) ye
shall vnderstand, that the pretense of his coming
was to reuenge the slaughter of his vnkle Canus,
and other of the Danish nation slaine at Barre,
Crowdane, and Gemmer. The crueltie of this Sue-
no was such, that he neither spared man, woman,
nor child, of what age, condition or degree soeuer they
were. Whereof when is. Duncane was certified, he
set all slouthfull and lingering delays apart, and be-
gan to assemble an armie in most speedie wise, like a
verie valiant capteine: for oftentimes it happeneth,
that a dull coward and slouthfull person, constrained
by necessitie, becommeth verie hardie and active.
Therefore when his whole power was come together,
he diuided the same into three battels. The first was
led by Spakbeth, the second by Banguho, & the king
himselfe gouerned in the maine battell or middle
ward, wherein were appointed to attend and wait
vpon his person the most part of all the residue of the
Scottish nobilitie.

The armie of Scottishmen being thus ordered,
came

This agree-
ment was
not without
English
writers.

Harold that
reigned king
of England,
was not the
son of Sueno
but of Canute
and was for-
slaine, but died
of naturall
disease. See more
hereof in
England. Canute king
of Denmarke.
Edmund
Ironside.

Canutes
wordes to
Edmund
Ironside.

The diuision
of the realme
of England
betwixt Ca-
nute and
Edmund
Ironside.

Alured & Ed-
ward the sons
of king Ethel-
dred.

The crueltie
of Sueno
king of Nor-
waie.

Duncane be-
ginneeth him-
selfe in assem-
bling an ar-
mie.

The Scottish
armie diuided
into three bat-
tels.

Sueno ban-
quith the
Scots.

Sueno com-
mandement
to spare fire
and sword.

Duncane fled
to the castell
of Bertha.

Sueno believ-
eth being
Hakbeth.

Fained trea-
tie.

Spiced cups
prepared for
the Danes.

The Danes
ouercome
with drinke,
fall asleepe.

Hakbeth al-
saith the
camp of the
Danes, being
ouercome
with drinke
and asleepe.

The slaugh-
ter of Danes,
Sueno with
ten other esca-
ped.

came into Culros, where incountering with the en-
emies, after a fore and cruel foughten battell, Sueno
remained victorious, and Hakbeth with his Scots
discomfited. Howbeit the Danes were so broken by
this battell, that they were not able to make long
chase on their enemies, but kept themselves all night
in order of battell, for doubt least the Scots assem-
bling together againe, might haue set upon them at
some advantage. On the morrow, when the fields
were discouered, and that it was perceiued how no
enemies were to be found abode, they gathered the
spoile, which they diuided amongst them, according
to the law of armes. Then was it ordained by com-
mandement of Sueno, that no souldier should hurt
either man, woman, or child, except such as were
found with weapon in hand ready to make resi-
stance, for he hoped now to conquer the realme with-
out further bloodshed.

But when knowledge was giuen how Duncane
was fled to the castell of Bertha, and that Hakbeth
was gathering a new power to withstand the incur-
sions of the Danes, Sueno raised his tents, & com-
ming to the said castell, laid a strong siege round a-
bout it. Duncane seeing himselfe thus environed by
his enemies, sent a secret message by counsell of
Banguho to Hakbeth, commanding him to abide
at Inchentill, till he heard from him some other
newes. In the meane time Duncane fell in fained
communication with Sueno, as though he would
haue yielded by the castell into his hands, under cer-
teine conditions, and this did he to drue time, and to
put his enemies out of all suspicion of anie enterprise
against them, till all things were brought to
passe that might serue for the purpose. At length,
when they were fallen at a point for rending by the
hold, Duncane offered to send forth of the castell in-
to the campe great provision of vittells to refresh the
armie, which offer was glablie accepted of the
Danes, for that they had bene in great penurie of
sustenance many daies before.

The Scots hereupon toke the iuice of mekil-
wort berries, and mixed the same in their ale and
bread, sending it thus spiced & confectioned, in great
abundance unto their enemies. They reioicing that
they had got meate and drinke sufficient to satiffie
their bellies, fell to eating and drinking after such
greedie wise, that it seemed they stroue who might de-
uoure and swallow by most, till the operation of the
berries spread in such sort through all the parts of
their bodies, that they were in the end brought into
a fast dead sleepe, that in manner it was impossible
to awake them. Then forthwith Duncane sent unto
Hakbeth, commanding him with all diligence to
come and set upon the enemies, being in easie point
to be overcome. Hakbeth making no delate, came
with his people to the place, where his enemies were
lodged, and first killing the watch, afterwards ente-
red the campe, and made such slaughter on all sides
without anie resistance, that it was a wonderfull
matter to behold, for the Danes were so beaue of
sleepe, that the most part of them were slaine and ne-
uer stirred: other that were awakened either by the
noise, or other waies forth, were so amazed and dizzie-
headed upon their wakening, that they were not a-
ble to make anie defense: so that of the whole num-
ber there escaped no more but onelie Sueno him-
selfe and ten other persons, by whose helpe he got to
his ships lieng at rode in the mouth of Tate.

The most part of the mariners, when they heard
that plentie of meate and drinke the Scots had sent
unto the campe, came from the sea thither to be par-
takers thereof, and so were slaine amongst their fel-
lowes: by means whereof when Sueno perceiued
how through lacke of mariners he should not be a-

ble to conueie awaie his nauie, he furnished one ship
thoughtlie with such as were left, and in the same
sailed backe into Forwaie, cursing the time that he
set forward on this infortunate iourne. The other
ships which he left behind him, within three daies af-
ter his departure from thence, were tossed so toge-
ther by violence of an east wind, that beating and
rushing one against another, they sunke there, and
lie in the same place even unto these daies, to the
great danger of other such ships as come on that
coast: for being couered with the flood when the tide
commeth, at the ebbing againe of the same, some
part of them appeere above water.

The place where the Danish vessels were thus lost,
is yet called Dronelowlow fanns. This ouerthrowe
ceiued in manner afore said by Sueno, was verie
displeasing to him and his people, as should appeere,
in that it was a custome manie yeeres after, that no
knights were made in Forwaie, except they were
first sworn to reuenge the slaughter of their coun-
triemen and friends thus slaine in Scotland. The
Scots hauing wone so notable a victorie, after they
had gathered & diuided the spoile of the field, caused
solemne processions to be made in all places of the
realme, and thanks to be giuen to almightie God,
that had sent them so faire a day ouer their enemies.
But whilst the people were thus at their processi-
ons, word was brought that a new fleet of Danes
was arrived at Kingcorme, sent thither by Canute
king of England, in reuenge of his brother Sue-
nos ouerthrow. To resist these enemies, which were
alreadie landed, and busie in spoiling the countrie,
Hakbeth and Banguho were sent with the kings au-
thoritie, who hauing with them a conuenient power,
incountred the enemies, aue part of them, and chased
the other to their ships. They that escaped and got
once to their ships, obtained of Hakbeth for a great
summe of gold, that such of their friends as were
slaine at this last bickering, might be buried in saint
Colmes Inch. In memorie whereof, manie old se-
pultures are yet in the said Inch, there to be seene
grauen with the armes of the Danes, as the manner
of burying noble men still is, and heretofore hath
beene vsed.

A peace was also concluded at the same time be-
twixt the Danes and Scottishmen, ratified (as some
haue written) in this wise: That from thenceforth
the Danes should neuer come into Scotland to
make anie warres against the Scots by anie maner
of meanes. And these were the warres that Dun-
cane had with foren enemies, in the seuenth yere
of his reigne. Shortly after happened a strange and
vncouth wonder, which afterward was the cause of
much trouble in the realme of Scotland, as ye shall
after heare. It fortuned as Hakbeth and Banguho
iournied towards Forres, where the king then late,
they went sporting by the waie together without o-
ther companie, saue onelie themselves, passing thro-
ugh the woods and fields, when suddenlie in the
middest of a laund, there met them three women in
strange and wild apparell, resembling creatures of
elder world, whome when they attentiuely beheld,
wondering much at the sight, the first of them spake
and said; All hail Hakbeth, thane of Glamis (for
he had latelie entered into that dignitie and office by
the death of his father Sinell.) The second of them
said; Hail Hakbeth thane of Catber. But the third
said; All hail Hakbeth that hereafter shall be king
of Scotland.

Then Banguho; What manner of women (saith
he) are you, that seeme so little fauourable vnto me,
whereas to my fellows here, besides high offices, ye
assigne also the kingdome, appointing forth nothing
for me at all? Yes (saith the first of them) we pro-
misse

The other
three women
supposed
that they
were the
three sisters
of King David.

The power of
Danes arrived
at Kingcorme
out of Eng-
land.

The power of
Danes arrived
at Kingcorme
out of Eng-
land.

The power of
Danes arrived
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The power of
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The power of
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might well know that Macbeth would take to Macolme
being to end for his more sure confirmation in the
estate, fled into Cumberland, where Macolme re-
mained, till time that saint Edward the sonne of
Ethelred recovered the dominion of England from
the Danish power, the which Edward receiued Mac-
colme by way of most friendlie entertainment: but
Donald passed ouer into Ireland, where he was ten-
derlie cherished by the king of that land. Macbeth,
after the departure thus of Duncanes sonnes, bled
great liberalitie towards the nobles of the realme,
thereby to win their fauour, and when he saw that
no man went about to trouble him, he set his whole
intention to mainteine iustice, and to punish all en-
comities and abuses, which had chanced through the
fable and slothfull administration of Duncane.
And to bring his purpose the better to passe without
anie trouble or great businesse, he deuised a subtil
toile to bring all offenders and misdoers vnto iu-
stice, soliciting sundrie of his liege people with high
rewards, to challenge and appeale such as most op-
pressed the commons, to come at a day and place ap-
pointed, to fight singular combats within barriers,
in trial of their accusations. When these thanes,
barretors, and other oppressors of the innocent peo-
ple were come to darren battell in this wise (as
is said) they were streight waies apprehended by
armed men, and trussed vp in halters on gibbets,
according as they had iustlie deserued. The residue
of misdoers that were left, were punished and fa-
med in such sort, that manie yeares after all thess
and reifings were little heard of, the people inioieng
the blissefull benefit of god peace and tranquillitie.
Macbeth shewing himselfe thus a most diligent
punisher of all iniuries and wrongs attempted by a-
nie disordered persons within his realme, was ac-
counted the sure defense and buckler of innocent
people; and hereto he also applied his whole indueor,
to cause yong men to exercise themselves in vertu-
ous maners, and men of the church to attend their
diuine seruice according to their vocations.

He caused to be slaine sundrie thanes, as of Cath-
nes, Sutherland, Stranauerne, and Kos, because
through them and their seditious attempts, much
trouble dailie rose in the realme. He appealed the
troublesome state of Galloway, and slue one Mak-
gill a tyrant, who had manie yeares before passed no-
thing of the regall authoritie or power. To be brieue,
such were the worthie doings and princelie acts of
this Macbeth in the administration of the realme,
that if he had attained thereunto by rightfull means,
and continued in vprightnesse of iustice as he began,
till the end of his reigne, he might well haue bene
numbered amongst the most noble princes that anie
where had reigned. He made manie hole some lawes
and statutes for the publike weale of his subiects.

Lawes made by king Makbeth set
foorth according to Heslor
Boetius.



That is within orders of the
church, shall not be compelled
to answere before a temporall
iudge, but be remitted to his o-
dinarie.

The tenth part of all fruits that in-
crease on the ground, shall be given to the
church, that God may be worshipped with
oblations and praeters.

He that continueth obstinatlie in the
curse of the church by the space of one
whole

Liberties of
them that
haue taken o-
ders.

Cities to be
paid to the
church.

Persons ac-
cursed.

Things to
be done at.

Things to
be done at
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justice.

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whole yeare, contemning to be reconciled, shall be reputed enemie to the commonwealth: and if he perseuere with indurated mind the space of two yeares, all his goods shall be forfeited.

The order of knighthood. He that taketh the order of knighthood, shall take an oth to defend ladies, virgins, widows, orphans, and the communaltie. And he that is made king, shall be swozne in semblable manner.

Elders daughters. The eldest daughter shall inherit hir fathers lands, as well as the eldest sonne should, if the father leaue no sonne behind him. And if anie woman marie with the lord of the soile, she shall lose hir heritage.

The kings gift. No man shall inioy anie lands, rents, offices, or other possessions, but onelie by gift and grant of the king.

No offices to go by inheritance. No office shall go by inheritance, but shall still remaine at the kings free disposition, as shall stand with his pleasure to assigne it.

Judges. No man shall sit as iudge in anie temporal court without the kings commission authorizing him thereto.

All conuentions, offices, and acts of iustice, shall passe in the kings name.

Retainers. He that is retained or becommeth a swozne man to anie other person saue onelie to the king, shall lose his life for it: and euerie man shall be bound to defend the king against all other creatures.

Raisers of the kings people, or unlawfull assemblies. He that raiseth the kings liege people, shall lose life, goods, and lands, and so shall they do that assemble together by his procurement.

Waiters vpon other men. He that attendeth anie man to the church, market, or to anie other publicke assemble, as a retainer, shall suffer death, except he haue liuing at his hands, on whome he so attendeth.

Keeping of hostes. A house kept by anie of the commons or husbandmen to anie other vse than for tillage and labozing of the earth, shall be forfeited to the king by escheat.

Counterfett foles, with minstrels and such like. Counterfett foles, minstrels, iesters, and these kind of iuglers, with such like idle persons, that range abroad in the countrie, hauing no speciall licence of the king, shall be compelled to learne some science or craft to get their liuing; if they refuse so to do, they shall be drawn like horses in the plough and harrows.

Possession of lands. Though the sonne chance to be put in possession of his fathers lands by the kings licence, during the life of his father; yet shall the same lands be forfeited to the king if his father be afterwards conuicted of treason committed against the kings person.

Dowrie of wiues. All such women, that are married to anie lord or baron (though they haue no issue by him) shall yet haue the third part of his lands after his decesse, and the remanent shall go to his heires.

Marriage of lords and barons. All maner of lords and great barons, shall not contract matrimonie with other, vnder paine of death, speciallie if their lands and homes lie nere together.

All armour and weapon borne to other effect than in defense of the king & realme in time of wars, shall be confiscated to the kings vse, with all other moueable goods of the partie that herein offendeth.

Such as be appointed gouernors, or as I may call them, capteins, that buy with in those limits, where their charges be, anie lands or possessions, shall lose both lands, & possessions, and the monie which they haue paid for the same.

And if anie of the said capteins or gouernors marie their sonnes or daughters vnto anie maner of person that dwelleth within the bounds of their rowmes, they shall lose their office: neither shall it be lawfull for anie of their sonnes or coperteners to occupie the same office.

These and the like commendable lawes hath beene caused to be put as then in vse, governing the realme for the space of ten yeares in equall iustice. But this was but a counterfett zeale of equitie shewed by him, partlie against his naturall inclination to purchase thereby the fauour of the people, shortly after, he began to shew what he was, in stead of equitie practising crueltie. For the pricke of conscience (as it chanceth euere in tyrants, and such as attaine to anie estate by vnrightheous means) caused him euere to feare, least he should be serued of the same cup, as he had ministred to his predecessors. The words also of the thre weired sisters, would not out of his mind, which as they promised him the kingdome, so likewise did they promise it at the same time vnto the posteritie of Banquo. He willed therefore the same Banquo with his sonne named Fleance, to come to a supper that he had prepared for them, which was in deed, as he had deuised, present death at the hands of certaine murderers, whom he hired to execute that deed, appointing them to mixe with the same Banquo and his sonne without the palace, as they returned to their lodgings, and there to slea them, so that he would not haue his house slandered, but that in time to come he might cleare himselfe, if anie thing were laid to his charge vpon anie suspicion that might arise.

It chanced yet by the benefit of the darke night, that though the father were slaine, the sonne yet by the helpe of almightie God reseruing him to better fortune, escaped that danger: and afterwards hauing some inkeling (by the admonition of some friends which he had in the court) how his life was sought no lesse than his fathers, who was slaine not by chancemedlie (as by the handling of the matter Macbeth would haue had it to appeare) but euen vpon a preperfed deuise: wherevpon to auoid further perill he fled into Wales. But here I thinke it shall not much make against my purpose, if (according to the order which I find obserued in the Scottish historie) I shall in few words rehearse the originall line of those kings, which haue descended from the foresaid Banquo, that they which haue inioied the kingdome by so long continuance of descent, from one to another, and that euen vnto these our daies, may be knowen from whence they had their first beginning.

Fleance therefore (as before is said) fled into Wales, where shortly after by his courtous and amiable behauiour, he grew into such fauor and estimation with the prince of that countrie, that he might vnrneath haue wished anie greater; at length also he came into such familiar acquaintance with the said princes daughter, that she of courtlesse in the end

Macbeth

Capteins

Banquo

Macbeth

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and suffered him to get hir with child; which being once understood, hir father the prince conceived such hateful displeasure towards him, that he finally slew him, & held his daughter in most vile estate of servitude, for that she had consented to be on this wise defouled by a stranger. At the last yet, she was delivered of a sonne named Walter, who within few peeres proved a man of greater courage and ballancie, than anie other had commonlie bene found, although he had no better bringing up than (by his grandfather's appointment) among the baser sort of people. Howbeit he shewed ever euen from his infancie, that there reigned in him a certaine stoutnesse of stomack, ready to attempt high enterprises.

It chanced that falling out with one of his companions, after manie taunting words which passed betwixt them, the other to his reproch objected that he was a bastard, and begotten in unlawful bed; where-with being sore kindled, in his raging furie he ran upon him and slew him out of hand. Then was he glad to flee out of Wales, and coming into Scotland to seek some friendship there, he happened into the companie of such Englishmen, as were come thither with quene Margaret, and behaved himselfe so soberlie in all his demeanours, that within a while he was highly esteemed amongst them. Not long after by such means attaining to the degree of high reputation, he was sent with a great power of men into the western Isles, into Galloway, & other parts of the realme, to deliver the same from the tyrannie and invidious oppression there exercised by divers misgoverned persons; which enterprise according to his commission he achieved, with such prudent policie and manhood, that immediately upon his returne to the court, he was made lord steward of Scotland, with assignement to receive the kings rents and duties out of the parts of the realme.

This Walter Steward had a sonne named Alan Steward, who went after with Godfreie of Bullegne duke of Lorraine, & Robert duke of Normandy sonne to king William the bastard that conquered Englad, into the holie land, at what time they with other western princes made the great iourneie thither, in the yeare 1099. Alan had issue Alexander Steward, that founded the abbey of Pasleie of saint Benedicts order. Walter Steward, whose ballancie was well notified at the battell of Largs, as hereafter shall be shewed, was the sonne of the said Alexander. The same Walter had issue two sons, the one named Alexander, fought right ballantlie in defense of his father at the foresaid battell; and the other named Robert Steward got the lands of Terbowtowne, and married the heire of Cruikshoune, from whom descended the earles of Levenor and Dornie. Moreover, the above mentioned Alexander Steward that founded Pasleie, had diverse mo sonnes, as John and James, with sundrie other. Howbeit they took new surnames by the name of those lands, unto the which they succeeded. The afore rected John Steward, after the death of his brother James, married the heire of Bonhill a virgine of great beautie, and had by hir Walter Steward that inherited the lands of Bonhill, Kankrelo, Kothersaie, Bute, and Stewartowne, after that his father the forenamed John was slaine at Falkirke.

He married Margerie Bruce daughter to king Robert Bruce, by whome he had issue king Robert the second of that name. This Robert the second tooke to wife one Isabell Pure, a damsell of right excellent beautie, she was daughter to sir Adam Pure knight, and brought forth issue, three sonnes and three daughters. The eldest sonne hight John Steward otherwise named Robert, who succeeded im-

mediatlie after his fathers deceasse in governance of the crowne. The second called Robert was made earle of Fife and Menteith, also he was created duke of Albanie, and ruled the realme of Scotland under the name of gouernour, for the space of fiftene yeares. The third sonne named Alexander was earle of Buchquhane and lord of Baudyemot. The eldest daughter was married to James that was the sonne and heire of William earle of Douglas. The second daughter was married to John Dunbar, brother to George of Dunbar earle of March, and was made to the aduancement of his further fame earle of Murray. He begot on hir one onelie daughter, that was married to the Dowglas, and so Douglas came to the earldome of Murray. The third daughter was married unto John Lion, that was after made lord of Glamis.

Moreover, the foresaid Robert that was the first of the Stewards which wore the crowne in Scotland, married Eufame daughter to the earle of Ross, and got on hir two sonnes, Walter earle of Atholl, and David earle of Stratherne. This Walter solicited Robert duke of Albanie, to sea David Steward duke of Rothsaie. And after that James the first was returned home forth of England, he did what he could to moue him to sea all the linage of his kinsmen to come to the crowne himselfe, which hope moued him to procure his nephue Robert Steward, and Robert Graham his daughters son, to sea king James the first also, for the which crime the same Walter was after conuicted and destroyed with all his sonnes. His brother David earle of Buchquhane died without issue, and so the lands of both these brethren returned againe to the crowne, without anie memorie of their blood. Of Robert Steward duke of Albanie, came duke Murdoch, who married the earle of Lennor daughter, and got on hir three sonnes, Walter, Alexander, and James.

Duke Murdoch himselfe with his two first sonnes were slaine at Strueling by king James the first, & the third brother James in reuenge thereof burnt Dunbertane, and was after chased into Ireland, where he decessed without issue. Robert the third of that name married Annabill Drummond, daughter to sir John Drummond of Strobhall knight, and got on hir David and James. The first died in Falkland, and the other attained the crowne, and was called James the first, and married the ladie Jane daughter to John Beauford erle of Summerset in England. He had by hir two sonnes borne at one birth, Alexander and James. The first died yong, the second attained the crowne, named James the second. James the first had also six daughters, of the which the eldest was giuen in mariage to the Dolphin of France, the second to the duke of Britaine, the third to the lord of Feir, the fourth to the lord of Dalkith, the fifth to the earle of Huntley, and the first had no succession. James the second married Margaret daughter to the duke of Gelderland, and begot on hir three sonnes, and two daughters.

The first succeeded him in the kingdome, and was called James the third: the second named Alexander was duke of Albanie, and married first the earle of Dornies daughter, and got on hir Alexander, that was afterward bishop of Murray, and then parting with hir went into France, where he married the countesse of Bullogne, and begot on hir John Steward duke of Albanie, that was gouernor of Scotland manie yeeres in the minority of James the first. The third sonne, John Steward was earle of Spar, whose chance was to be slaine in the Cannogat in a battell. The first daughter of James the second, was married to the lord Doid, who begot on

Duke of Albanie.
Alexander Steward, sonne to king Robert the second.

John Dunbar.

Eufame.

Walter and David sonnes to king Robert.
Robert duke of Albanie.
James the first.

Graine of Graham.

Duke Murdoch

King Robert the third.

David and James, sons to king Robert the third

John Beauford earle of Summerset.

James the first and his issue.

The duke of Gelders daughter.

James and Alexander.

Duke of Albanie the gouernor of Scotland.
The lord Doid.

The lord
Hamilton.

Lord Creich-
ton.
James the
third and
his issue.

James the
fourth.

Spakbeths
vice.

His crueltie
caused through
fear.

The castell of
Dunslane
builded.

Spakduffe
thane of Fife.

hir a sonne that was slaine by the lord Spungumrie, and a daughter that was married to the earle of Calsels. After the death of the lord Boid, the husband of this first daughter of James the second, the was effones married to the lord Hamilton, and by that means was the house of the Hamiltons honored with the kings blood. The other sister was married to the lord Creichten, of whom came small succession worthie to be mentioned. James the third married Margaret daughter to the king of Denmarke. Of the which marriage was borne James the fourth, Alexander that was bishop of saint Andrews & duke of Albanye, and John Stewart earle of Spar, but these two died without issue.

James the fourth married Margaret daughter to king Henrie the seventh of England, and begot on hir James the fifth, who marieng first the ladie Agadalen daughter to Francis the French king, had no issue by hir, for that she died in the yere next after hir comming into Scotland, and then shortly after the said James the fifth married the ladie Marie de Lorraine, duchesse of Louvule, a widow, and by hir had he issue Marie queene of Scotland, that toke to husband Henrie Stewart lord Dornie, by whome she had issue Charles James, now king of Scotland. But to returne unto Spakbeth, in continuing the historie, and to begin where I left, ye shall understand that after the contrived slaughter of Banquo, nothing prospered with the foresaid Spakbeth: for in manner everie man began to doubt his owne life, and durst vnneth appeare in the kings presence; and such as there were mante that stood in feare of him, so likewise stood he in feare of manie, in such sort that he began to make those awaie by one surmized cavillation or other, whome he thought most able to worke him anie displeasure.

At length he found such swetnesse by putting his nobles thus to death, that his earnest thirst after blood in this behalfe might in no wise be satisfied: for ye must consider he wan double profit (as he thought) hereby: for first they were rid out of the way whome he feared, and then againe his coffers were enriched by their goods which were forfeited to his use, whereby he might better mainteine a gard of armed men about him to defend his person from iniurie of them whom he had in anie suspicion. Further, to the end he might the more cruelly oppresse his subiects with all tyrantlike wrongs, he builded a strong castell on the top of an hie hill called Dunslane, situate in Galloway, ten miles from Perth, on such a proud height, that standing there aloft, a man might behold well nere all the countries of Angus, Fife, Stirling, and Crinedale, as it were lieng underneath him. This castell then being founded on the top of that high hill, put the realme to great charges before it was finished, for all the stiffe necessitie to the building, could not be brought up without much toile and businesse. But Spakbeth being once determined to haue the worke go forward, caused the thanes of each shire within the realme, to come and helpe towards that building, each man his course about.

At the last, when the turne fell unto Spakduffe thane of Fife to build his part, he sent workemen with all needfull provision, and commanded them to shew such diligence in euerie behalfe, that no occasion might be giuen for the king to find fault with him, in that he came not himselfe as other had done, which he refused to do, for doubt least the king bearing him (as he partly understood) no great good will, would late violent hands vpon him, as he had done vpon diuerse other. Shortly after, Spakbeth comming to behold how the worke went forward, and because he found not Spakduffe there, he was

fore offended, and said; I perceiue this man will neuer obeie my commandements, till he be ridden with a snaffle: but I shall provide well inough for him. Neither could he afterwards abide to loke vpon the said Spakduffe, either for that he thought his puissance ouer great; either else for that he had learned of certeine wizzards, in whose words he put great confidence (for that the prophetic had happened so right, which the thre faries or weird sisters had declared vnto him) how that he ought to take heed of Spakduffe, who in time to come should seeke to destroye him.

And suerlie herevpon had he put Spakduffe to death, but that a certeine witch, whome he had in great trust, had told that he should neuer be slaine with man borne of anie woman, nor banquished till the wood of Bernane came to the castell of Dunslane. By this prophetic Spakbeth put all feare out of his heart, supposing he might do what he would, without anie feare to be punished for the same, for by the one prophetic he beleued it was impossible for anie man to banquish him, and by the other impossible to slea him. This vaine hope caused him to do manie outrageous things, to the greivous oppression of his subiects. At length Spakduffe, to auoid perill of life, purposed with himselfe to passe into England, to procure Spalcoline Cammoze to claime the crowne of Scotland. But this was not so secretlie deuised by Spakduffe, but that Spakbeth had knowledge giuen him thereof: for kings (as is said) haue sharpe sight like vnto Lynx, and long ears like vnto Asidas. For Spakbeth had in euerie nozle mans house, one lie fellow or other in fee with him, to reueale all that was said or done within the same, by which sight he oppressed the most part of the nobles of his realme.

Immediatlie then, being aduertised thereof about Spakduffe went, he came hastily with a great power into Fife, and forthwith besieged the castell where Spakduffe dwelled, trusting to haue found him therein. They that kept the house, without anie resistance opened the gates, and suffered him to enter, mistrusting none euill. But neuertheless Spakbeth most cruelly caused the wife and children of Spakduffe, with all other whom he found in that castell, to be slaine. Also he confiscated the goods of Spakduffe, proclaimed him traitor, and confined him out of all the parts of his realme; but Spakduffe was already escaped out of danger, and gotten into England vnto Spalcoline Cammoze, to trie what purchase he might make by means of his support, to reuenge the slaughter so cruelly executed on his wife, his children, and other friends. At his comming vnto Spalcoline, he declared into what great miserie the estate of Scotland was brought, by the detestable cruelties exercised by the tyrant Spakbeth, hauing committed manie horrible slaughters and murders, both as well of the nobles as commons, for the which he was hated right mortallie of all his liege people, desiring nothing more than to be deliuered of that intollerable and most heauie yoke of thraldome, which they sustained at such a castles hands.

Spalcoline hearing Spakduffs words, which he vttered in verie lamentable sort, for more compassion and verie ruth that feared his sorrowfull hart, bewailing the miserable state of his countrie, he fetched a deepe sigh; which Spakduffe perceiuing, began to fall most earnestlie in hand with him, to enterprise the deliuering of the Scottish people out of the hands of so cruell and bloudie a tyrant, as Spakbeth by too manie plaine experiments did shew himselfe to be: which was an easie matter for him to bring to passe, considering not onelie the good title he had, but also the earnest desire of the people to haue some or-
calore

calson ministred, whereby they might be reuenged of those notable iniuries, which they daillie susteined by the outrageous crueltie of Makhbeths misgouernance. Though Malcolme was verie sorrowfull for the oppression of his countriemen the Scots, in manner as Makhduffe had declared; yet doubting whether he were come as one that ment vnfaineable as he spake, or else as sent from Makhbeth to betraie him, he thought to haue some further triall, and thereupon dissembling his mind at the first, he answered as followeth.

I am trulie verie soie for the miserie chanced to my countrie of Scotland, but though I haue neuer so great affection to relieue the same, yet by reason of certaine incurable vices, which reigne in me, I am nothing met thereto. First, such immoderate lust of certaine sensualitie (the abhominable founteine of all vices) followeth me, that if I were made king of Scots, I should seeke to deflowre your maids and matrones, in such wise that mine intemperance should be more impossible vnto you, than the bloudie tyrannie of Makhbeth now is. Wherevnto Makhduffe answered: This suerlie is a verie euill fault, for manie noble princes and kings haue lost both liues and kingdomes for the same; neuertheless there are women enow in Scotland, and therefore follow my counsell. Make thy selfe king, and I shall conueie the matter so wisely, that thou shalt be so satisfied at thy pleasure in such secret wise, that no man shall be aware thereof.

Then said Malcolme, I am also the most auaritious creature on the earth, so that if I were king, I should seeke so manie waies to get lands and goods, that I would leaue the most part of all the nobles of Scotland by furnizid accusations, to the end I might inioy their lands, goods, and possessions; and therefore to shew you what mischief may insue on you through mine insatiable couetousnes, I will rehearse vnto you a fable. There was a for hauing a fore place on him ouerset with a swarme of flies, that continually sucked out his blood: and when one that came by and saw this manner, demanded whether she would haue the flies giuen before him, the answered no: for if these flies that are already full, and by reason thereof sucke not verie egerlie, should be chased awaie, other that are emptie and sellie an hungered, should light in their places, and sucke out the residue of my blood farre more to my greuaunce than these, which now being satisfied do not much annoy me. Therefore saith Malcolme, suffer me to remaine where I am, least if I attaine to the regimēt of your realme, mine vnquenchable auarice may proue such; that ye would thinke the displeasures which now grieue you, should seeme easie in respect of the vnmeasurable outrage, which might insue through my conning amongst you.

Makhduffe to this made answer, how it was a far worse fault than the other: for auarice is the root of all mischief, and for that crime the most part of our kings haue bene slaine and brought to their finall end. Yet notwithstanding follow my counsell, and take vpon thee the crowne. There is gold and riches enow in Scotland to satissie thy greedie desire. Then said Malcolme againe, I am furthermore inclined to dissimulation, telling of leasings, and all other kinds of deceit, so that I naturallie reioice in nothing so much, as to betraie & deceiue such as put anie trust or confidence in my words. Then said there is nothing that more becommeth a prince than constancie, veritie, truth, and iustice, with the other laudable fellowship of those faire and noble vertues which are comprehended onelie in soothfastnesse, and that lieng vtterlie overthroweth the same; you see how vnable I am to gouerne anie prouince or regi-

on: and therefore sith you haue remedies to cloke and hide all the rest of my other vices, I praye you find this to cloke this vice amongst the residue.

Then said Makhduffe: This yet is the worst of all, and there I leaue thee, and therefore saie: Why be you so happe and miserable Scottishmen, which are thus scourged with so manie and sundrie calamities, each one aboue other? We haue one cursed and wicked tyrant that now reigneth ouer you, without anie right or title, oppressing you with his most bloudie crueltie. This other that hath the right to the crowne, is so replet with the inconstant behauiour and manifest vices of Englishmen, that he is nothing worthie to inioy it: for by his owne confession he is not onelie auaritious, and giuen to insatiable lust, but so false a traitor withall, that no trust is to be had vnto anie word he speaketh. Adieu Scotland, for now I account my selfe a banished man for euer, without comfort or consolation: and with those words the blackish teares trickled downe his cheekes verie abundantly.

At the last, when he was readie to depart, Malcolme toke him by the sleue, and said: Be of good comfort Makhduffe, for I haue none of these vices before remembred, but haue tested with thee in this manner, onelie to proue thy mind: for diuerse times heretofore hath Makhbeth fought by this manner of meanes to bring me into his hands, but the more now I haue shewed my selfe to condescend to thy motion and request, the more diligence shall I vse in accomplishing the same. Incontinentlie herevpon they embraced each other, and promising to be faithfull the one to the other, they fell in consultation how they might best prouide for all their businesse, to bring the same to good effect. Some after, Makhduffe repairing to the borders of Scotland, addressed his letters with secret dispatch vnto the nobles of the realme, declaring how Malcolme was confederat with him, to come hastily into Scotland to claime the crowne, and therefore he required them, sith he was right inheritor thereto, to assist him with their powers to recover the same out of the hands of the wrongfull usurper.

In the meane time, Malcolme purchased such fauor at king Edwards hands, that old Steward earle of Northumberland was appointed with ten thousand men to go with him into Scotland, to support him in this enterprise, for recouerie of his right. After these newes were spread abroad in Scotland, the nobles drew into two severall factions, the one fauoring part with Makhbeth, and the other with Malcolme. Wherevpon ensued oftentimes sundrie bickerings, & diuerse light skirmishes: for those that were of Malcolmes side, would not leaue to ioine with their enemies in a pight field, till his coming out of England to their support. But after that Makhbeth perceived his enemies power to increase, by such aid as came to them forth of England with his aduersarie Malcolme, he recoiled backe into Fife, there purposing to abide in campe fortified, at the castell of Dunfinane, and to fight with his enemies, if they ment to pursue him; howbeit some of his friends aduised him, that it should be best for him, either to make some agreement with Malcolme, or else to flee with all speed into the Isles, and to take his treasure with him, to the end he might wage sundrie great prizes of the realme to take his part, & reueine strangers, in whome he might better trust than in his owne subiects, which sale daillie from him: but he had such confidence in his prophesies, that he beleued he should neuer be vanquished, till Birnane wood were brought to Dunfinane; nor yet to be slaine with anie man, that should be or was boine of anie woman.

Malcolme

Branches of
trees.

Malcolm set-
teth his men
in order of bat-
telle.
Malcolm fle-
eth, & is pur-
sued of Mal-
duffe.

Malcolm is
slaine.

1057. Io. M.
1061. H. B.
8. H. B.
Malcolm

Parlement
at Fossefair.

Chances
changed into
earles.

Surnames.

Malcolm following hostile after Malduffe, came the night before the battell unto Birnane wood, and when his armie had rested a while there to refresh them, he commanded euery man to get a bough of some tree or other of that wood in his hand, as big as he might beare, and to march forth therewith in such wise, that on the next morrow they might come close, lie and without sight in this manner within view of his enemies. In the morrow when Malduffe beheld them coming in this sort, he first marvelled what the matter meant, but in the end remembered himselfe that the prophesie which he had heard long before that time, of the coming of Birnane wood to Dunstons name castell, was likelie to be now fulfilled. Heerethelesse, he brought his men in order of battell, and exhorted them to do valiantlie, howbeit his enemies had scarcelie cast from them their boughs, when Malduffe perceiuing their numbers, betoke him strenght to flight, whom Malduffe pursued with great hatred euen till he came unto Lunfannine, where Malduffe perceiuing that Malduffe was hard at his backe, leapt beside his horse, saying: Thou traitor, what meanest it that thou shouldest thus in vaine follow me that am not appointed to be slaine by anie creature that is borne of a woman, come on there fore, and receiue thy reward which thou hast deserued for thy paines, and therewithall he lifted up his sword thinking to haue slaine him.

But Malduffe quicklie auoiding from his horse, per he came at him, answered (with his naked sword in his hand) saying: It is true Malduffe, and now shall thine insatiable crueltie haue an end, for I am euen he that thy wizards haue told thee of, who was neuer borne of my mother, but ripped out of her wombe: therewithall he slept vnto him, and slue him in the place. Then cutting his head from his shoulders, he set it vpon a pole, and brought it vnto Malcolm. This was the end of Malduffe, after he had reigned 17 yeres ouer the Scottisshmen. In the beginning of his reigne he accomplished manie woorthie acts, verie profitable to the common-wealth (as ye haue heard) but afterward by illusion of the diuell, he defamed the same with most terrible crueltie. He was slaine in the yere of the incarnation, 1057, and in the 16 yere of king Edwards reigne ouer the Englishmen.

Malcolm Canmore thus recouering the realme (as ye haue heard) by support of king Edward, in the 16 yere of the same Edwards reigne, he was crowned at Scone the 25 day of Aprill, in the yere of our Lord 1057. Immediatlie after his coronation he called a parlement at Fossefair, in the which he rewarded them with lands and liuings that had assisted him against Malduffe, aduancing them to fees and offices as he saw cause, & commanded that speciallie those that bare the surname of anie officers or lands, should haue and inioy the same. He created manie earles, lords, barons, and knights. Manie of them that before were thanes, were at this time made earles, as Fife, Kenteth, Atholl, Leuenor, Murray, Cathnes, Ross, and Angus. These were the first earles that haue bene heard of amongst the Scottisshmen (as their histories do make mention.) Manie new surnames were taken vp at this time amongst them, as Cauder, Lokart, Gorden, Selton, Lauder, Malwane, Meldrum, Schaw, Leirmouth, Libertoun, Strachquhen, Cargill, Rattrey, Dundas, Cockbourne, Wirtoun, Penzeis, Abercrommie, Lillie, with manie other that had possessions given them, which gaue names to the owners for the time. Others got their surnames by offices, as Steward, Burward, and Banerman. Also the proper names of manie valiant captains were turned into generall surnames, as Bennedie, Graham,

Hate, with diuerse other so long here to rehearse. So that it came to passe then, as it hath done manie times since, that new surnames haue woyn the old out of vse.

In the foresaid parlement thus holden at Fossefair, in the beginning of his reigne, there were manie hole some ordinances established, both appertaining to ciuill administration, and also to the ecclesiasticall iurisdiction. In reward also of Malduffes seruice, who (as ye haue heard) chiefly aided him to the attaining of the crowne, he honozed him and his posteritie with three sorts of priuileges. First, that the earle of Fife for the time being, at the coronation of a king, should by his office set the crowne on the kings head. The second was, that when the king should gine battell to his enemies, the same earle should lead the bauntgard of his host. The third, that the linage of Malduffe should inioy regall authoritie and power within all their lands and comes, as to appoint officers and iudges for the hearing and determining of all matters and controuersies (treason onelie excepted) and that if anie of their men or tenants were called to answer in anie court out of their circuit, they might appeale to their owne iudges to be appointed, as before is expessed.

Iohannes Maior writeth in his chronicles, that the third priuilege, which Malcolm granted vnto this Malduffe and his posteritie, was this, that for euery gentleman that anie of them should hap to kill by chance meele, and not vpon pretended malice, for the summe of 24 marks he should redeme his punishment due for the same: & for the casuall slaughter of a meaner person he should be fined at twelue marks. So that murderers were wont to say, that if they were able to paie that summe to the kinbor, they ought to be released of further punishment, by Malduffes priuilege. But this third priuilege, together with the other two former grants, the said Maior sore reprobeth, and not without cause, as may appere, considering the naturall inclination of that people vnto murder, which by this means nourishing secret hatred and malice in their hearts, might vnder the cloke of casuall falling out, slea whom they listed.

It was ordeined also at this parlement, that barons which had liberties within themselves, should make gibbets, whereon men that deserued death should suffer execution: and also draw-wells, wherein women that were condemned should be drowned, according to the order of the ciuill lawes vsed in Scotland. Moreover, all the lawes that Malduffe had ordeined, were abrogated at this parlement. Thus whilest Malcolm was busied in setting orders amongst his subiects, tidings came that one Lugtake surnamed the wole, being either the sonne, or (as some write) the cosen of the late mentioned Malduffe, was conueied with a great number of such as had taken part with the said Malduffe vnto Scone, and there by their support receiued the crowne, as lawfull inheritor thereto. To appeale this businesse, was Malduffe earle of Fife sent with full commission in the kings name, who incounting with Lugtake at a village called Essen in Bogdale, slue him, and discomfited his whole power, ordering the matter with them in such wise, that afterwards there was no more trouble attempted in that behalfe.

After this, the realme continued in peace certaine yeres, till it chanced a great number of theues and robbers assembling themselves together at Cockbourne pethes, did much hurt, by robbing and spoiling the people in the countries of Mers and Lothian: howbeit, at length one Patrike Dunbar of Dunbar, by commandement of the king, fought with them, slue their captaine, with six hundred of his companie,

Malduffe
earle of Fife
his aduance-
ment.
Priuileges
granted vnto
Malduffes
linage.

Iohannes Ma-
ior.

Gibbets and
draw-wells.

Malduffes
lawes abroga-
ted.

Lugtake.

Lugtake
crowned at
Scone.

Lugtake
slaine.

A band of
thanes.

Patrike
Dunbar
quilteth the
theues and
companie.

the companie, and tooke fourescore prisoners, the which he caused to be hanged. And thus having deliuered the countie of those paelers, with losse of fortie of his owne in en, he returned to the king, with the head of the capteine of that count: so that for his manhood herein shewed, he was made by the king earle of March, and for the maintenance of his estate, had the lands of Cockbourne Bettes giuen to him and his heires for euer, vpon this condition, that in times containing, the earles of March should purge Hers and Louthian of all theues and robbers. In memorie whereof, he was commanded to braue in his armes a fellows head sprinkled with bloud.

Shortlie after he got knowledge, how there were certeine gentlemen that had conspired to slea him, & therefore taking occasion to go on hunting, where this ad should haue bene executed, he calleth the chiefe author of the conspiracie apart into a certeine ballie, which was closed on euerie side with thicke woods, and there brake the matter vnto him, in reproving him verie sharpelie, for that he had so traitorously conspired his death, whose preservation he ought chiefe to haue wished, considering the manifold benefits he had receiued at his hands. And hereunto leaping from his horse, drew his sword, commanding the other likewise to draw his, that now having convenient time and place thereto, they might trie the matter betwixt them, who should be thought most worthe of life, by open force of knightlie prowess. The conspirator hearing these words, as a man altogether astonished, fell downe vpon his knees at the kings feet, beseeching his grace of mercie for his wicked purpose and heinous offense: who seeing him thus penitent, bad him arise, and said; I am content here vpon to forgive thee, so that thou be not of countsell hereafter in anie such traitorous practise.

Whilist things passed thus in Scotland, great and manuellous chances came to passe within the realme of England. For after the death of king Edward, surnamed the Confessor, Harold the sonne of earle Godwine tooke on him the kingdome. But William bastard duke of Normandie, pretending title to the crowne of England, at length inuaded the land, and slaing Harold in field, made a full conquest of the realme, and was crowned king at London by Eldred archbishop of Yorke. Here ye haue to understand, that king Edward in his life time had sent for his nephue Edward, the sonne of his brother Edmund Ironside, to come home forth of Hungarie, whither after his fathers deceasse he and his brother Godwine had bene sent auaie, as in the historie of England it appeareth more at large. This Edward had married the daughter of the emperor Henrie, named Agatha, sister to the queene of Hungarie, and not the king of Hungaries daughter, although the Scottish writers do so affirme. By hir he had issue a sonne named Edgar, and two daughters, the one named Margaret, and the other Christen.

King Edward ment that his nephue the said Edward should haue succeeded him, and (as some write) he would in his life time haue resigned the crowne vnto him. But he (a thing worthe of admiration) utterly refused it, and would not once meddle therewith during his uncles life time; & (as it chanced) he died, whilist his uncle king Edward was yet liuing. His sonne Edgar therefore, to whom it seemed that the crowne was due, when he saw the realme conquered by the Normans, despairing to recouer it out of their hands, got a ship, and determined with his mother and sisters to passe ouer into Germanie to his friends and kinfolke there: but by contrarie winds he was driuen to shore in the Forth, at a place called vnto this day the queenes ferrie. Malcolm being at the same time at Dunfermeling, when he

heard of the arrivall of this ship, and understood that they were that were aboyd in hir, he resorted thither with an honorable companie about him, to visit them for honors sake, vpon fauour he bare towards them, for that they were descended of that noble prince king Edward, in whose afore time he had found so much gentleness and friendship.

Finallie, when he understood their estate, he brought them home with him to his palace, shewing them all the loue and friendship he could deuise; and in the end considering the excellent beutie, wisdom, and noble qualities of the ladie Margaret, sister to the same Edgar, he required of Agatha his mother to haue hir in marriage, wherevnto Agatha gladly condescended. Shortlie after, with an assemblie of all the nobles of Scotland, this marriage was made and solemnized after the octaues of Easter, in the yeare 1067, with all the joy & triumph that might be deuised. As William conqueror of England, being informed hereof, feared least this alliance betwixt Malcolm and Edgar might breed some trouble and disquietnesse to his estate, with the same Edgar had manie friends through all the parties of England. To preuent therefore the occasions of intestine troubles, he confined all the linage of the foresaid Edgar, by reason whereof, a great number of Englishmen came into Scotland vnto king Malcolm, and manie of them obtaining livings at his hands, remained there continuallie during their liues, leauing to their posteritie their names & possessions. Amongst whom were these, Lindseie, Claus, Ramsie, Louell, Totchris, Prestoun, Sandlands, Wiffart, Sowlis, Wardlaw, Martwell, with diuerse other.

There came diuerse also out of Hungarie with queene Margaret, who likewise left their names to their families, which yet remaine euen vnto this day, as Creichtoun, Fotheringham, Giffart, Meluill, Bothwike, and others. Also there haue come at sundrie seasons out of France diuers surnames into Scotland, as Fraserie, Sinclair, Boswell, Polotrap, Mountgummerie, Campbell, Bois, Betoun, or Betuin, Taillefer, and Bothwell, besides sundrie other which were but superfluous to rehearse at this time. & Vnto the order of the historie. It is recorded by writers, that these (which at this time came out of England vnto Edgar) brought great quantitie of gold and siluer with them; also manie reliques of saints, and (amongst other) that blacke crosse which king David gaue vnto the abbeie of Holie rood house in Louthian, which he founded at his owne charges. Shortlie after the proscription of these Englishmen, William the conqueror sent an herald at armes vnto king Malcolm, demanding to haue Edgar deliuered into his hands, and threatening that if he refused to deliuer him, he would surely fetch him, and that smallie for Malcolms com-mobitie.

But Malcolm, though he understood that he should be sure of wars at As Williams hands for his denail; yet he declared plainlie to the herald, that his maisters request was unreasonable, & therefore he minded not in anie wise to gratifie him therein. King William receiuing this answer from king Malcolm, proclaimed open warre against Scotland. In the meane time all Northumberland tooke part with As Malcolm, for that he was their earles sisters sonne. Wherevpon As William sent a valiant capteine, a Norman borne named Roger, to inuade Northumberland. Which Roger gathering a power of men, came hastilie into that countie, howbeit he abode a short time there in honor, for by the Scots & Northumberland men his armie was discomfited, and he himselfe traitorously slaine by his owne souldiers.

Malcolm
Canmore mar-
ried Agatha
sister to
Edgar the
king.

1067.H.B.

Englishmen
fled into Scot-
land.

Surnames of
Englishmen
in Scotland.

Surnames
of Hungari-
ans.

Surnames of
Frenchmen.

The blacke
crosse.

William con-
queror threat-
ned king
Malcolm.

Malcolm
answers.

Open warre
proclaimed by
William con-
queror.
Northumber-
land taketh
part with As
Malcolm.
Roger a Nor-
man capteine
or rather earle
Roger (as I
take it.)
Slew in Eng-
land.

But

The earle of
Glocester.

Gospatrike
saith Simon
Dunel.

Wdo bishop of
Bairour and
earle of Kent.

Malcolme
enterpris a-
gainst his en-
emies.

Robert the
sonne of Wil-
liam conque-
rour.
Pewcassell
upon Tine
fortified.

A peace con-
cluded be-
twixt William
Conquerour,
and Mal-
colme Cam-
more.

The roserosse.
waltheof.

Sward earle
of Northum-
berland.

Rebellion in
Galloway.

Walter the
sonne of Fle-
ance.

Malglaue.

Walter crea-
ted high ste-
ward of
Scotland.

A new rebel-
lion in Mur-
repland.

But king William nothing discouraged with this overthrow: sent one Richard earle of Glocester (whome amongst all the Englishmen he had most in trust) with a mightie armie into Cumberland, against whome were sent the earles of March and Penteith, who defended the countrie right manlie from the invasion of the said earle, so that he was not able to take anie advantage of them. King William advertised herof, wared wonderfull wroth, that no more good was done against his enemies, whereupon he sent a new power thither with all speed, under the leading of his brother Wdo, who was both bishop of Bairour, and earle of Kent. By this last armie, the countrie of Northumberland was fore spoiled, and a great number both of Scots and Northumberlandmen discomfited and slaine. But as Wdo was preparing to returne, there came Malcolme, with all the power he might make, and giving an onset upon his enemies, slue a great number of them, and recovered all the bottie which Wdos men had got in the countrie, and so right full of that victorie, returned into Scotland. King William yet nothing abashed for these mishaps, sent his sonne called Robert, with a far greater power than at anie time he had sent before, into Northumberland, who remaining a long season in campe nere to the river of Tine, attempted no notable enterpris, saving that he repaired and newlie fortified the towne of Pewcassell, which standeth upon the same river of Tine; and then at length a peace was concluded betwixt the two kings under these conditions, that king Malcolme should enjoy that part of Northumberland which lieth betwixt Tued, Cumberland, and Stainmore, and to do homage to the K. of England for the same. In the midst of Stainmore there shall be a crosse set up, with the king of Englands image on the one side, and the king of Scotlands on the other, to signifie that the one is march to England, and the other to Scotland. This crosse was called the roserosse, that is, the crosse of the kings. Moreover, it was concluded that Waltheof or Woldosius (as the Scottish writers name him) the sonne of Sward earle of Northumberland should marie king Williams niece, bozne of his daughter, and to be free from all payments and exactions due to the king by anie maner of prerogative or means, for the space of twentie yeares next ensuing.

In the necke of this peace thus concluded betwixt the kings, happened new trouble in Scotland, by reason of intestine rebellion: for the people of Galloway, and the Island men, rose in great numbers, and spoiled the borders of their neighbors, not sparing from slaughter in all parts, where they were anie thing resisted. Against these rebels was sent by king Malcolme, Walter the sonne of Fleance (of whome there is mention made before) with a convenient armie, who at his coming into Galloway, first gaue the people of that countrie an overthrow, and slue their chiefe capteine Malglaue. Then afterwards fighting with them of the Isles, he subdued them in such wise, that all things were pacified even at commandement. For which high prowes and diligence in this peece of service shewed, he was created by Malcolme high steward of the realme, so that afterwards both he and his posteritie ever since haue bozne that surname, even unto these our daies.

After the quieting of this businesse, there sprang a new tumult more dangerous than the former, for the Murrepland men, procuring them of Rosse and Cathnes, with diuers other to joine with them in confederacie, did not onelie sea the kings seruants, and those that were appointed under him to see in

vice ministered, but through support of one Malglaue, whome they chose to be their capteine, they also wasted and destroyed the kings possessions, with more crueltie than ever had bene heard of before. Wherefore to punish these traitorous attempts, Malglaue was sent with an armie into Spar. But the traitors doubting least they should not be able to withstand his puissance, thought nothing more available than to stop him with monie: but in the meane time came the king himselfe in good season into Monimusk, where he was advertised, that in maner all the north parts of Scotland with the Isles, were confederat with the Murrepland men against him. The king astonished something at these newes, vowed to give the baronnie of Monimusk (which he understood to be lands pertaining to the crowne) unto the church of Saint Andrew in life, if it might please God to send him victorie over his enemies.

At length coming unto the water of Speie, he beheld his enemies on the further side, in greater number, and in better furniture for armes, than he thought had bene possible to haue found in all Scotland: he perceived also that his standard-bearer began to shrink, and not to shew the like cherefull countenance as he ought to haue done. Wherefore he pulled the banner from him, and gaue it to Sir Alexander Carron, who with this his new office obtained sundrie faire lands and possessions, to him and to his heires for ever: but his surname was afterwards changed, and called Skrimingour; of the which is descended a noble house, continuing yet in great honor in the same surname and office. When the king was once passed the water, and the armies on both sides ready to haue joined, through mediation of bishops and other vertuous men, the matter was taken up, and peace made on these conditions; That the commons that took part with the rebels, should returne home out of hand, and the gentlemen to submit themselves to the kings pleasure, their liues and lands saved. Wherewith manie of them were kept in perpetuall prison during their liues, and all their goods confiscated to the kings use.

All this trouble and commotion being thus quieted, king Malcolme (speciallie by the gods admonishment and exhortation of his wife quene Margaret, a woman of great zeale unto the religion of that time) gaue himselfe in maner altogether unto much deuotion, and workes of mercie; as in doing of almes deeds, by providing for the poore, and such like godlie exercises: so that in true vertue he was thought to excell all other princes of his time. To be brieve, herein there seemed to be in maner a certaine strife betwixt him, and that vertuous quene his wife, which of them should be most seruent in the loue of God, so that manie people by the imitation of them were brought unto a better life. Agatha and hir daughter Christine also, by the example of these two holie liuers, renounced the pompe of the court, and got them to a priuat and solitarie life, wherein they gaue themselves wholie to diuine contemplation. Furthermore, Malcolme by the setting on of the quene his wife, ceased not to let his indevour wholie to the advancement of the christian religion, and to restore things that were decayed by the negligence of his predecessors. Wherefore whereas before his time, there were but foure bishops sees in Scotland, as saint Andrews, Glasgou, Galloway, and Murrthlake, and two of them, that is to say, saint Andrews and Murrthlake remaining onelie in good reparation (the other being decayed) he restored the other two to their former beauties, and furthermore erected two other of new, as Murrey and Cathnes, placing men of singular vertue and purenesse of life in the same.

Malglaue

The kings
vow.

Standard
bearer.

Sir Alex-
ander Carron.

A peace con-
cluded.

The subdu-
tion of
men.

King Mal-
colme through
exhortation
of his wife, ga-
ueth himselfe
to deuotion.

A godlie life

Agatha and
Christine re-
nounce the
world.

Whosoevr
restored and
newlie erect-
ed by king
Malcolme.

But

As it proceeded. It is said, that such outrageous riot entered at this time, and began to grow in use among the Scottishmen, together with the language and manners of the English nation (by reason that such a multitude of the same, fleeing out of their countrie, were daily received as then into Scotland to inhabit there, as before is shewed) that divers of the nobles perceiving what discommoditie and decay to the whole realme would ensue of this intemperance, came to the king, lamenting grievously the case, for that this venomous infection spread so fast over the whole realme, to the perverting and utter removing of the ancient sobrietie of diet used in the same. Wherefore they besought him to provide some remedie in time, before hope of redresse were past, that the people might be againe reduced unto their former frugalitie, who hitherto used not to eat but once in the day, and their desiring no superfluous meates and drinks to be sought by sea and land, nor curiouslie dressed or served forth with sauces, but onlie feeding to satiffie nature, and not their greedie appetites.

Through this their sober fare, with the exercising of their bodies herewith in continuall travell, they grew more strong and greater of bodie, than their offspring are found to be in these daies: for they were more in resemblance like unto giants than unto men of our time, with great and huge bodies, mighty armes and limbs, pressing upon their enemies like unto herre lions, bearing downe all before them, without dread of any danger, for that they exceeded all humane strength and power. Whereupon king Malcolme took great paines to haue redressed this infectious poison, and bitterlie to haue expelled it forth of his realme. Whobest the nature of man is so prone and ready to embrace all kinds of vice, that where the Scottish people before had no knowledge nor understanding of fine fare or riotous surfeit; yet after they had once tasted the sweet poisoned bait thereof, there was now no meane to be found to re-
 40 streine their licentious desires. And yet these corrupted abuses and riotous superfluities (which came into the realme of Scotland with the Englishmen) planted therein by the daies of king Malcolme, are not to be compared in excess with things used in our time. For in those daies, as yet the nature of man was not so overcome with the abuse of superfluities, as it is now adaies; for then though they were gone from the ancient sparseness of diet, they yet did not eat past twice a day, and had but two dishes at a meale: but now the greedie taste of mens insatiable lust is such, that no kind of flesh, fish, fruit, or whatsoever may be gotten, is unneedie able to quench their gluttonous appetit: & ravenous gormandizing; so that neither land, sea, nor aire, is left unsought to satiffie the same, as though they were worthy of most high commendation that may occur most: wherein they may be iustlie compared to greedie wolues and coruorants. But to bewaile that in words which cannot be amended in deeds, is but a follie: for the infection is so entered into the inner parts of the intrails, that neither with purging, cutting, nor fasting, it may be holpen. Sooner shall you destroye the whole nation, than remove this vice.

In the meane time whylest things passed thus in Scotland, king William the Conqueror died in the 11th yere of his reigne, and after the incarnation of 1087. About which time king Malcolme caused the old church of Durham to be plucked downe and builded up a new, beginning euen at the first flore. In which season, one Egghwin or William (as the Scottish writer say) was bishop of that see, and prior of the abbeye to as one Turgot, who afterward was made bishop of saint Andrews, and wrote the lives

of queene Margaret and Malcolme her husband in the Scottish tongue. Afterward he deceased in saint Andrews, but his bodie was brought unto Durham, and there buried, because he was first prior thereof. King Malcolme by perswasion of this Turgot, builded also a church in Dunfermling, dedicated to the Trinitie, ordaining from thenceforth that the common sepulture of the kings should be there, in like maner as it had bene afore time in the Isle of Jona at the abbeye of Colmekill.

Amongst other vertuous ordinances also, which were deuised and made by king Malcolme (through exhortation of his wife queene Margaret) mentioned by Turgot in the booke which he wrote of their lines, this is not to be forgotten, that he abrogated that wicked law, established by king Ewin the third appointing halfe a marke of silver to be paid to the lord of the soile, in redemption of the womans chastitie, which is used to be paid yet unto this day, and is called the marchets of woman: where otherwise by tenor of king Ewins law, the lord had the use of their bodies all the first night after their marriage. King William surnamed the Red, the second sonne of king William the Conqueror, and successor to him in the kingdome of England, not well contented nor pleased in his mind, that the Scots should inuoy a great portion of the north parts of England, ancientlie belonging to his crowne as parcell thereof, he raised a great armie, and before
 30 anie denouncing of warre by him made, inuaded Northumberland, and took the castell of Antwoke, putting all such to the sword as were found in the same.

King Malcolme, to withstand such exploits attempted by his enimie, leuied a great host of his subjects, and coming with the same into Northumberland, besieged the said castell of Antwoke. And now when the keepers of the hold were at point to haue made surrender, a certeine English knight conceiuing in his mind an hardie and dangerous enterprise, mounted on a swift horse without armor or weapon, sauing a speare in his hand, upon the point whereof he bare the keies of the castell, and so issued forth at the gates, riding directlie towards the Scottish campe. They that warded, mistrusting no harme, brought him with great noise and clamour unto the kings tent. Who hearing the noise, came forth of his pavilion to vnderstand what the matter ment. The Englishman herewith couched his staffe, as though it had bene to the end that the king might receive the keies which he had brought. And whylest all mens eyes were earnest in beholding the keies, the Englishman ran the king through the left eie, and suddenlie dashing his spurres to his horse, escaped to the next wood out of all danger. The point of the speare entered so farre into the kings head, that immediatlie falling downe amongst his men, hee perished by the ghost. This was the end of king Malcolme in the midst of his armie.

It is said, that king William changed the name of this aduenturous knight, & called him Percecie, for that he stroke king Malcolme so right in the eie, and in recompence of his seruice gaue him certeine lands in Northumberland: of whome those Percees are descended, which in our daies haue inioined the honorable title of earles of Northumberland. The Scots after the slaughter of their king, brake by their campe, and buried his bodie within the abbeye of Eimouth in England. But his sonne Alexander caused it afterward to be taken vp, and buried in Dunfermling before the altar of the Trinitie. At the same time was Scotland wounded with another mishap. For Edward the prince of Scotland, eldest sonne to king Malcolme, died of a hurt

The church of Dunfermling
 The sepulture of the Scottish kings.

King Ewins law abrogated
 or rather altered.

William Rufus.

The castell of Antwoke taken by the Englishmen.

The castell of Antwoke besieged by the Scots.

In hardie enterprise.

K. Malcolme is slaine.

The name of the Percees had no such beginning, for they came forth of Normandie at the conquest. Earles of Northumberland. K. Malcolme buried at Eimouth.

Edward prince of Scotland died.

Queene Margaret died.

1097. H. B.
The yeres of
Dobber H.B.
Strange
wonders.
An huge tide.

Godwins
sands.

Chander.

Trees and
coyne burnt.

Marianus.

Veremond.

The sons of
H. Malcolm
Canmore.

Donald Bane

Donald Bane
fled into the
Fles.
Donald Bane
returneth into
Scotland.
His covenant
for the gift of
the Fles to
the king of
Norwaie.

The respect
that the people
had to receive
Donald Bane
for their king.

H. Malcolm's
sons sent for
into England
by Edgar
their uncle.

hurt which he receiued in a skirmish not farre from Dunwike and was buried in Dunfermling, the first of the blood roiall that had his bones laid in that place. Queene Margaret being aduertised of the death both of hir husband and sonne, as then lieng in Edinburgh castell, hir disease increased through griefe therof so vehementlie, that within thye daies after she departed out of this life, unto an other more full and blessed. King Malcolm was slaine in the yere of our redemption 1092, on the 13 day of November, and in the 36 yere of his reigne.

In the same yere, manie uncouth things came to passe, and were seene in Albion. By the high spring tides which chanced in the Almaine seas, manie towines, castles, and woods were drowned, as well in Scotland as in England. After the ceassing of which tempest, the lands that sometime were earle Godwins (of whome ye haue heard before) lieng not farre from the towne of Sandwich, by violent force and drift of the sea, were made a sand-bed, and euer since haue bene called Godwins sands. The people haue thought that this vengeance came to that pece of ground being possessed by his posteritie, for the wicked slaughter of Alured, which he tratorously contriued. Moreover sundrie castles and towines in Surrey land, were ouerthrowne by the sea tides. Such dreadfull thunder happened also at the same time, that men and beasts were slaine in the fields, and houses ouerturned euen from their foundations. In Louthian, Fife, and Angus, trees and coyne were burned by fire, kindled no man knew how, nor from whence.

In the daies of this Malcolm Canmore, liued that famous historiographer Marianus a Scottish man borne, but professed a monke in the monasterie of Fulda in Germanie. Also Veremond a Spanish priest, but dwelling in Scotland, storied about the same time, and wrote the Scottish historie, whome Hector Boetius so much followeth. Malcolm had by his wife queene Margaret (otherwise called for hir holinesse of life saint Margaret) three sonnes, Edward (as is said) was slaine: Ethelred, which died in his tender age, and was buried in Dunfermling: and Edmund which renounced the world, and liued an holie life in England: the other three were named Edgar, Alexander, and David. There be that write how Edmund was taken, and put to death by his uncle Donald Bane, when he invaded the kingdom, and usurped the crowne, after the decesse of his brother king Malcolm, and so then was Edgar next inheritor to the crowne.

This Donald Bane, who (as before is mentioned) fled into the Fles to eschue the tyrannicall malice of Hakbeth, after he once heard that his brother king Malcolm was dead, returned into Scotland by support of the king of Norwaie, unto whom he covenanted to giue the dominion of all the Fles, if by his means a furtherance he might obtaine the crowne of Scotland. Whereupon landing with an armie in the realme, he found small resistance, and so with little ado receiued the crowne. For manie of the people abhorring the riotous manners and superfluous gouerning brought in among them by the Englishmen, were willing inough to receiue this Donald for their king, trusting (because he had bene brought up in the Fles with the old customes and manners of their ancient nation, without tast of the Englishlikorous delicats) they should by his seuerer order in gouernement recover againe the former temperance of their old progenitors.

As soon as Edgar Etheling brother to Queene Margaret was aduertised that Donald Bane had thus usurped the crowne of Scotland, he sent secretly for his three nephews, Edgar, Alexander, and Da-

uid, with two sisters which they had, to come vnto him into England, where he had not kept them anie long while, but that a knight whose name was Edgar, accused him of treason, alleging how he nourished his sisters sonnes and daughters within the realme, in hope to make them inheritors to the crowne: but the malice of this false surmise remained not unpunished, for one of Edgars friends, taking in hand to barraine battell with Edgar, in defense of Edgars innocencie, slue him within lists. After that Donald had receiued the crowne at the abbey of Scone, he perceived that some of the nobles grudged at his preferment, shewing by some tokens that they had more affection vnto king Malcolm's children, than vnto him: and therefore he cast out a word amongst his familiars, that yet it were long the nobles should repent them of their doing, if they applied not them selues the more to his opinion.

Which words being marked, and deeply imprinted in some of their hearts, turned afterwards to his great displeasure. For shortly after came Duncane the bastard sonne of king Malcolm out of England into Scotland, supported with an armie of men appointed by king William the Red, to place him in the kingdom, and to expell Donald out of the same by force of armes, if he attempted anie resistance. Now when Donald approached with his puissance, in purpose to haue giuen battell, the most part of his people did forsake him, and flew vnto Duncane, side, so that Donald thus abandoned of them that should haue aided him, was constrained for his refuge to flee againe into the westerne Fles: and so Duncane then comming vnto Scone, receiued the crowne of Scotland. But for that he had bene trained the most part of his life in the warres both in England and France, he had small skill in ciuill gouernement, iudging that thing onelie to stand with iustice, which was decided with speare and shield. By reason whereof Scotland was shortly filled with new troubles and seditious diuisions.

Donald Bane being aduertised of all those things, that thereby happened in Scotland, solicited Hakpender erle of Hernes to take his part, and by some meanes to slea H. Duncane, which enterprise Hakpender taking in hand, at length (in Penteth) accomplished the same in the night season, when he had espied such advantage and opportunitie of time, that not so much as one man was found to pursue him. But to say the truth, Duncane was so farre out of the peoples fauor, that more reioised than were for his death. After he was thus dispatched, his uncle Donald was restored againe to the kingdom, chieflie by support of the forenamed Hakpender, after his nephew the foresaid Duncane had reigned one yere and an halfe, where Donald himselfe had reigned (before he was expelled by his said nephew) the space of six moneths, and now after he had recovered the kingdom, he continued in the regiment thereof three yeres, not without great trouble and intestine commotions: for the most part of the lords maligning his aduancement, sought occasions daily to depose him.

In the meane time the Zlandmen made some stirre, neither did the warres with England cease, (though without anie great exploit or enterprise worthie of remembrance) sauing a few light skirmishes betwixt the parties, as occasion serued. At length came Magnus king of Norwaie with a great fleet, and sailing about the westerne Fles, garnished all the strengths within them in most defensible wise, with men, munition, and vittels, usurping the dominion as soveraigne lord of the same Fles: and at the same time ordeined those lawes and constitutions,

stitutions which are used there amongst the inhabitants even unto these daies. The Scottishmen having great indignation, that the Isles being ancientlie parcell of the crowne, should be thus alienated from the same, sent orators unto Edgar (who was, as ye have heard, the fourth sonne of king Malcolm) desiring him most instantlie to come into Scotland, to reconer his fathers heritage and crowne of Scotland out of the usurpers hands.

Edgar taking deliberate advise touching this request, first sent ambassadours unto Donald, promising that if he would be contented to restore unto him the crowne, being due to him by lawfull succession, he would gladlie reward him with great lordships and revenues in Louthian: but Donald was so farre from minding to do him reason in this behalfe, that causing them which brought this message to be put in prison, he finallye sue them. Then Edgar by counsell of his uncle Edgar Etheling, purchasing an aid of men at the hands of king William Rufus, set forthwards toward Scotland. At his coming to Durham, he was admonished by a vision in his sleepe, that if he took with him the banner of saint Cuthbert, he should have victorie. On the morrow after, he came into the abbey church, where first hearing divine service, when the same was ended, he displayed the foresaid banner, and caused it to be borne before him in that iourne. Nevertheless king Donald met him with a mightie armie, and after long fight, was chased into the Isles, where he was taken and brought unto Edgar. ¶ Some say that when the battels were readie to have joined, his men beholding the banner of saint Cuthbert spread against them, immediatlie forsooke him, so that he being destitute of succour, fled, in purpose to have saved himselfe in some one of the westernne Isles: but being apprehended by the inhabitants, was brought (as is said) unto Edgar, by whome he was (howsoever the hap of his taking chanced) cast immediatlie into prison, wherein he shortly after died. The victorie thus achieved, Edgar went unto Edenburgh, and from thence unto Dunfermeling to visit the sepulchres of his mother and brethren.

Afterwards coming to the abbey of Scone, and assembling the lords of the realme, he received the crowne, and shortly after was anointed by the archbishop of saint Andrew named Godwin, in the yere of our redemption 1101. For his mother queene Margaret purchased a little before hir death of Urbane the pope, that from henceforth all the kings of Scotland should be anointed. This priviledge was confirmed afterwards by pope John the second of that name. The first king that was anointed according to that grant, was this Edgar, in the yere aforesaid. About two yers before this Edgar recovered thus the crowne of Scotland, was that generall passage made into the holie land under Godfrie of Bullongne, and other christi-an princes.

Amongst them, as one of the chiefe, Robert duke of Normandie went, and should have bene created king of Jerusalem, had he not at the same time heard how his brother William Rufus the king of England was slaine by chance, through glancing of an arrow shot at a dare in the new forest; and then hoping to succeed him in the kingdom of England, he preferred that honoz to the other, wherein he saw to be more traueil than gaine. But at his coming home, he found that his yongest brother Henric surnamed Beauclerke, was placed in the kingdom of England, and so was duke Robert his hope frustrate of both the kingdoms, and that worthilie (as most men thought) for that he refused so necessarie a dignitie, wherein he might have secured the com-

mon cause of the christian common-wealth. Unto Henric Beauclerke in the second yere of his reigne king Edgar married one of his sisters called Maule. The other named Marie he coupled with Eustace earle of Bullongne: in which marriage was borne a daughter that was the onelie heire of the same Eustace in the countie of Bullongne, the which when she came to womans state, was married unto Stephan earle of March in England, and of Poiteigne in France, nephew to Henric Beauclerke by his sister. The king of England Henric, had issue by queene Maule, two sonnes and two daughters, William and Richard, Eustace and Maule.

But now to returne to king Edgar, to the some token of thanks towards saint Cuthbert for his aid shewed, as was thought, in the battell against his uncle Donald, he gaue unto the monks of Durham the lands of Coldingham: and to the bishop of Durham called Cananph, he gaue the towne of Werbiuke. But for that the same bishop wrought afterwards treason against him, he lost that gift, and the king resumed that towne into his hands againe. I do not find that Edgar had anie warres anie waie forth during all the time of his reigne, a prince rather reuerenced than dread amongst his subiects for his singular equitie and vpright dealing. He departed out of this life at Dundee, in the 9 yere of his reigne, and after the birth of our Saviour 1107.

After the decesse of this Edgar, succeeded his brother Alexander the fierce, so called for his rigorous valencie in pursuing of theues and robbers. In the beginning of his reigne, the inhabitants of Murray land and Kossle, beholding him to be most an end in the church at his praers, and diuine seruice, after the maner of his parents, supposed he would proue no great quicke sufficient in punishing offenders, and thereupon most presumptuously they began to rob and reave on ech side, not sparing to kill and slea all such as came in their hands, without respect to age or sex; insomuch that the yong infants smiling vpon the murderers, being about to execute their detestable crueltie, passed by the sword as well as the resisters: such rooted malice remained in their beastlie harts, which vpon renewing their old grudges they now accordinglie shewed. King Alexander therefore aduertised hereof, came into those parts with a competent armie, and apprehending the chiefe authors and capteins, stroke off their heads. As he returned backe through Bernes, there came a woman unto him weeping in most lamentable sort, who fell vpon his knees at his feet, beseeching him to pittie hir case, hauing lost both hir husband & sonne, by the tyrannous crueltie of the mai-ster of Bernes, who for that they had called him before a iudge in an action of debt, had slaine and murdered as well the one as the other. The king moued with this detestable kind of iniurie, lighted from his horse, and would not mount vp againe, till he had seene the author of that heinous trespasse hanged vpon a gibbet. After his coming into Cotwize, he took in hand to finish and make vp the castell of Baledgar, the foundation whereof his brother Edgar had begun, that it might be an aid to chastise a sort of theues and robbers which haunted the woods thereabout, to the great disquietnes of all the countrie. He gaue also to the maintenance of that house certeine lands, which the earle of Cotwize had giuen him at the font stone, when he became his godfather.

Whilest he was thus buisie about the furtherance of that worke, diuerse of those theues that were accustomed to liue by robberies in those parts, perceiving that this castell, which the king was about to build, should turne vnto their destruction, they conspired his death, and winning by rewards and promises the king.

Maule kind
Edgars sister.
Eustace earle
of Bullongne.

The lands of
Coldingham.
Cananph bis-
hop of Dur-
ham.

Edgar rather
reuerenced
than dread.
1107. 10. Ma.
1109. H.B.

Alexan-
der.

Theues of
Murray land
and Kossle.

The crueltie
of theues.

Execution.

The earle of
Bernes son.

A righteous
iusticer.
The castell of
Baledgar.

Treason of
conspirators
to haue slaine
the king.

mises the helpe of the kings chamberlaine to the accomplishing of their traitorous and most diuelish practises, they entered one night through a pslue into his lodging, in purpose to haue slaine him as he slept in his bedchamber: but he by Gods prouidence hauing knowledge of their comming, started out of his bed, and caught a sword which hong nere at hand, wherewith he slue first his chamberlaine that had brought them in, and then dispatched six of the other traitors (which were already entered his chamber) with singular force and manhood: the other fearing least with the noise, his seruants that lodged within the house should haue bene raised, and so haue had to assaile them on the backs, fled in all haste possible. Neuertheless, such pursute was made after them, that manie of them were apprehended, & upon their examination, being brought before the king, they declared plainlie how they were encouraged to worke that treason which they had gone about, by sundrie great barons and gentlemen of the countrie. Finally, the matter was so handled with them, that they disclosed the names of those that had thus procured them to the treason. Whereupon the king gathering an armie, he marched forth to pursue them, but before he came vnto the water of Spair, the conspirators had gotten together their power, & were lodged on the further side of the same water, to stop him from passing ouer.

The kings
manhood.

The water of
Spair.

Sir Alexander
Carron.
The rebels
are vanquished.

Skringecour.

The king seeing them thus assembled to impeach his passage, sent his banner-man sir Alexander Carron with a chosen part of his armie to passe the water, and to fight with his enemies, where, by the hardie onset of the said sir Alexander, they were quicklie put to flight, and manie of them that were taken in the chase suffered death, according as they had well deserved. The realme after this execution done on these offenders, continued manie yeres after in good tranquillitie. This Alexander Carron also for that he was seene in the kings fight that day to fight most manfullie, in slaying diuerse of the rebels with a crooked sword which he had in his hand (of which sort manie were used in those daies) he was highly rewarded at the kings hands, & euer after named Skringecour, that is to say, An hardie fighter. He had also his armes increased with a rampant lion holding a crooked sword, as is to be seene in the armes of his posteritie vnto this day. Where there be that say he got the surname of Skringecour, because he slue an Englishman in a singular combat. The principall of this surname in our time held the constableness of Dundee, bearing in his armes a crooked sword in fashion of an hoke.

The abbete of
Scone.

Saint Colmes
Inch.

The abbete of
saint Colmes
Inch builded.

Lands named the
Boarrinke,
Boze tusk.

After that king Alexander had appeased the intestine commotions thus within his realme, he set in hand to repare the abbete of Scone, wherein he placed regular canons, dedicating the church in the honor of the Trinitie, and saint Michaell. Not long after this also, he chanced to come into saint Colmes Inch, where he was constrained to abide three daies together through violent rage of weather and tempests: and because he found some reliefe of meate & drinke, by means of an heremit that dwelt within the same Inch, and kept a chappell there dedicated to saint Colme, he made of that chappell an abbete of regular canons, in the honor of saint Colme, endowing it with sundrie lands and rents for the maintenance of the abbat and conuent of that house. He also gaue to the church of saint Andrewes, the lands called the Boarrinke, so named, for that a great boze was slaine vpon the said ground, that had done much hurt in the countrie thereabout. The tusks of this boze doe hang in chaines vpon the stalles of the quier in saint Andrewes church afore the high altar, and are 16 inches in length, & foure inches in thicke-

ness. Moreouer, the abbete of Dunfermling was finished by king Alexander, and endowed with sundrie lands and possessions.

Whilest king Alexander was thus occupied in building and reparing of religious houses, his brother David liued in England with his sister quene Maude, & through fauour which the king his husband bare towards him, he obtained in marriage one Maude, daughter vnto Matheus, or rather Matheus earle of Huntington and Northumberland, he got of his wife the ladie Juith that was neece vnto king William the Conqueror. And for that the said Matheus or Matheus had no other issue to inherit his lands, David in right of his wife Maude inioined the same, and was made earle of Huntington and Northumberland, and had issue by his wife a son named Henrie, by whome the lands of Huntington, and some part of Northumberland were annexed vnto the crowne of Scotland, as after shall appere. Maude the daughter of king Henrie Beauchamp, was married vnto Henrie the emperor, the fourth of that name. William, Richard, and Cusene, the residue of the issue which the same Henrie Beauchamp had by his wife (surnamed for his singular bounty, ouerliffe, the good quene Maude) in coming forth of France to repasse into England, perished in the sea by a tempest, to the great dolour of the king their father, and to all other his subiects of each estate and degree. Their mother the said Maude was before that time departed out of this life. It was not long after, but that Alexander deceased also, and was buried in Dunfermling besides his fathers sepulture, in the 17 yeres of his reigne complet, and from the incarnation of Christ 1125 yeres.

In the daies of this king Alexander, the kindred of the Cummings had their beginning, by one John Cumming, a man of great prowesse and valiance, obtaining of the king in respect therof, certeine small portions of lands in Scotland. The house of these Cummings rose in procelle of time thus from a small beginning to high honor and puissance, by reason of the great possessions & ample revenues which they afterwards attained. At length (as often happeneth) the importable height of this linage was the onelie cause of the decaye and final ruine thereof, as in the sequelle of this historie ye may at full perceiue. Also in the daies of king Alexander, the order of knights of the Rhodes had their beginning, and likewise the order of White monks, the author whereof was one Rodobert. About the same time liued that holie man Richard de sancto Victore, a Scottishman borne, but dwelled for the more part of his time at Paris in France, where he died, & was buried within the cloister of the abbete of saint Victor, being a brother of the same house.

At now to proceed with the historie. After the deceasse of Alexander the fierce and first of that name, his brother David came vnto Scone, and there receiued the crowne, as lawfull heire to his brother, for that he left no heire behind him. This David, according to the example of his noble parents, set his whole care about the due ministering of iustice, to the honor of almighty God, and the weale of his realme. He had no trouble by warres with anye foraine enemies, so long as king Henrie Beauchamp liued. Therefore hauing opportunitie of such a quiet time, he rode about all the parts of his realme, and used to sit in hearing of iudgement himselfe, speciallie concerning poore mens causes and matters: but the controuersies of the lords and barons he referred to the hearing of other iudges. If he vnderstood that anye man were indamaged by anye wrongfull iudgement, he recompensed the party wronged, according to the value of his losse and hinder-

The abbete of
Dunfermling.

David his
ther to king
Alexander.

Matheus
earle of
Northumberland
and Huntington.

The lands
of Huntington
and Northumberland
were annexed
to the
crowne of
Scotland.

The death
of king Alexander.

1124. H.
The beginning
of the
Cummings.

Knights of
the Rhodes
Whitemonks.

Richard de
sancto Victore.

David.
David is
crowned
king of Scotland.

The care of
king David
for the poore.
Righteous
and just.

hinderance, with the gods of the iudge that pronounced the iudgement.

Thus in the first years of his reigne he did manie things to the advancement of the common-wealth, and banished such banketting cheare as was used amongst his people after the example of the Englishmen, perceiuing the same to breed a great weakening & becaie of the ancient stoutnesse of stomach, that was wont to remaine in the Scottish nation. He builded to the number of fiftene abbeies, part of them in the beginning of his reigne before the warres were begun which he had with the Englishmen, and part after the same warres were ended. The names of those abbeies are as followeth: Holie rood house, Kelso, Jedburgh, Melrose, Petwobottell, Holmeultrane, Dundeanane, Cambulkenneth, Holmeis, Dunfirmling, Holme in Cumberland; also two nunries, the one at Carleill, and the other at north Berwike: with two abbeies beside Petwocastell, the one of saint Benedicts order, and the other of white monkes. He erected also foure bishoprickes within his realme, Rosse, Brechin, Dunkeld, and Dunblane, indowling them with rich rents, faire lands, and sundrie right commodious possessions. Moreover he translated the bishops see of Perth to the burgh of Aberdeen, for sundrie aduised considerations, augmenting it with certeine reuenues, as he thought expedient.

He was admonished (as the report goeth) in his sleepe, that he shuld build an abbey for a religious order to liue in togither. Whereupon he sent for workemen into France and Flanders, and set them in hand to build this abbey of canons regular, as he was admonished, dedicating it in the honor of a crosse (whereunto he bare speciall deuotion) for that vertie frangelie it slipped into his hands (on a time) as he was pursuing and following of a hart in the chase. But inough of these monkish deuises. Manie prudent men blame greatlie the brume, surable liberalitie of king Dauid, the which he used towards the church, in diminishing so hugelie the reuenues of the crowne, being the cause that manie noble princes his successors haue come to their finall ends, for that they haue bene constrained through want of treasure to mainteine their roiall estates, to procure the fall of sundrie great houses, to possesse their lands and liuings; also to raise payments and exactions of the common people, to the utter impoverishment of the realme. And sometime they haue bene constrained to invade England by warres, as desperat men, not caring what came of their liues. Wherby they haue bene inforced to stampe naughtie monie, to the great preiudice of the common-wealth. All which mischieses haue followed since the time that the church hath bene thus enriched, and the crowne impoverished.

Wherefore king James the first, when he came to king Dauid his sepulture at Dunfirmling, he said, that he was a sore saint for the crowne, meaning that he left the church ouer-rich, and the crowne too poore. For he took from the crowne (as Iohn Maior writeth in his chronicles) 60 thousand pounds Scottish of yerelie reuenues, wherewith he indowled those abbeies. But if k. Dauid had considered how to nourish true religion, he had neither indowled churches with such riches, nor built them with such roialtie: for the superfluous possessions of the church (as they are now used) are not onelie occasion to enuill pellets to liue in most insolent pompe & corrupt life, but an assured net to draw gold and siluer out of realms. But now to returne where I left, touching the historie, we shall note that (as I said before) Dauid had by his wife Maude inherited part of Northumberland, Cumberland, and Huntington, a

sonne named Henrie, who married the earle of Marries daughter, a ladie of high parentage, as descended of most noble blond both French and English. In whome he begat three sonnes, Malcolme, William, and Dauid; also three daughters, Adhama, Margaret, and Maude. But now in the meane time, whilst the estate of the common-wealth in Scotland stood in high felicitie, under the prosperous gouernement of king Dauid, there happened to him an heauie losse. For the queene his wife the foresaid Maude deceased in hir flourishing age, a woman of passing beautie and chastitie, which two points (as is thought) commend a woman about all the rest. King Dauid therefore took such griefe for hir death, that he would neuer after giue his mind to marie anie other, but passed the residue of his life without companie of all women. She was buried in Scone, in the yeare of our Lord God 1132.

Whilst these things came thus to passe in Scotland, Henrie Beauchampe king of England, caused all the nobles of his realme to take their othes, that after his deceasse they shoulde receiue his daughter Maude the emperesse for their soueraigne ladie and queene. She was as then returned into England; for hir husband the emperour was latelie before deceased. King Dauid also took his oth, and therefore when king Stephan (who vsurped the crowne of England after king Henries deceasse against the said emperesse) sent vnto king Dauid to come and do his homage for the earldomes of Northumberland, Cumberland, and Huntington (according as by his tenure he was bound to do) with intimation that if he refused, king Stephan would invade him with open warre; king Dauid answered, that he had giuen his faith once aforehand for those lands vnto the emperesse Maude, which he minded not to breake for the threatening words of anie new inuasions. King Stephan moued with this answer, sent a powber of men to the borders of Northumberland, (which as then was under the dominion of the Scots) to make a rode vpon the inhabitants of that countrie. They that had the charge of this enterprise, entering into the lands of their enemies, put all to fire and sword that came in their way. The Scots kindled with that displeasure, robed into England, and did the like displeasures and hurts there. For the yeare after, the earles of March, Spenteth, and Angus entered into England with a great armie, against whome came the earle of Gloucester, and giuing them battell at Northalerton, lost the field, and was taken prisoner himselfe, with diuers other nobles of England. King Stephan therefore, constrained to redeme the captiues, gaue not onelie a great summe of monie for them; but also made resignation of all such title, claime, or interest, as either he or anie of his successors might make or pretend to the countie of Northumberland and Cumberland. Notobest his nobles were no sooner returned home, but that repenting him of that resignation, he gathered his puissance againe, and entering into Northumberland, fought with the Scots that came forth to resist him, and obtaining the victorie, took a great part of the countrie into his possession.

King Dauid, to redresse these iniuries, gathered a mightie armie, with deliberat mind, either to expell the Englishmen out of all the bounds of his dominions, or else to die in the field. But shortly after, Thurstane archbishop of Yorke came vnto Northburgh, called in those daies Marken, to treat for peace, where a truce was concluded for three moneths, with condition, that the Englishmen shoulde deliuer vp the dominion of Northumberland vnto the lord Henrie king Dauid his sonnes. But for so much

Earle of warren.

The issue of Henrie.

Queene Maude deceased.

1132.

Maude the emperesse.

K. Stephan.

Homage is required.

The English men invade Northumberland.

The Scots make robes into England

The earle of Gloucester Robert was against king Stephan, but there might be some other happie vnto whome king Stephan had giuen that title. A resignation.

K. Stephan repenteth.

Northburgh in old time Marken. A truce.

Banketting cheare banished.

King Dauid builded abbeies.

The names of the abbeies builded by king Dauid.

Four bishops were created in Scotland.

Dauid builded.

Liberalitie in king Dauid towards the church reprobation.

Northburgh robed, and came into England.

Declining of king James first.

King James first.

60 thousand pounds Scottish of yerelie reuenues.

Superfluous possessions of the church.

King David
inuoeth
Northumber-
land.
King Ste-
phan passeth
vnto Rox-
burgh.

much as this covenant was not performed on king Stephens side, king David invaded that part of the countrie which the Englishmen held, making great slaughter of all them that he found there about to resist him. King Stephan moved herewith leuied his people, and came in puissant arraie vnto Roxburgh; but for that he had secret knowledge that some of the nobles in his armie sought his destruction, he was constrained to returne without achieving of anie worthe enterprise.

The yeare next ensuing, a peace was talked by on, the archbishops of Cantuarbie and Yorke appointed commissioners in the treatie thereof on the behalfe of king Stephan, and the bishops of Glascow, Aberdeen, and saint Andewes on the part of king David. But Maude queene of England, the daughter of Constance earle of Bullongne, and neece to king David by his sister Marie, was the chiefest doer in this matter, to bring them to agreement. The one of the kings, that is to say Stephan, laie at Duresme with his nobles; and the other, that is to say David, lay at Melroscastell, during all the time of this treatie, which at length sorted to the conclusion of a peace, on these conditions: that the countie of Northumberland and Huntingdon should remaine in the gouernement of Henrie prince of Scotland, as heire to the same by right of his mother; but Cumberland should be reputed as the inheritance and right of his father king David. And for these lands and seignories the forenamed prince Henrie & his successors, princes of Scotland, should do homage vnto king Stephan and his successors kings of England, for the time being.

A peace.

Covenants of
agreement.

Homage.

King Stephan
returneth.
Carleill was
repaired by
William Rufus
king of
England, a-
bout the yeare
of our Lord,
1092.

The peace thus ratified betwixt the two kings and their subiects, King Stephan returned into Kent, and king David repaired into Cumberland, where he fortified the towne of Carleill with new walles and ditches. Thus passed the first three yeares of king Stephens reigne. In the fourth yeare came Maude the emperesse into England to claime the crowne thereof (as in the English historie more plainelie may appeare.) But whilst England was so troubled with warres by contrarie factions of the nobles for the quarrels of these two persons, no small sorrow hapned to Scotland for the death of Henrie the prince of that land, and onelie sonne vnto king David, who died at Kelso, and was buried in the abbete church there, in the yeare of our redemption, 1152. His death was greatlie bemoaned aduall of his father the king, as of all other the estates and degrees of the realme, for such singular vertue and noble conditions as appeared in him. But yet, for that he left issue behind him three sonnes and three daughters (as before is mentioned) the realme was not thought vnprouided of heires.

The death of
Henrie prince
of Scotland.
1152.

Prince Hen-
rie his issue.

The king also being mortified from the world, toke the death of his sonne verie patientlie, considering that all men are subiect vnto death by the lawe of nature, and are sure no longer to remaine here, than their day appointed by the eternall determination of him that giueth and taketh away life & bread when it pleaseth him, as by daily experience is most manifest. Therefore that king David toied the losse of his sonne in such balance, it may appeare by an oration which he made to his nobles, at what time (after his sonnes deceasse) they came to comfort him. For he perceiuing them to be right heauie and sorrowfull for the losse which he and they had sustained by the death of so towardlie a prince, that was to haue succeeded him, if God had lent him life thereto; in the end of a roiall feast, the which he made vnto those nobles that came thus to visit him, he began in this wise.

In oration.

How great your dolefullie and care is, which you

beare towards me, although oftentimes heretofore I haue proued it, yet this present day I haue receiued most ample fruit thereof: for now do I plainelie see, that you lament no lesse for the losse of my late deceased sonne, than if you had buried some one of your owne sonnes, and are therefore come to your great trauell and paine to comfort me, whome you esteeme to be soze afflicted for the ouer-timelie death of my said most obedient sonne. But to let passe for this time due yielding of thanks to you for the same, till occasion and leasure may better serue thereto; this now may suffice, that I acknowledge my selfe to be so much beholden to you, that whatsoeuer thing I haue in the world, the same is ready to do you pleasure. But concerning the cause of your coming hither, in shewing your courtesies therein, you shall vnderstand, that my parents, whom I trust to be in heauen, and (as saints) inioy the fruits of their vertuous trauels here taken on earth, did so instruct me from my tender yowth, that I should worship with all reuerence the most wise creator, and prudent gouernor of all things; and to thinke that nothing was done by him in vaine, but that the same is prouided and ordained to some good vse by his high and vnsearchable counsell. And therefore whilst day and night I haue and do reuolue and call to remembrance the precepts and instructions of my parents, whatsoeuer hath chanced either touching aduersitie or prosperitie, good hap or bad, the same hath seemed to me (at the first) receiuing all things with equall and thankfull mind, and interpreting them to the best, farre more light than they commonlie seeme to others; and lesse they did disquiet me: so as with vse I haue learned at length, not onelie patientlie to beare all aduersities that may happen, but also to receiue the same as things pleasant and euen to be desired. And verelie my hap hath bene to be greatlie exercised in this behalfe, for I haue first sene my father, more deere to me than anie earthlie treasure; and no lesse profitable than greatlie desired of all the people: and yet neither the loue of the people, nor of his kinsmen and friends might warrant him from this fatal necessity of death. I haue knownen my mother right famous in the world for hir singular vertue to passe hence in like manner. My brethren that were so louing, and againe so greatlie beloued of me; also my wife whome I esteemed aboue all other creatures, are they not gone the same way, and compelled to beare deaths hard ordinance? So be relie standeth the case, that no man might yet at anie time auoid the violence of his force when he cometh, for we all alike owe this life vnto him, as a due debt that must needs be paid. But this is to be receiued with a thankfull mind, in that the bountifull beneuolence of our God hath granted that we shall be all immortall, if we our selues through vice, & as it were spotted with filthie diseases of the mind, do not fall into the danger of eternall death. Wherefore of right (me thinke) I haue cause to reioice, that God by his singular fauour hath granted to me such a sonne, which in all mens iudgements was worthy to be beloued whilst he was here amongst vs, and to be wished for now, after he is departed from hence. But ought we to take it heauilie, that he to whome he belonged, and who had lent him vnto vs, should call for him againe, and take him that was his owne? For what iniurie is it, if (when I see occasion) I shall aske that againe, which you haue possessed through my benefite as lent to you for a time? Neither do I trust to want him long, if God shall be so mercifull vnto me, as I wish him to be: for I hope shortly to be called hence by commandement of that most high king, and to be caried by to rest among that fellowship of beauenlie spirits, where I shall

His parents
goule instructions.

Office of
friends.
His father.

His mother.
His brethren.

His wife.

Death com-
be desired
with.

Why we
ought to
the death
of our
children
and euen
patientlie.

shall find my father and mother, my brethren, wife, and sonne in far better estate than here I kinde them. Therefore that I may repeat it once againe, I reioyse (I say) to haue obtained in my sonne, by the grace of the supernall God, that I am assured by faith, he is already in that place to the which all we doe earnestlie wish that we may attaine, and doe in deuour by all means, that when the time commeth in which our soules are to be loosed forth of these feeble bodies of ours, as out of prisons, they may be found worthy of that companie, in which our confidence is that he now most blissefullie is remaining. Except anie man may thinke that we are so enuious, that therefore we do lament, because as yet we thinke fast overwhelmed and drowned in such filthy mires, and cumbered in such thornie thickets and bushes, out of the which he (being now deliuered of all cares) hath escaped. But let vs rather by following the footsteps of him and other vertuous persons that are gone afore vs, labor both day and night, that at length (through heauenly fauour) we may come to the place where we doe reckon that by diuine pother he is already arrived.

Malcolme the first of Henricus prince of Scotland,

Earle of Northumberland,

Henric the emperour was with the order of the golden booke,

The coronation of king Henry was on this day.

King David was with out of the land.

1153.

After that the king had made an end of his oration, and thanks giuen to God for his bountifull magnificence, they rose from the table, and departed to their lodgings, they all greatlie maruelling at the kings high prudence and goodlie wisdom. Then was Malcolme, the eldest sonne of the before mentioned prince Henric, proclaimed in his place prince of Scotland, and conueied through the most parts of the realme by Duncane earle of Fife, and other of the nobles appointed to attend vpon and to receiue the othe of all the barons for their allegiance in his name. William the second sonne of prince Henric was conueied into Northumberland by the foresaid nobles, and there proclaimed and created earle of that countrie. Then went king David himselfe vnto Carleill, where he met with Henric the sonne of the emperesse, who receiued the order of knightthod there at his hands. This was a little before that the same Henric came to an agreement with king Stephan, whereby he was admitted to the possession of halfe the realme of England, and promised by oth of assurance (as the Scottish writers say) that he should neuer go about to take the countreies of Northumberland, Cumberland, and Huntington from the crowne of Scotland.

Shortly after was king David taken with a sore disease and maladie, which continued with him to the end of his life. And so when he perceiued himselfe to wax faint and feeble, he required to be borne in to the church, where he receiued the sacrament of the Lords bodie and bloud, with most solemn reuerence: and then being brought againe to his chamber, he called together his nobles, and commending to them his young nephues, the sons of his son the forenamed prince Henric, he kissed ech one of them after an other, most instantlie desiring them in the honor of almightie God, to seeke the preservation of common quiet, for the advancement of the publike weale. This done, he departed out of this life in the 29 yeare of his reigne, or rather in the 30 yeare, if he reigned 29 and two moneths, as Iohn Maior saith. His bodie was buried in Dunfermling, after the incarnation of Christ our Saviour 1153 yeares. How farre this prince king David excelled in noble vertues and sober conuersation of life, I haue thought it better to passe ouer with silence, than to go about in few words to comprehend that, wherein if I should spend much time, I were not able in anie wise worthilie to performe. For where in such cases few things are slenderlie shewed, the residue may seeme to be omitted through fault of the writer.

But yet this is not to be forgotten, that where his singular pitifull regard, which he had toward the reliefe of the poore, passed all other his notable vertues, he purged his court also in such wise of all vicious rule and misordered customes, that his whole familie was giuen onelie to the exercise of vertue. No riotous banquet, nor surfeiting, there was held amongst them, no lasciuious words heard come forth of anie mans mouth, nor yet anie wastefull signes shewed to prouoke sensuall lust or carnall concupiscence. All the words, works, and whole demeanour of his seruants tended to some conclusion: nothing moued to stirre strife or sedition, but all things ordered in such friendlie and peaceable sort, that the chain of brotherly love seemed to haue linked them all in one mind and will. Such a rule was their master king David vnto them and all other, to direct and frame a perfect and goodlie life after.

King David being dead & buried (as is before said) Malcolme nephew to him by his son Henric succeeded in the estate. He was but 13 yeeres of age, when he began his reigne; but yet his modestie and pertuous conditions were such, that all men conceiued a good hope that he would proue a right noble and worthy prince. He was nourished and brought vp in such vertue, euen from his infancie, that delisting in chaff conuersation and cleanness of bodie and mind, he liued single all the daies of his life, and without marriage: wherefore he was surnamed Malcolme the maid. About the time of his entering into the possession of the crowne, there was a great death through all the bounds of Scotland. And some after followed a sore death both amongst men and beasts, though it was not perceiued that the disease whereof they died was anie thing contagious.

Hereof did one Somerleith the thane of Argile take occasion to attempt an higher enterprise than stood with the baseness of his linage and estate: for considering that the one halfe of the realme was consumed by mortallitie, and the other halfe nere hand famished through lacke of food, he thought it an easie matter for him, now whilst the king was vnder yeeres of ripe discretion, to blurpe the gouernance of the realme into his owne hands, and so assembling together an huge compaignie of such as in hope of prei lightlie consented to his opinion, he came forwards, to make as it were a full conquest, sleaing and spoiling all such in his way as went about to resist him. But his presumptuous enterprise was shortly repressed: for Gilcriff earle of Angus lieutenant of the kings armie, raised to resist Somerleiths attempts, incountred with him in battell, & slue 2000 of his men. Somerleith hauing receiued this ouerthrow, and escaping from the field, fled into Ireland, and so saued his life.

Henric the second of that name king of England, hearing that Malcolme had thus subdued his domesticall enemies, feared least he being imboldened therewith, should now attempt somewhat against the Englishmen; and therefore by counsell of his nobles, he sent an herald vnto king Malcolme, commanding him to come vp to London, there to do his homage vnto him, for the lands of Cumberland, Northumberland, and Huntington, in manner and forme as his grandfather king David had before done vnto his predecessor Henric the first, with certifiat, that if he failed, he would take from him all the said lands. King Malcolme obetied this commandement of king Henric: but yet vnder condition (as the Scottish writers asserue) that it should in no manner wise prejudice the franchises and liberties of the Scottish kingdome. At the same time king Henric had warres against Lewis the first, king of France.

This singular pitie toward the poore.

King Davids court.

King Davids seruants.

King Davids example, a rule of goodlie life.

Malcolme

The education of king Malcolme.

A death.

A death not contagious.

Somerleith thane of Argile goeth about to make himselfe king.

Somerleiths crueltie.

Gilcriff sent with an armie against Somerleith.

Malcolme summoned to do homage.

Malcolme goeth with king Henric into France.

France, and so passing ouer into that realme, constrained king Malcolme to go with him in that fornie against his will, notwithstanding that he had a safe conduct frae him to come and go. In this voiage king Henrie did much hurt to the Frenchmen, and at length besieged the citie of Tholouse.

Tholouse besieged.
King Henrie meaning.

In all which enterprises he had Malcolme present with him, to the end that Malcolme might incurre such hatred and displeasure of the Frenchmen, that thereby the bond betwixt them and the Scots might finally be dissolved. But in the end king Henrie hauing lost diuers of his noble men by sicknesse, returned into England, and then licenced king Malcolme to returne home into Scotland; who at his comming home, sent the bishop of Durey, and one of his secretaries vnto the see of Rome, as ambassadors vnto the pope, which as then hight Eugenius the third of that name, yet to recognise the obedience which he owgth to the Romane see. Shortly after also, there was a parlement holden at Scone, where king Malcolme was soe rebuked by his lords, in that he had bozne through his owne follie, armed against the Frenchmen their old confederate friends and ancient allies: but king Malcolme excused the matter with humble words, saying he came vnto warlike into king Henries hands, and therefore might not chuse but accomplish his will and pleasure at that time; so that he supposed berelie the French king would take no great displeasure with his doings, when he once vnderstood the truth of the matter.

Ambassadors sent to Rome.

A parlement at Scone.
K. Malcolme reprimed by his nobles.
K. Malcolme excuseth.

King Henrie hauing perfect vnderstanding of this grudge betwixt the Scottish lords and their king, thought to renew the same with moze displeasure, and thereupon sent for king Malcolme to come vnto York, to a parlement which he held there, where at his comming he was burdened with a right grievous complaint furnished against him by king Henrie, for that he should reueale vnto the Frenchmen all the secrets of the English armie, when he was with him in France, at the aboue remembred tourment, alledging the same to be sufficient matter, for the which he ought to forfeit all the lands which he held of the crowne of England, as Cumberland, Northumberland, and Huntington. And though king Malcolme by manie substantiall reasons declared those allegations to be untrue and vnjustlie forged, yet by king Henries earnest inforcing of the matter, sentence was giuen against him, by the generall consent of all the estates there in that parlement assembled. And moreover, to bring king Malcolme in further displeasure with the nobles, king Henrie gaue notice vnto them, before king Malcolme returned backe into his countrie, how he had of his owne accord renounced all his claime, right, title, and interest, which he had to the foresaid lands, supposing by this means to make king Malcolme farre moze odious to all his lieges and subiects, than euer he was before.

K. Malcolme goeth to York.

Fond dealing and not like to be true.

Sentence giuen against K. Malcolme at York.

K. Malcolme is besieged.

Open warres proclaimed against the Englishmen.

proclaimed open warres against them. At length, after sundrie harmes done, as well on the one part as the other, they came to a communication in a certaine appointed place, not far from Carlisle, where (to be briefe) it was finally concluded, that Malcolme should receiue againe Cumberland and Huntington: but for Northumberland, he should make a plaine release thereof vnto king Henrie, and to his successors for euer.

For the which agreement he ran so farre into the hatred of his people, that he might neuer after find means to win their fauor againe; but doubting least if they should stirre anie rebellion against him, they might become an easie preie vnto the Englishmen, they remained quiet for a time. Whobest shortly after, there arose another peece of trouble, though lesse in outward apperance, by reason of the small power remaining in the author, yet dangerous inough, considering it was within the realme it selfe. One Angus as then the thane of Galloway, perceiving he might not by secret practise atchieue his purposed intent (whatsoeuer the same was) determined by open force to assaie what luckie success fortune would send him; hoping that those which through feare sate as yet still, would assist him in all his attempts, so soone as they saw anie commotion raised by him to occasion them thereto. Whereupon he assembled together a great compantie: but before he could worke anie notable feat, to make anie account of, Gilchrist earle of Angus (whose faithfull balliance was before manifestlie approued in the suppression of Somersleids rebellion) discomfited his power, in three sundrie bickerings, & chased Angus himselfe into Wiltterne, where is a place of sanctuarie privileged for the safegard of all offenders that flee thereto for succor in the hono: of saint Martin.

Malcolme then, for that he durst not breake the franchises of that place, set a band of men of warre round about it, to watch that he should by no means escape awate; so that at length wearied as it had bene with long siege, he yielded himselfe to the king, who taking his sonne to pledge for his good beaueing in time to come, licenced him to go whither it should please him: but the most part of his lands and liuings were confiscat to the kings vse. Whereupon when he saw he might not mainteine his estate as he had done before, he became a canon in Holie rood house, and there ended his life (as it is reported). It was not long after the pacifying of this trouble, but that a new rebellion was raised: for the Spurrey land men, by the prouocation of their capteine called Gildo, wasted with fire and sword the countreies of Rolfe, Wolsogewall, or Wolsdale, Mar, Carroch, Buchquhane, and the Spurnes, in moze cruell sort than anie foireine & most barbarous nation would haue done; insomuch that when the king sent diuers of his seruants vnto them to vnderstand the cause of their rebellious doings, they slue those messengers, contrarie to the law of nations.

To punish such inturions attempts, the aboue named Gilchrist was sent with an armie into Spurrey land: but the rebels nothing discouraged with the knowledge of his approued prowesse, met him in the field, and put him to flight. Whereupon the king himselfe, supposing that his presence was needfull to incourage his people after this ouerthrow, came with a farre greater power than he had sent forth before, with displayed banner, ouer the riuer of Speie, nere to the mouth whereof he fought with the enimies, and in the end (after soe and long fight continued with great slaughter and bloodshed) he gaue them the ouerthrow, and in reuenge of their cruelties shed in time of this their rebellion, and to giue example to all other his subiects that should go about to attempt

Concl. of agreement

K. Malcolme hated of his people.

Fear of outward commotion caused quietnes at home.

Angus the thane of Galloway raised a commotion upon which earle of Angus himselfe made no account.

Angus discomfited by Gilchrist.

Wiltterne a place of sanctuarie.

Angus besieged in Wiltterne.

Angus yielded himselfe to the king.

Angus became a canon.

A rebellion moued by the Spurrey men. Gildo capteine of the rebels.

The crueltie of the rebels.

Gilchrist discomfited by the Spurrey men.

The Spurrey men are ouerthrowen.

the like, he commanded that none of those of Spurrey land should be saved (women, children, and aged persons onelie excepted) but that all the residue of that generation should passe by the edge of the sword. Thus the Spurrey land men being destroyed according to his commandement thorough all parts of the realme, he appointed other people to inhabit their comes, that the countrie should not lie wast without habitation.

In this meane time, Somerleid the thane of Ar-gile, who (as ye haue heard) was fled ouer into Ire-land, vpon trust of the hatred into the which Malcolme was run, with the most part of all his nobles and commons, through this slaughter of his people, and namelie of them of Spurrey land, he thought to assaie fortunes chance once againe, and so thereupon returned with certeine kernes and naked men into Scotland. But this last enterpryse of his came to a more vnluckie end than the first, for being vanquished in battell at Kenfrow, he lost the most part of all his men, and was taken prisoner himselfe, and after hanged on a gibbet, by commandement of the king, according to that he had iustlie merited. Malcolme hauing thus subdued his aduersaries, and being now in rest and quiet, he set his mind wholie to gouerne his realme in vpright iustice, and hauing two sisters mariable, he coupled the elder named Margaret with Conon duke of Britaine, and the younger called Adhama he married with Florens earle of Holland.

After this, there was a counsell holden at Scone of all the Scottish nobilitie, where when they were assembled together in the counsell-chamber, Arnold archbishop of saint Andrews stood vp, and by a vertie pithe oration, toke vpon him to aduise the king to change his purpose touching his bow, which (as appeared) he had made to liue chaff. He declared vnto him by manie weightie reasons, that it was not onlie necessarie for him and his realme, that he should take a wife (by whome he might raise vp seed to succeed him in the possession of the crowne) but also that he might not choise a more perfect state of life (considering the office wherein he was placed) than matrimonie, being instituted, not by this law-maker or that, but by God himselfe, who in no one of all his ordinances might erre or be deceived. Againe for pleasure, he affirmed how nothing could be more delectable to him, than to haue a womanly ladie to his bedfellow, with whome he might conferre all the conceits of his hart, both of grieue and gladnesse, she being a comfort vnto him as well in weale as in woe, an helpe both in sickness and health, redie to assuage anger, and to aduance mirth, also to refresh the spirits being wearied or in any wise faint through tedious trauell and care of mind.

Then shewed he what an aid children were vnto their parents, namelie to kings, how in peace they might gouerne vnder them, to the great commoditie of the common-wealth, and in warre supplie their comes as lieutenants in defense of their countries, to the no small terroze of the enimies. Wherefore sith men are not borne onelie for their owne weale, but also for the profit of their friends, and commoditie of their countrie; it could not be chosen, but that he ought to perswade with himselfe to alter his purpose intention, concerning the obseruance of chastitie, and to take a wife to the great ioy and comfort of his subjects, sith it was commendable both before God and man, and so necessarie both shall and profitablie, as nothing might be more. But these and manie other most weightie reasons could nothing moue his constant mind, hauing euen from his tender yeeres affianced his virginie vnto Christ, trusting that God would so provide, that the realme should not be destitute of conuenient heires, when the time came that it should please his diuine maiestie to take him hence to his merrie from amongst his subjects. Thus brake vp that counsell without any effect of the purpose for the which it was called.

Shortlie after it chanced that king Malcolme fell sicke, continuing so a long time, by reason whereof he sought meanes to conclude a peace with Henrie king of England; which being brought to passe, he set workemen in hand to laie the foundation of saint Kewles abbeie, which afterwards bare the name of saint Andrewes. When he had finished this house, being a goodlie peece of worke, and verie costlie, as may appere at this day by the view thereof, he assigned forth certeine rents for the sustentation of the canons, whome he placed there of the order of saint Augustine, not so largelie as serued for the maintenance of superfluous chere, but yet sufficient for their necessarie finding: by reason whereof, the canons of that abbeie liued in those daies in most feruent deuotion, hauing no prouocations at all to inordinate lusts and sensuall pleasures; but onelie giuen to diuine contemplation, without respect to auarice, or enlarging the possessions and reuenues of their house. He founded also the abbeie of Couper of the Cisterciens order, and indowed it with manie faire lands and wealthie possessions. Finally, being vnder long infirmite, he departed out of this life at Jedburgh the 12 yeere of his reigne. A certeine com-
met or blasing starre appeared 14 daies together before his death, with long beames verie terrible to behold. His bodie was buried at Dunfermling, after the incarnation 1185 yeeres. In the daies of this Malcolme, Roger archbishop of Yorke, constituted the popes legat, could not be suffered to enter into Scotland, because he was a man highlie defamed for his couetous practising to enrich himselfe by vnlawfull meanes.

After Malcolme succeeded his brother William, surnamed for his singular iustice, the Lion. Shortlie after his coronation, he sent ambassadoze vnto Henrie king of England, requiting him, that according to iustice, he would restore vnto him the earledome of Northumberland, sith it appertained by god and lawfull interest vnto his inheritance. King Henrie answered the messengers, that if king William would come vnto London, and there do his homage for Cumberland and Huntingdon, he should be assured to haue all things so ordered, as he reasonable could wish or demand. Whereupon king William went into England, and so came to London, and after he had done his homage for Cumberland and Huntingdon, he requited the restitution of Northumberland. But king Henrie made answer as then, that forsomuch as the same was annexed to the crowne, he might not without the assent of all the estates of his realme make restitution thereof. Notwithstanding, in the next parlement, he promised to cause the matter to be proponed: and if it came to passe that his demand were found to stand with reason, he would do therein according to con-
science, when time expedient should serue thereto.

About the same season, king Henrie passed ouer into Normandie with an armie, and caused king William, with manie other robes of Scotland, to go with him in that iourne. For king William would not disobey his commandement at that present, in hope to attaine in quiet and peaceable manner his sute touching the restitution of Northumberland (as the Scottish writers do affirme) but in the end, after he had continued a long time with king Henrie, and perceived no comfort to recover his lands, he got licence with much adoe to returne home: and so coming backe into England, passed through the realme with

A peace concluded with England. The Abbeie of saint Andrews builded.

Superfluous rents of abbeies, prouocations to inordinate lusts.

The abbeie of Couper founded. The death of king Malcolme. A comet.

1185. Roger archbishop of Yorke the popes legat.

William surnamed the Lion. Ambassadoze sent to the king of England.

King William is required to do homage.

King William request for the restitution of Northumberland. The answer of king Henrie.

King Henrie sailed into Normandie. King William with manie nobles of Scotland went with king Henrie ouer into France.

*R. Williams
scale of justice.*

*Scotland
more indama-
ged by dome-
sticall theues
than by fo-
raine enemies.*

*Ambassadors
sent to king
Henrie.*

*See more
thereof in
England.*

*A portion of
Northumber-
land restored
to the Scots.
King William
received a
piece of North-
umberland
with his right
saue to the re-
gion.
King Henrie
repenting him
selfe of that
which he had
delivered to
the Scots
seeketh new
occasions of
warre.
warres with
England.*

*King William
inuaeth
Cumberland.*

with his nobles into Scotland, where he applied his whole indour to vnderstand the state of the common-wealth of his subiects, and speciallie he took order in most diligent wise, to punish cruelties done by theues and robbers, which vndoubtedlie was one of the most profitable acts that he could deuise to accomplish at that present, considering the state of his realme, as it then stood. For if the damages & skathes committed by theues and robbers were equalie pondered with the hurts and hinderances which daily grow by open warre against anie foren nation, it may well appere, that more harme ariseth, & more heinous cruelties are exercised against the poore and miserable commons and innocent people, by such as liue by rapine & spoiling at home, than by anie outward enemies, be they neuer so fierce and strong in the field. And therefore the prudent consideration of this prince was no lesse to be commended, in that he sought to reppelle the licentious outrage of such arrand theues and priue murderers, than if he had slaine manie thousands of foren enemies.

When he had once censed the realme of those misgouverned persons, he sent effones his ambassadors to king Henrie, requiring (as before) to haue Northumberland restored vnto him, with notice giuen, that if he might not haue it with fauour, he would as saie to recouer it by force. King Henrie perceiving that he must either satisfie king Williams request, either else haue open warres with the Scots, by aduise of his nobles, restored to king William so much of Northumberland as his grandfather R. Malcolme had in possession. King William accepted the offer, but so, as he protested that he received not that part in full recompense of the whole which was due vnto him (so saie the Scottish writers) but so as his entire right might alwaies be saued as well to the residue as to that which was then restored. Within few yerres after, king Henrie feeling that hinderance it was for him to forbear the commodities of those lands, which were thus deliuered vp to the Scottish kings use, repented him of that bargaine: and therefore to find some occasion to recouer the same again, he procured his subiects that dwelled vpon the borders, to make forreies into the lands pertaining to the Scots, so to prouoke them to battell.

Complaint of these iniuries being brought vnto the warden of the Scottish borders, by such Scots as had lost such goods as were taken awaie by the Englishmen, he sent to demand restitution; but so much as he could haue no towardlie answer, he got together a great number of men, the which entering into the English ground, did much hurt on each side where they came. At the same time was king Henrie in France, and therefore the Englishmen thought it sufficient to defend themselves as well as they might without attempting anie notable enterprise in reuenge of the displeasures done by the Scots. Haruest was also at hand, and thereupon they ceased on either part from further inuasions, till the winter season, which passed also without anie exploit achieved, worthie to be remembred; sauing certeine small rodes made by the Scots into the English borders, as they saw occasion to serue thereto.

But in the summer next following, king William raised a mightie armie, and came with the same into Cumberland, the right wing of the which armie was led by Gileriff, whose approued ballancie often shewed in the time of king Malcolme, had aduanced him to marie with the kings sister. The left wing was assigned vnto the conduct of one Rowland the kings cosen, who was also lieutenant of the bordermen. The middle ward or battell the king himselfe led. The Englishmen, to the intent they might haue time and leasure to assemble their power, sent vnto

king William, offering vnto him, not onlie large summes of monie, if he would returne backe with his armie without further inuasion, but also redress of all manner of iniuries and wrongs, if anie such on their behalfe were to be proued. But king William for answer herewith declared, that he had not begun the warre for anie desire he had to monie; neither had he first giuen the occasion, as one that was ever willing to liue vpon his owne: so that if they could be contented to restore Northumberland being his rightfull heritage, he was not so desirous of bloud, but that he would gladlie cease from all further attempts.

The Englishmen hauing receiued this answer, to the end they might protract the time in sending still to and fro, till they might espie some occasion to worke such feates as they had imagined, addresed forth other ambassadors vnto king William, with diuerse faire offers and golden promises. In the meane time, to take the Scottishmen at some aduantage, they conueie their whole power in the night season nere vnto the place where the same Scottishmen laie in campe, & diuiding themselves into two parts, the one was appointed to abide in the fields, till the sunne were vp, and then to throw themselves to the enemies, to traine them forth to battell: the other companie was laid close in a ballie not farre off, to take the aduantage as they saw their time. In the morning about the rising of the sunne, those that were appointed to procure the skirmish, approached so nere to the enemies campe, till they came euen with in sight of them. The Scots amazed with the strangenesse of the thing, for that they had not heard before of anie assemblie of the Englishmen, at the first were somewhat afraid: but anon encouraging one another, they boldlie issued forth vpon their enemies, who of purpose (at the first) made but weake resistance, and at length fled awaie, to the intent to cause the Scottishmen to breake their arraie of battell in pursuing them, which they did so egerlie, that they left their king but slenderlie garded with a small companie about him. When the ambushment lieng in the ballie, brake forth vpon him, according to the order before appointed, and in the meane time, the other that fled cast themselves about, and manlie abode their enemies, so earnestlie laing it to their charge, that in fine they droue them backe, and constrained them to lie in god earnest, which they themselves had but onlie counterfeited to do before.

King William perceiving his people thus distressed, and himselfe inclosed on each side amongst his enemies, after he had assaied to breake forth on some side from amongst them, when he saw his indour could by no means preuaile, and that the enemies made onelie at him, he yelded himselfe. There was not much bloud spilled on either side at this beheading, for the one part in the beginning of the frate (as ye haue heard) fleeing of set purpose to the place where their ambush laie, escaped without much hurt; and the other, scared by the breaking forth of the ambush, abode the burnt but a small while, returning immediatlie towards the king; and then perceiving they could do no good, they made the best shift they could each man for himselfe, to escape the enemies hands. The king being thus taken of his enemies, was conueied to king Henrie ouer into Normandy, where he was as then remaining. The peere that king William was thus taken, was after the birth of our Saviour Christ 1174, and the ninth of king Williams reigne.

Other writers report the maner of his taking, not altogether agreeable with that which we haue here aboue remembred, who declare how R. William, after he had wasted all Cumberland, came into Northumber:

*The offers of
the English
men.*

*The answer
of king Wil-
liam.*

*The English
men sent by
policy to
quell the
Scots.*

*The English
men sent by
policy to
quell the
Scots.*

*The English
men sent by
policy to
quell the
Scots.*

*The Scots
confessing
his
take.*

*King William
yieldeth him-
selfe prisoner.*

*King William
conueied into
Normandy.*

*Discord of
Saxons.*

Northumberland, not ceasing till he came to Ant-
 wike, where he staid for a time to haue had battell:
 but in the meane while the Englishmen late close to-
 gether without noise or appearance, in such wise that
 no Scottishman could haue understanding where
 they were. At length king William wearied with
 long taring thus at Antwike, and seeing no enemies
 to appere, determined to worke some exploit yet be-
 fore his returne, and thereupon sent forth the most
 part of all his armie abroad into the countrie, to for-
 reie the same, keeping no great companie about
 him, till the returne of the other thus sent forth.
 Whereupon incontinentlie a great ambushment of
 Englishmen came vpon him with counterfeited
 Scottish ensignes, and were not once suspected for
 Englishmen, till the king was compassed in by them
 on each side, and so finalie taken and led awaie per a-
 nie Scottishman with thereof, saue a few which were
 left (as is said) with him for the time. In deed Wil-
 helmus Paruus, a canon sometime in the abbey of
 Wyldington in Northeshire, in that his booke which he
 wrottes of the Norman kings of England, affirmes
 how there were not manie more than about three
 score horsemen with king William, while he was
 thus taken; and that the Englishmen were not past
 foure hundred horsemen, which took vpon them that
 enterprise; whose captiues (as he reciteth) were
 these: Robert de Stuteuill, Ranulfe de Glanuil,
 Bernard de Ballioll, and diuerse other.

The same author writeth, that after the taking of
 the king, there rose a mutinie amongst the Scots:
 for whereas the Irish Scots bare a naturall grudge
 against the English Scots, yet whilest the king was
 present amongst them, they durst not vtter their
 malicious intentions: but now that he was thus ta-
 ken from them, so manie of the English Scots as
 fell into the hands of the Irish, paid dearelie for the
 bargain, being cruellie murdered and slaine: so
 that the residue were constrained to get them out of
 the waie into castles and towres, where they might
 be receiued. But now it is to be considered, that be-
 cause there was no great slaughter made at the ta-
 king of king William, the warres notwithstanding
 continued betwixt England and Scotland: for the
 two before specified chieftains Gilcriff and Roland
 stoutlie withstood the Englishmen, and beat them
 backe as they enterpised to enter into Cumber-
 land. At length a peace was taken, during the time
 that king William remained in captiuitie; vnder
 these conditions, that Northumberland should conti-
 nue vnder the dominion of the Englishmen, and
 Cumberland (with the earledome of Huntington) to
 remaine (as before) vnder the gouernance of the
 Scottishmen.

Immediatlie vpon the taking of king William
 thus at Antwike, his brother David earle of Hun-
 tington, through licence of king Henrie came into
 Scotland, to haue the gouernement of the realme,
 till the king his brother might be redeemed. So some
 therefore as he had once established the realme in
 good quiet and iustice, he sent Richard the bishop
 of saint Andrewes, with diuerse other noble men, ouer
 into Normandie, to take order there with king Hen-
 rie for the ranfome of the king his brother, which was
 agreed in this manner. First, it was accorded, that
 king William should become and acknowledge
 himselfe to be the king of Englands liege man, a-
 gainst all men for the realme of Scotland and his o-
 ther lands; and for the same should do fealtie to the
 said king of England, as to his liege soueraigne lord,
 in like sort as other his liege people were accus-
 tomed to do. And further, he should also do fealtie vnto
 the lord Henrie, the king of Englands sonne, (sa-
 uing alwaies the faith which he owgth the king his

father.) And in like manner it was covenanted and
 agreed, that all the prelates of Scotland, and their suc-
 cessors, should recognise their wanted subiection to
 the church of England, and do fealtie to the king of
 England, so manie of them as he should appoint.
 And likewise the earle and barons of Scotland, and
 their heires for their part, should do their homage
 and fealties vnto the said king of England, and to
 the lord Henrie his sonne, so manie as thereunto
 should be required.

Moreover, the king of Scots should paie for his
 redemption one hundred thousand pounds sterling,
 the one halfe to be paid in hand: and for sure pay-
 ment of the other halfe, the earledomes of Cumber-
 land, Huntington, and Northumberland should be
 deliuered vnto king Henrie in pledge or mortgage,
 till the time that the same summe was paid. And
 for the more suretie of these covenants, and that the
 Scots should moue no warre against the English-
 men, foure of the strongest castles within Scotland,
 that is to saie, Berwike, Edinburgh, Roxburgh, &
 Strueling, were deliuered into the Englishmens
 hands. These things being thus ordered the eight
 day of December 1175, the king restored home,
 there followed a new strife in Scotland, for Gilbert
 of Galloway, a right cruell and most mischievous
 person, purposing to conquer the crowne by force,
 made great slaughter of all them that withstood his
 desire. And because his brother reproued his do-
 ings, he put out his eyes, and cut off his hands. A-
 gainst this Gilbert was Gilcriff sent with an ar-
 mie by the king. There was fought a sore battell
 betwixt them, for the most part of those that followed
 Gilberts commandement, were desperat fellows,
 such commonlie as for murder and other heinous
 crimes by them committed were in danger of the
 lawes, and therefore vpon hope of pardon desired
 a change; but yet in the end, Gilcriff with multitude
 wan the field of them, and slue more in the chase
 than in the battell. Gilbert himselfe escaped and got
 ouer into the Ile of Man, and fled from thence into
 Ireland. Wilhelmus Paruus reporteth this matter
 somewhat otherwise, as thus: In the armie of king
 William (saith he) when he was taken nere vnto
 Antwike, were two brethren, Gilbert and Jared,
 that were lords of Galloway, hauing there with
 them a great retinue of their countrymen. These
 were the sonnes of Ifergius, sometime lord of that
 prouince; after whose decesse the king of Scots that
 is superiour lord thereof, diuided the countrie be-
 twixt these two brethren. But Gilbert the eldest bro-
 ther found himselfe much grieved to haue anie part
 of those lands (which were his fathers) given from
 him; yet doubting punishment at the kings hands,
 he durst not attempt anie thing against his brother,
 till it fortune the king to be taken. And then deli-
 uered of the feare which had staied his mischievous
 purpose, he taketh his brother at vnwares, and cru-
 ellie murdered him, after no common maner; but
 rather martyred him in heastlie wise, so to satisfie
 the instinct of his diuelish nature. And immediatlie
 after inuading the vpper countries, he exerciseth
 great slaughter of men on each hand. But his bro-
 ther had a sonne called Roland, which prouing a
 valiant yong gentleman, boldlie resisted his uncles
 rage, with the assistance and aid of his fathers
 friends. And thus was Scotland brought into trou-
 ble (as Wilhelmus Paruus recozdeh) till by the force
 said Gilcriff the murderer was expelled, as before
 is expessed. In the yeare following came Hugo car-
 dinall of saint Angelo as legat from the pope into
 England, with authoritie to reforme the English
 churches, in such cases as were thought requisit;
 and after he had made an end there, to doe the like in
 Scotland.

The prelates
 of Scotland
 do fealtie to
 the king of
 England.
 The earles
 and lords do
 homage vnto
 him.

King William
 ranfomed.

Foure castles
 deliuered to
 the English-
 men in pledge.

1175.
 Gilbert of
 Galloway re-
 belled.

Gilbert of
 Galloway
 banquished by
 Gilcriff.

Wilhelmus
 Paruus.

Gilcriff and
 Roland re-
 sist the Eng-
 lishmen.

Northumber-
 land vnder the
 Englishmen.

David earle of
 Huntington.

The king of
 Scots doth
 fealtie to the
 king of Eng-
 land.
 The earles
 and lords do
 fealtie to the
 king of Eng-
 land.

Hugh card-
 nall of saint
 Angelo the
 popes legat.

The bishops
of Scotland
summoned to
a conuocation
at Forthamp-
ton.

Gilbert a
learned man
defended the
liberties of
Scotland.

Gilbert bishop
of Cathnes.

Wonders.

Haile.

The sun
darkened.

Thunder.

The founda-
tion of the ab-
beie of Ar-
broth, or A-
berbrothoke.

1178.

The abbeie of
Muntrie of Ha-
dington found-
ed.

Ambassadors
to the pope.

A rose of gold.

Gilcrist mur-
dereth his
wife upon su-
spicion and
adulterie.
The kings
indignation a-
gainst Gil-
crist.

Gilcrist pro-
claimed trait-
or.

Widow the
brother of
Gilcrist.

Scotland. When he had therefore finished with Eng-
land, he cited all the bishops of Scotland to appeare
before him at a day prefixed at Forthampton. They
came according to his appointment, and being as-
sembled there in consistorie, he went about in most
earnest wise to perswade them to receiue the archbi-
shop of Forke for their metropolitane. But one Gil-
bert a yong man, howbeit singularly well learned,
and for his holiness of life much commended (as
Hector Boetius writeth) being sent of purpose by
king William unto this conuocation, to foyle that
nothing were concluded in the same, pretending to
the ancient liberties and franchises of the realme
of Scotland, did argue so stiffly to the contrary,
that the cardinall left off the pursute of such maner
of matter, and brake vp that counsell without deter-
mination of anie thing to the purpose in that behalfe.

This Gilbert that thus defended the cause and li-
berties of the Scotch clergie, was afterwards
made bishop of Cathnes, and finally after his de-
parture out of this transitorie life, registred for his
supposed perfect holiness of life among the number
of saints. The chiefest cause that moued the Sco-
tish clergie to withstand their obedience from the
primacie of Forke, was the dissention and conti-
nuall enmitie betwixt the two nations for superio-
ritie in temporall causes. The same yeare that this
counsell was holden at Forthampton, sundrie un-
common wonders were seene in Albion. On the sum-
mer day being the feast day of the natiuitie of saint
John the Baptist, there fell such a storme of haile,
that it killed manie sheepe and small cattell: people
that were out of houses, and from vnder couert anie
where abroad, were beaten to the earth with vio-
lence of that storme. The sunne in September a-
bout nonetide was darkened for the space of two
houres together, without anie eclipse or cause na-
turall by interposition of clouds. In Forke shire
was such terrible thunder with strange lightening,
that manie abbeies and churches were consumed
with the fire.

About this season, the abbeie of Arbroth was built
in most magnificent wise, and endowed with lands
and reuenues in such ample sort, that few houses
within the bounds of Albion might compare there-
with. The church was dedicated in the yeare of
Grace 1178, by king William, in honor of Thomas
Becket archbishop of Canturburie, with whome (as
is said) he had great familiaritie in time of his yong
yeares. At the same time the abbeie of Hadington
was founded by Adhama the mother of king Wil-
liam, and shortly after she had built it, she died. Not
long after, king William sent as ambassadors John
bishop of saint Andrews, and Keignald abbat of Ar-
broth unto pope Alexander the third, to present vnto
him his obeisance, according as he thought stood
with his duetie. The pope seeming to reioice there-
at, sent shortly after vnto the king a rose of gold,
filled with balme, and certeine new priuileges con-
cerning the libertie of the church of Scotland. At
the same time Gilcrist, hauing his wife in suspition
of adulterie, droue hir out of doores, and afterwards
strangled hir in a billage called Spanis, not past a
mile from Dundee. The king (for that she was his
sister) toke such indignation therewith, that he sei-
zed vpon all his lands and goods, purposing to haue
put him to death if he might haue got him into his
hands: but when he saw he could not be found, he
proclaimed him traitor, and rased his castell (where
in he had dwelled) quicke to the ground, in such wise
that vnneth remaineth anie token at this day where
it stood. This Gilcrist had a brother that hight Bze-
dus, who before this mischance had got the lands of
Agilue: of whome the house of the Agilues toke

their beginning, that after came to great authori-
tie in the court, though at this time (though Gil-
crist's offense) his whole familie was nere hand de-
stroyed. About this time also, the queene, king Wil-
liam his wife, deceased. A daughter which he had by
hir, named Adhama, he gaue in marriage vnto the
earle of Laon: but he himselfe after the deceasse of
this his first wife married Emengard, daughter to
Richard vicount of Beaumont that was sonne to
a daughter of king William the Conquerour. By
this marriage and alliance, the peace was noblie
confirmed betwixt England and Scotland, in such
wise, that neither part might receiue anie rebels to
the other, by means wherof Gilcrist, that before
was fled into England, was constrained to returne
into Scotland, disguised in poore weed, with two of
his sonnes, and there passed forth his life a long time
in great miserie amongest the woods and in out pla-
ces, vnknown to anie man that he was, by rea-
son of his poore and simple habit. Somewhat before
the aboue remembred marriage, Henrie king of
England at the motion of Hugh bishop of Durham
rendered by the castell of Edenburgh into k. Wil-
liam his hands.

About this time the Souldane named Saladine
prospered hugely against the christians in the holie
land, making such cruell slaughter of them, that to
heare thereof, all christian hearts were moued to
pitifull commiseration and dolorous teares: in so
much that Henrie king of England bowed to go
thither with an armie to relieue the common neces-
sitie of the christian publike weale, and had gone in
deed, if he had not bene hindered by the conspira-
cie of his sonne, whome latelie before he had caused
to be crowned king, that went about to blurpe the
sole administration to himselfe now in his fathers
life time. About the same time William went with
an armie into Koller, against Spakulzen and Spak-
bein, two capteins of the westerne Isles, which fled
vpon occasion to passe ouer into Koller, Cathnes and
Shurrey land, spoiling and waisting those countries;
when they heard of anie power comming against
them, they would straight returne to their ships,
and repasse againe into the Isles. But at this time,
the king had sent forth a manie to burne all those fel-
sels, wherein the robbers had passed ouer and had
left at anchor, by reason wherof when they were
inclosed in on euerie side by the king, and taken pri-
soners, they after had suffered death on the wheele,
according to the maner of the ciuill law.

The king in his returne from this iournie, came
by the abbeie of Aberbrothoke, to vnto the towne of
that house, how it went forwards, commanding
them that were ouerscers and maisters of the works
to spare for no costs, but to bring it vp to perfection,
and that with most magnificence. After his depar-
ture from thence, he toke the way toward Bertha,
and by aduenture espied where Gilcrist was de-
lying vpon tarfes, together with his two sonnes. And
though he knew not what they were, yet he mused
to see two such goodly yong men, as by resemblance
they appeared to be, to be thus occupied in such tol-
ling and base labour. Incontinentlie herewith Gil-
crist with his bald head came afore him, and falling
downe on his knees at the kings feet, said: If there
be anie mercie in thee (most ruthfull prince) for them
that are brought through their offenses into extreme
miserie, hauing suffered condigne punishment for
the same; I beseech thee for the loue that Christ had to
all sinfull people, not sparing to shed his most pre-
cious blood for their redemption, to haue some pitie &
compassion on me, & these my poore & miserable sons,
which with me haue suffered much griefe and penur-
rie, not hauing deserued the same by anie crime by
the m

The heale of
the plague

The ratie of
Laon.

Emengard,
1186.

The peace
confirmed
with Eng-
land.

The misre-
dible state of
Gilcrist.

The castell of
Edenburgh
reliques.

Saladine the
Souldane.

King Henrie
purpose to go
into the holie
land against
the Saracens
hindered by
rebellion of
his sonne.

Spakulzen
and Spak-
bein captiues
of pirates.

Death on the
wheele.

Aberbrothoke
is builded.

Gilcrist de-
lying close.

Gilcrist abash-
ed of the
king in the
known be-
sit.

them committed.

At the last, when king William had inquired of him what he was, and how it chanced he fell into such kind of miserie, the teares came so fast trickling from his eyes, that of a long time he was not able to declare his owne name. At length being come to himselfe, he said: I am Gilerist (noble prince) the most sorrowfull creature on earth, which (alas) put my hands in thy blood, and was therefore disherited of all my lands, and banished with these my two sonnes out of thy realme, whereupon we remained in England for a while, till through proclamation made against outlawes, I was constrained to come hither againe with my said sonnes, where we have liued by roots all the summer season, and now in the winter are glad to get our liuing with trauell of hand thus in digging and deluing of clods. Therefore if anie ruth or pittie haue place in thy heart, or that thine indignation be qualified, haue mercie on our sorrowfull estate, and remit the offense, whereby thou maiest not onelic purchase great honor and fame by example of pittie, being highlie renowned for that vertue amongst all nations, but also win great merit afore God, for shewing thy selfe the follower of Christ, the giuer of all mercie, grace, and peace.

The king moued by these wordes, and remembring the good seruice which Gilerist had imploied so oftentimes afore in defense of the realme: and againe pitying his case, to consider from what degree of honor he was fallen into the deepest bottom of extreme miserie, he took him wholie to his fauour, and not onelic forgave him his former offenses, but also restored vnto him, and to his sonnes, all such lands as sometimes appertained vnto them, except so much as the king had alreadye giuen vnto the abbeie of Aberbrothoke. Gilerist euer after perseuered in due obedience to his prince. And so much as his eldest sonne deceased before him without heires, that his yonger sonne, by reason of some impediment which he had, was vnniet for marriage, he gaue the most part of his lands after his owne deceasse vnto the said house of Aberbrothoke. His yonger sonne also, no lesse well affectionated towards the same house, gaue the residue of his lands there vnto. The father and both his sonnes are buried before the altar of St. Batharine within the church of this abbeie, as the superscription of their tombes sheweth.

Though king William was earnestlie occupied in the aduancing forward of the building of Aberbrothoke, yet did he not forget his dutie in the administration of his lawes; but diligentlie caused iustice to be executed, to the punishing of the wicked, and the rewarding of them that well deserved. He made also sundrie new lawes for the restraining of theues and oppressors of the people, so rigorous, that they might be in feare to heare him named. Furthermore, where as the church of Scotland was subiect to the church of Rome, he obtained of pope Clement the third of that name, letters of exemption for his clergie, whereby the church of Scotland (within the which were contained the bishops sees of saint Andrews, Glasco, Dunkeld, Dublaine, Brighne, Aberdeen, Murray, Ross, and Cathness) was declared exempt from all other forein iurisdicions, except onelic from that of the see of Rome, so as it might not be lawfull from thenceforth for any that was not of the realme of Scotland, to pronounce sentence of interdiction or excommunication, or otherwise to deale in iudgement of ecclesiasticall causes, except such one as the apostolicke see of Rome should specially appoint, and send thither with legantine power. The date of the said bull or letters of exemption thus obtained was at the popes palace of Laterane, the

third Ides of March, and first parte of the said pope Clements gouernment. Shortly after, to wit in the year 1198, died Henrie king of England, after whom succeeded his second sonne Richard: for Henrie his eldest sonne deceased before his father.

King Richard, after his coronation, prepared himselfe to passe with an armie into the holie land, and therefore made peace with all his neighbors, that no trouble should follow to his realme by reason of his absence: and hereupon to keepe the Scots in friendship, rather by beneuolence than by feare, he rendered into their hands the castles of Roxburgh, Berwick, and Sterling: and moreover that part of Northumberland which his father had taken from king William when he took him prisoner. He also deliuered the earldomes of Huntington and Cumberland; but vnder condition, that all the castles and holdes within them, should be in the keeping of his capitaine and souldiers, such as he should appoint. He released so king William also the residue of such summes of monie as were due for the foure castles laid to gage, ten thousand pounds onelic excepted, which he received in hand at that present towards the charges of his iourne. When king William had thus received his lands and castles by surrender, he made his brother Dauid earle of Huntington, who thereupon doing his homage vnto king Richard, according to the old ordinance deuised by king Malcolm the first, went with him also in that voiage with five hundred Scottishmen, or rather five thousand (as the translator of Hector Boetius saith) if no fault be in the printer.

As the christian armie late at siege before the citie of Acres, otherwise called Acon, it chanced that one Oliuer a Scottishman borne, was within the towne retained in seruice among the Saracens; for being convict of felonie in his native countrie he was banished out of the same, and fled to the Saracens, remaining so long amongst them, that he had learned their tongue verie perfectlie, so that as then few knew what countreman he was. It fortuned that this Oliuer had one of the gates in keeping, on that side the towne where was but a single wall, without trenches, or anie other fortification. He happened by some good aduenture to espie amongst the watch of those that were of the retinue of Dauid earle of Huntington, one of his owne kinsmen named John Durward, with whom of long time before he had bene most familiarlie acquainted; and incontinentlie he called to the same Durward, desiring vnder assurance to talke with him. After certaine communication, for that this Oliuer had not as yet bitterlie in his heart renounced the christian faith, he appointed with Durward to giue entrie at a certaine houre vnto earle Dauid, and to all the christian armie, vpon condition that earle Dauid would see him restored againe vnto his land and heritage in Scotland. The houre set, earle Dauid came with a great polver of men to the gate before rehersed, where he was suffered to enter according to appointment, and incontinentlie with great noise and clamour brake into the midst of the citie.

In the morning betimes, king Richard perceiving the citie thus woone, entered the same, and shortly after wane a tower, which the Saracens for a while manfullie defended. Thus was the citie of Acres woone from the Saracens, chiefie by means of the Scottishmen. But now touching their returne from this voiage (for sith in other places more large mention is made of such exploits as were achieved therein, I passe ouer to make anie longer discourse thereof in this place) ye shall vnderstand, that in that terrible tempest, in the which king Richards nauie was disperced in his comming homewards (as in

The death of Henrie king of England.

R. Richard.

The castles of Roxburgh, Berwick, and Sterling rendered to king William.

Earle of Huntington. Scots with king Richard in the holie land.

The siege of Acres. Oliuer a Scottishman.

John Durward.

Earle Dauid entered the citie Acon.

Earle David
taken prisoner
he is re-
deemed.

He went to
Scotland.

Arrived at
Dundee.

The name of
Dundee.

Procession
was holden.

A church
built.

Privileges
granted to the
towne of
Dundee.

The abbey of
Lundoris.

Advers with-
out hurt.

R. Richards
returne into
England.

The gift of
king William
to king Ri-
chard.

A byte raised
that the king
was dead.

the historie of Eng'and is more at large exprest) the ship also that earle David was in, chanced to be throlone on land on the coasts of Aegypt, where being taken prisoner, and led into Alexandria, at length he was redeemed by certeine merchants of Venice, and first conuied unto Constantinople, and after unto Venice, where he was bought out & redeemed by the English merchants, and in the end suffered to depart home. At his comming into Flanders, he hired a vessell at Sluis, therewith to returne into Scotland, but being losed a little off from the shore, such a vehement tempest suddenlie arose, that drove him, not without great danger of life, nere to the coasts of Fozwaite and Syetland.

Here in the midst of this extreame ieopardie (as hath bene reported) after he had made a vow to build a church in the hono^r of the virgin Marie, if he might escape that danger of seas, he arrived at length in Late water beside Dundee, not far from saint Nicholas chappell, without either rudder or tackle. The place where he arrived be fore that time hight Alectum, but he as then changed the name, and called it Dundee, which significth as though ye should say, The gift of God. When his brother the king heard that he was returned, supposing long time before that he had bene dead, he came speedilie unto Dundee to welcome him home, shewing himselfe most glad of his returne, insomuch that he caused publike processions to be celebrate throughe the realme, to giue God thanks that had thus restored his brother home into his countrie. Earle David, according as he had vowed, builded a church in the field commonlie called the wheat field, and dedicating it in hono^r of the virgin Marie, made it a parish church. At a parlement also holden after this at Dundee, licence was granted unto him to build an abbey in that place if shuld please him within Scotland, and to indow it with lands and rents as he should thinke good. There were also manie privileges granted the same time unto Dundee, which indure to this day.

Earle David not refusing the grant and beneuolence of the king his brother, builded an abbey called Lundoris, for monks of the order of saint Benedict. One thing there is much to be wondered at, as a strange singulartie. For whereas that house standeth in a vallie, inclosed on each side with wood and water, by reason whereof there is great abundance of adbers; yet both no man catch hurt by anie of them, insomuch that ye shall see yong children play and run vp and downe amongst a great number of them, without anie skath or hurt following unto them thereof. In this meane while, Richard king of England (who also in his returne out of the holic land was taken prisoner by the emperour of Almanie) was deliuered for a great summe of monie, and so returned into his countrie. King William hearing of king Richards returne into England, to congratulate the same, toke his brother earle David with him, and came unto London, where, in token of ioy, that he had unfeinedlie conceived for his safe comming home, after all troubles and dangers which he had passed, he gaue unto him two thousand markes sterling, for that he knew at what great charges he had bene, aswell for furnishing of his voyage, as also for redeeming of his libertie.

By these friendlie points of humanitie shewed, there followed great amitie and loue betwixt these two kings. But king William fell sicke in England, and as it often happeneth, such as were vnquiet persons, desirous to be deliuered of all feare of lawes, were straight way put in an vntrue belief, that he was dead; and causing it to be hyted abroad, began to exercise all kind of misdeameanoys by inua-

ding the poore and simple people, with spellings and slaughters in all parts. But after it was certeinlie knowne, that the king was not onelic alive, but also recovered of his infirmitie, and comming homeward, those raskals and wicked rebels withholde under the conduct of one Herald the thane of Cathnes, and erle of Orkenie, unto the uttermost bounds of Scotland. Howbeit the king pursued them in such diligent and earnest maner, that he apprehended the most part of them in Cathnes, and commanded iustice to be done on them, in such wise, that mercie was not yet wanting: for such as were thought to be after a sort gillelesse, were pardoned, and the other punished, euerie one according to the measure of his offenses.

But the principall leader of them, that is to say, the forenamed Herald, for that time escaped into the westerne Isles, but shortly after, returning to Cathnes, he was taken and brought to the king, who caused his eies first to be put out, then gelded, and lastlie to be hanged on a paire of gallowes. Also all those of his linage that were men, were likewise gelded, that no succession should follow of so wicked a seed. In the yere next ensuing was more dearth felt in Scotland, than euer was heard of before: for a measure of barlie, in Scottish called a boll, was sold for five crownes; and yet in the yere next following, accounting from the natiuitie of our Sauio^r 1199, was more plentiful abundance than euer had bene seene afore. The same yere king Williams wife Ermengard was deliuered of a yong sonne named Alexander. The same yere also died Richard king of England, & his brother John succeeded in his place. About thre yeres after this, was the foresaid Alexander the kings sonne created prync of Scotland. And the same yere came a legat from the pope sent to R. William, presenting unto him a sword, with a sheath & hilts of gold set full of rich pretious stones. He presented unto him also a hat or bonet, made in manner of a diademe of purple hue, in token (as it should meane) that he was defender of the church. Manie indulgences and priuileges were granted at the same time by the pope, for the libertie of the church of Scotland. It was ordeined also the same time, that saturday should be kept as holidaie from none forward, and great punishment appointed for them that transgressed this ordinance, in doing anie bodilie worke from saturday at none, untill mondaie in the morning.

After this, king William returned againe into England to do his homage unto king John, for the lands of Cumberland, Huntingdon, and Fozshumberland. Immediatlie thereupon king John willed him to passe with him into France, to make warres against the Frenchmen. And because he refused so to do, king John made claime to all the foresaid lands as forfeited to the crowne of England, and caused a great bottie of goods to be fetched out of the same: so that open warres had immediatlie followed, if the English lordes had not compelled R. John to make restitution of all the goods so taken; because they thought it not expedient in anie wise to haue wars with the Scots at the same time, being already in trouble with the Frenchmen. In the winter following, the frost was so vehement, & continued so long, that till mid March, no plough might be put into the ground. Ale was frozen in such wise within houses, and cellers, that it was sold by weight. Such a great snow fell also therewith, that beasts died in manie places in great numbers. Moreover, from the Twelfth tide till Februarie, there was euerie day verie terrible earthquakes.

After the end of winter, king John hauing made an end of his warres with France, began to build a castell

acastell in Northumberland ouer against Berthke,
upon purpose to haue some quarell to fall out with
the Scots. King William being aduertised thereof,
sent his ambassadoys vnto king John, requiring
him to desist from such attempts, and not to take a
nie occasion of new trouble: but forsomuch as he re-
ceiued no towardlie answer againe from k. John,
he assembled a power, & comming to the castell which
king John had caused to be builded, he ouerthrew
the same, and rased it to the earth. King John soze
offended herewith, raised a mightie armie, and came
towards Scotland, but at his comming to the boy-
ders, he found his aduersarie king William readie
to receiue him by battell, if he had come forward;
howbeit through mediation of prudent men, the
matter was taken by bettwirt them: so that on ei-
ther side the armies were dissolued, & both the kings
repairing to Porke, establisshed a peace there, with
these conditions, that Margaret and Isabell daugh-
ters to king William, after the tearme of 9 yeres
then next ensuing were once expired, should be cou-
pled in marriage with Henrie and Richard the sons
of king John, vpon this paction and covenant, that
if the one died, the other should succede to the crowne.
For the which it was couenanted, that king Will-
iam should giue a right large dowter. Also the castell
which king John had builded, and king William
rased, it was agreed that it should remaine so defa-
ced, and neuer after againe to be repaired. For the
liue performance of these articles thus bettwirt the
two kings concluded, nine noble men of Scotland
were appointed to be deliuered as hostages vnto
king John. In that assemblee there at Porke,
king William also surrendered into the hands
of king John, the lands of Cumberland, Hunting-
ton, and Northumberland; to the intent he should as-
signe those lands againe vnto his sonne prince Alex-
ander, and he to do homage for the same, according
to the maner and custome in that case prouided, for a
knowledge and recognition that those lands were
holden of the kings of England, as superiour lords
of the same. During the abode of these two kings at
Porke, there was brought vnto them a child of sin-
gular beautie, sonne and heire to a gentleman of
great possessions in those parties, being soze bered
with diuerse and sundrie diseases; for one of his eyes
was consumed & lost through an issue which it had of
corrupt and filthie humors, the one of his hands
was dried by; the one of his feet was so taken, that
he had no use thereof; and his tong likewise that he
could not speake. The physicians that saw him thus
troubled with such contrarie infirmities, iudged him
incurable. Heuertbelesse, king William making a
crosse on him, ressozed him immediatlie to health.
By reason whereof, manie beleued that this was
done by miracle, through the power of almightie
God, that the vertue of so godlie a prince might bee
notified to the world.

After his returne from Porke into Scotland, he
indowed the churches of Helobottell, Helros, Holie
rood house, Dunfirmling, and Aberdeen, with manie
saire possessions, as the letters patents made thereof
by him beare manifest testimonie. He also erected
one new bishopps se called Argile, giuing therto suf-
ficient lands towards the maintenance and sus-
tentation thereof. After this, comming vnto the towne
of Bertha, he had not remained there manie daies,
but there chanced such a flood, by reason of the rising
and inundation of the two riuers, Taie & Almond,
that through violence of the streame the towne was
worne downe, and much people in the towne
drownd, yer they could make anie shift to saue
themselves, inso much that though the king with his
wife, and the most part of his familie escaped out of

that great danger and leopordie, his yongest sonne
yet named John, with his nurse and twelue other
women perished, and twentie other of his seruants
beside. Here was heard such clamor, noyse, & lamenta-
table cries, with bitter rozings and dreadfull thi-
lings, as is vsed in time when anie towne is sud-
denlie taken and surprized by the enemies: for as
the comon prouerbe witnesseth; fier & water haue
no mercie: and yet of these two, water is moze ter-
rible and dangerous: for there is no force or wit of
man able to resist the violence of inundations, where
they suddenlie breake in.

King William, after that the towne of Bertha
was thus destroyed and ouerflowed with water; be-
gan the foundation of an other towne, which was af-
ter called Perth, by a man of that name that ougth
the ground where the same towne was builded. Fur-
thermore, to aduance the dignitie and augmentation
of this towne, the king granted sundrie beneficall
privileges and freedoms thereto, that it might the so-
ner rise in riches and wealth. The first foundation
thereof was laid after the incarnation of our Saut-
our 1210 yeres, but the name was changed after-
wards, and called saint Johns towne, which name it
beareth euen vnto this day. About the same time
there rose effones new trouble in Cathnes, for one
Gothzed the sonne of Spakulzen (of whose rebellion
ye haue heard before) spoiled with often incursions
and robes the countrie of Rolfe, and other bounds
thereabouts. His companie increased daile moze
and moze, by repaire of such number of rebels as
came vnto him out of Lochquhaber, & the weslerne
 Isles. King William, to represse these attempts, sent
forth the carles of Fife and Atholl, with the thane of
Buchquhane, hauing fir thousand in their companie;
the which encountering with the enemies in set bat-
tell, gaue them the ouerthrow, and taking Gothzed
their chiefe capteine prisoner, brought him vnto the
king, who caused both him and diuerse other which
were likewise taken prisoners, to lose their heads.
Gothzed himselfe was soze wounded, before he was
taken; so that if his takers had not made the more
sped in the conueieng of him to the king, he had died
of his hurts before execution had thus bene done on
him accordinglie as was appointed.

About this time arose the dissention and variance
betwixt John king of England, and pope Innocent
the third, for that the English cleargie refused to aid
the said John with such summes of monie as he de-
manded of them. Shortly after, William king of
Scotland, worne with long age, departed out of this
world at Striueling, in the 74 yere of his age, and
in the 49 yere of his reigne, and after the incarna-
tion of Christ 1214 yeres. He was buried in Aber-
brothoke, before the high altar within the quier. The
yere afore his death, two comets or blasing starres
appeared in the moneth of March, verie terrible to be-
hold; the one did shine before the rising of the sunne,
and the other before the going downe thereof. The
yere next following, there was a colw in Northam-
berland that calued a verie monstrous calfe; for the
head and necke resembled a verie calfe in deed, but
the residue of the bodie was like vnto a colt. In the
winter after, there were sene also two mones in the
firmament, the one being seuered from the other, and
in shape naturallie horned, as ye see the mone in hir
increasing or wanting. King William in his life
time founded the abbete of Balmernoch, but his
wife quene Ermengard indowed it with lands and
possessions after his decesse. In the 46 yere of this
king Williams reigne, two monks of the Trinitie
order were sent into Scotl and by pope Innocent, to
whome king William gaue his palace roiall in A-
berden, to conuert the same into an abbete for them
R. J. to

John & kings
son drownd.

The towne of
Berth builded

Freedom
granted to the
towne of
Perth.

Saint Johns
towne.
Gothzed man-
ned a rebellion
in Cathnes.

His companie
increaseth.

The carles of
Fife and A-
tholl sent a-
gainst him.
The rebels o-
uerthrowne.
Gothzed ta-
ken and be-
headed.

The dissenti-
on betwixt the
pope and king
John.
The cause.

The death of
king William.

1214.

Two blazing
starres.

A monstrous
calfe.

Two mones.

The abbete of
Balmernoch
founded.

Alexander.

Alexander the second is crowned at Scone. A time of mourning.

A parliament at Edinburgh

Confirmation of officers.

The office of the constable.

The lands of Forfair given to the old quene. A princelie appointment.

Dissention betwixt king John and his nobles.

King Alexander passeth to London.

The league betwixt France and Scotland renewed.

The best approved writers affirme that Lewes went not over into France, till after the death of king John. Lewes and king Alexander accursed. A counsell at Rome.

to inhabit: and was in mind to haue giuen them manie other bountifull gifts, if he had liued anie longer time.

After the deceasse of king William, his sonne Alexander the second of that name succeeded, and was crowned at Scone with all due solemnitie; which being finished, he went unto Abirzothoke, where he remained 14 daies, in attending the funerall obsequies of his father, and commanded that no publike plaies nor great feasts should be vsed or kept in all that pere, to the intent the death of his father might be lamented through the whole realme. The king himselfe, and all his seruants also, were clothed in mourning weed, during the space of one whole pere. The first parlement which he called, was holden at Edinburgh, in the which he confirmed all the acts and ordinances deuised by his father: and further appointed that all such as had boine offices vnder him, should still intoy the same. Pamelie he commanded that William Wood bishop of Dunblaine should still continue lord chancelor, and Alane of Galloway high constable, which is an office of most honor & reputation next to the king, as he that hath power of life and death, if anie man draw blood of an other by violence within two miles of the court.

When this parlement was ended, because the old quene his mother determined to remaine, during the residue of hir life, in the place where that holie woman quene Margaret sometime led hir life, he gaue vnto hir towards the maintenance of hir estate, the castles & townes of Forfair, with the lands and possessions to the same belonging. He also appointed certeine sage and most graue personages, to be chosen forth as iudges, which should be resident in euerie cite and good towne of his realme, for the hearing and due determining of all quarrels and matters in controuersie betwixt partie and partie. In this meane time great dissention rose betwixt John king of England, and his barons, by reason whereof great warres ensued, as in the English historie dooth appere. The barons made sute both to the French king, & to the king of Scots for aid, so that at length Lewes the French kings sonne came ouer to support them, whereof when king Alexander was aduertised, he likewise came with an armie through England vnto London, causing his souldiers by the waie to abstaine from doing anie kind of damage to the people. By his comming things were partie quieted for a time, and shortly after that he had communed with Lewes touching sundrie affaires pertaining to both the realmes, they passed the seas with ten vessels ouer into France, leaving their powers behind them to assist the English lords.

The French king aduertised thereof, came dolone to Bullongne, where finding his son and king Alexander, he renewed the ancient bond of amitie betwixt France and Scotland, with the same Alexander, according to the covenants of the old league, with this addition; that neither prince should receiue the enemies of the others realme, nor to marrie with anie stranger, the one not making the other priuie thereto. These things being ratified, king Alexander and Lewes returned into England: shortly whereupon, king John died, more through anguish of mind and melancholie, than by force of anie other naturall disease. His son Henrie, the third of that name, succeeded him. And in the meane time had the pope accursed both Lewes, and king Alexander, with all those that fauoured their cause against king John, which curse was pronounced in a generall counsell, which was holden at Rome by pope Innocent, there being present foure hundred and twelue bishops, and eight hundred abbats. King Alexander after the deceasse of king John, returning homewards with his

armie, thought he might haue passed quietlie without anie annoyance by the waie, through means whereof he lost a certeine number of his men, being suddenly inuaded by such Englishmen, as watched their time to take the Scots at some advantage, in strating abroad out of order: with which iniurie king Alexander was so moued, that he spoiled and harried all the countries by the which he passed, till he was entered within the confines of his owne dominion.

Shortly after, Cardinall Gualo came into England furnished with the popes authoritie, to denounce the excommunication about remembered, against Lewes and Alexander, with all their santonies, whereupon he accursed not onelie the foresaid persons, but also interdicted all the places where they came, inasmuch that in the end Lewes was constrained to buy an absolution with no small summes of monie, of that auaricious cardinall Gualo: and after vpon agreement also made with king Henrie, he returned into France. Not long after came king Henrie with an armie into Scotland, for indamaging the countie: but so sone as he was aduertised that king Alexander had assembled all the power of his realme to giue him battell, he retired with all speed into England. The king of England had in his armie at the same time 1200 men of armes, verie perfectlie appointed and furnished with armor and weapon as was requisite, and the king of Scots but onelie five hundred. But of footmen there were in the Scottish armie 60000 able personages well appointed, with ares, speares, and bowes, readie to die and liue with their prince, constantlie beleuing, that to lose this present life here in his defense, was an assured waie to be faued in an other world.

After that king Henrie was gone backe into England, king Alexander followed after him into Northumberland, where he ouerthrew & beat downe manie castles and strengths, which the Englishmen held. Then marching through the countie vnto Carlisle, he wan that citie, and garnished it with his people. After this, laing siege vnto Rotham castell, when he had continued at the same a certeine time, and perceiued how he lost but his trauell, he left it, and returned home with great honor and triumph for his other atchiued enterprizes in that tourne. King Henrie being once aduertised that king Alexander had broken vp his campe, incontinentlie got his sons his people together, and comming to Berwik, wan both the towne and castell. After entring into Scotland, he burned and spoiled the countie alongst by the sea coasts, till he came as farre as Hadington, putting all such to the sword as were found in the waie; women, priests, and children onelie excepted. He assaid to haue wone the castell of Dunbar, but missing his purpose there, he returned into England.

In the meane time, the auaritious prelat Gualo, vpon trust to purchase some large portion of monie in Scotland, put the same vnder proceesse of interdicting, & namelie he accursed king Alexander most terrible, for that he had inuaded England, and (as he alleged) spoiled churches as well as prophane places. These curses so indamed the hearts of the Scottishmen with hatred against the Englishmen, that the same was not like to haue ended without the utter destruction and ruine of both their realmes. Neuertheless at length, by the diligent trauell of the bishops of Forke and Salisburie, which came vnto king Alexander to treat an agreement, a final peace was concluded, vnder these conditions. First it was agreed, that king Alexander should render the citie of Carlisle into the Englishmens hands, and king Henrie the towne of Berwik vnto the Scots. The whole dominion of Cumberland to remaine vnto king Alexander, with the one halfe

halfe of Northumberland, to the Kerroffe. And further, that king Alexander should be absolved of the censures of the church, which Gualo the cardinal had denounced against him.

Thus the two kings being accorded, the two foresaid bishops committing unto Berwick, absolved king Alexander, and delivered his realme of interdiction, by such authoritie as they had procured of the cardinal Gualo. But yet the same cardinal, not minding to depart with empty hands, summoned all the prelates of Scotland to appeare before him at Berwick, there to receive their full absolution, to the intent by such means to trouble them, till they had disbursed to his use some large portion of monie. Sundrie of them which loved quietnesse more than contention, satisfied his mind; but others refused utterlie so to do, taking great indignation that spirituall causes were thus dispatched for monie, and ecclesiasticall preferments bought and sold, no other wise than secular possessions and prophane dignities. Incontinentlie thereupon Gualo cited them to Rome, supposing that rather than to take upon them so long a iourne, they would have compounded with him at his pleasure. Notwithstanding they being nothing in doubt thereof, went unto Rome, and at their coming thither, made unto the pope their complaint in most gracious manner, of the insufferable injuries attempted in England and Scotland, by his most covetous legat the foresaid Gualo: by reason of which complaint, and of sundrie such letters & informations as daillie came out of England and Scotland, from other bishops & abbats, containing right grievous accusations, concerning the insatiable avarice of Gualo, the pope reuked him home to Rome, to make answer in his presence unto such matters as were laid to his charge.

At his returne thither, for so much as he was not able to discharge himselfe of such manifest crimes whereof he was burdened, the pope condemned him in a great summe of monie, to be paid as a fine for his trespass and transgressions. And those Scottish bishops, which were come for their absolution, were absolved by the pope, and suffered to depart in peace. In this meane time, David earle of Huntingdon, brother to William late king of Scots, of whom ye have heard before how he went in the iourne made by the christian princes into the holie land deceased, and was buried within an abbey in England. Henrie king of England, after he came to yeares of perfect discretion, shewed himselfe to be more desirous of peace than of warres. Whereupon at Berke there was a meeting appointed betwixt him and king Alexander, where mutuall alliance was accorded betwixt them on this wise. Jane the sister of king Henrie was promised to be given in marriage to king Alexander, and two sisters of king Alexanders were despoiled unto two great princes of the English nobilitie. These marriages were thus concluded in the yeare of our Lord, 1220.

In the yeare next following, came a legat into Scotland from pope Honorius, with bulls to gather a summe of monie towards the furnishing forth of an armie against the Turks or rather Saracens. This legat was a cardinal, and named Egidius, who having purchased no small quantitie of coine both of the cleargie and laitie of Scotland, spent the same in riot and outrageous insolencie, making his cruell at his returne to Rome, how it was taken from him by certeine brigants and robbers. Within short while after, was an other legat with semblable commission sent into Scotland from the foresaid pope. But king Alexander, being advertised of his coming, called a counsell, in the which one

of the bishops (as should seeme) took great indignation, to see how covetouslie reigned in most shamefull wise amongst the Romish legats, and spake in manner as followeth.

Albeit sundrie considerations there are which might stay me from deterring such things as be most prejudiciall to the common wealth, yet (most noble prince) when I consider thine humanitie, faith, and constancie, given to nothing more than to the defence and weale of thy true liege people, I cannot but (for the zeale I beare to common libertie) declare the truth. For sith all manner of tyrannie is intollerable, yea even that which is exercised by kings or princes descended by lineall succession to their rightfull heritage: much more is that tyrannie to be detested, which is exercised by men of vile and base linage. Therefore, if the sundrie and manifold wrongs done to us these many yeares now passed, had come by the popes themselves, the same might somewhat more sufferable have bene borne: but sith naughtie & vile persons, of base birth and obscure linage, promoted to benedices and ecclesiasticall dignities onlie for their wicked and horrible vices, have not onlie interdicted our realme, with our lawfull commission; but have also consumed in maintenance of their wanton and insolent bues, that monie which they gathered in our countie by the popes authoritie, under colour of raising an armie to go against the Turks and Infidels; I am of this opinion that their cursed avarice ought to have no further place amongst faithfull people, speciallie amongst us, whose simplicitie and humblenesse they have in contempt. In the yeares passed, ye complained of the injuries done by Gualo, when he had put your realme under the censure of interdicting, and the most part of your prelates under the curse; because they would not answer him with monie according to his covetous demands, wherewith he might mainteine his outrageous lusts. Which Gualo also (as should appeare by most certeine coniesures, to as of such a diuelish nature, that though he were sent to treat a concord betwixt the Englishmen and Scots; yet to satiate his avaritious desire, he ministred such occasion of warre betwixt them, that both the realmes had not the matter bene the lower taken up) were at a point to have entered so far into malicious hatred the one against the other, that it was not like that any peace should have taken place, till the one or both had bene utterlie destroyed. But since these heinous and terrible deeds are manifest enough; to what end should I here remember them, sith the same cannot be done without your great griefe and displeasure? Whereupon, after we were delivered of this Gualo, shortly after cometh another, one shewing himselfe to come forth of the same shop; for in conversation of life he was to be indged no whit better, but rather worse: for after that he had got up amongst us of this realme large summes of monie, under pretense of redeeming the christian prisoners out of the Saracens hands; he waisted the same monie in riotous lust and insolencie, feasting, when it was gone, that it was bereft him by brigants. Therefore sith we have had experience, and are already sufficientlie taught by the doings of the two fore-remembered legats, to our heame greifs and no small damages; we may be withsome repented unto and berie sales in deed, if we now admit the third. For it is not to be thought, that this new legat shall use the matter in any better sort, than his fellows have done before him. And verie, if any man should demand of me, what I thinke ought to be done in this matter, I do for my part protest, that neither this legat, nor any other in times to come,

The cleargie
of Scotland
summoned by
cardinal
Gualo to come
to Berwick.

He of spirit
multiplication
and.

The Scottish
bishops cited
to Rome.

The com-
plaint of the
Scottish cler-
gy to the pope.

The avarice
of cardinal
Gualo.

Cardinal
Gualo con-
demned in a
summe of mo-
nie.

The Scottish
bishops absol-
ved.
David earle
of Hunting-
don deceased.

1220.

At intermar-
riage the
kings of
England and
Scotland.

Marriages
concluded.

Legat sent
from pope
Honorius to
Scotland.

Legat ex-
posed.

Legat in-
terdicting.

In nation of
a bishop.

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“ come, ought to be receiued within this realme, considering how the same hath bene wasted & robbed by their continuall exactions. If there be anie amongst you that hath more monie than he knoweth which way well to spend, he may (in the name of God) bestow it vpon the poore, rather than to the vse of such vicious legats, as order it in such sort, that all men haue cause to thinke that soener cometh into their hands, is but cast away and clearelye lost.

Legats cannot be receiued.

Peace confirmed with the Englishmen. Gillespie Rolfe a rebell.

Caithness burned by Gillespie Rolfe. John Cummin earle of Buchquhane. Gillespie Rolfe beheaded.

New trouble.

Adam bishop of Caithness slain by the people of that countrie.

Streight execution.

The stonie hill. The earle of Caithness loosed his lands.

King Alexander commended of the pope.

The privileges of Aberdeen.

The archdeacon of Dunfermline.

These words of this bishop (whatsoener he was) were liked so well of all the counsell, that the legat could not be receiued into the realme. After the breaking vp of this counsell, the marriage was consummat betwixt king Alexander and Jone, sister to Henric king of England; also betwixt Hubert de Burgh high iustice of England, and Margaret sister to king Alexander, by reason of which mariages, the peace was confirmed with the Englishmen, and as it had bene sealed by for a more full and certeine assurance. Shortly after followed ciuill warres in Scotland, by the motion of one Gillespie Rolfe, who hauing liued most licentious in riotous outrage, at length arreared open warre against the king, and first sleaung diuerse such of his companions as had kept him companie aforetime in his lewd misdemeanors, for that they refused now to sticke to him in this rebellious enterprise, he went with the residue that offered to take his part vnto the towne of Caithness, which he toke and burned, with diuerse other places being of the kings possessions, till at length John Cummin earle of Buchquhane comming against him with an armie deliuered to him by the king, pursued the said Gillespie in such earnest wise, that finally he toke him with two of his sons, and striking off all their three heads, sent the same to the king as a witnesse how he had sped.

This businesse being thus quieted, an other insued after this maner: The men of Caithness soze offended with their bishop named Adam, for that vpon refusal to pay their tithes he had accursed them, fell vpon him within his owne house, and first scourging him with rods, at length set fire vpon him and burnt him within his owne kitchen. Which act being reported to the king, as then sojourning at Edinburgh, he halted forth with all speed to punish the offenders, not ceasing till he had taken foure hundred of them, all the which number he caused to be hanged; and for that he would haue no succession to come of such a wicked seed, he appointed all their sons to lose their stones. The place where they were so gelded, is called euen to this day the stonie hill. The earle of Caithness, for that he neither succoured the bishop in time of need, nor yet sought to punish the offenders that did this cruell deed, was deprived of his earldome, and the lands belonging to the same. The pope highlie commended king Alexander for this punishment taken of them, that had so cruellie murdered their bishop.

After this, king Alexander comming vnto Aberdeen, gaue manie large gifts and privileges therunto, although the same before this time intoted sundrie notable commodities and endowments giuen and confirmed by other kings his predecessors. The boles which were granted by sundrie popes concerning the liberties of the churches in Scotland, were committed by the king to the custodie of one Gilbert archdeacon of Dunfermline, who succeeded next after the foresaid Adam in the see of Caithness. In the third yeare after, as king Alexander with his mother Margaret were sitting at their banquet on the twelfe day of Christmas, other wise called Yule, the earle of Caithness, hauing good opportunitie thereto, presented himselfe before the king, and besought him of grace and pardon for his passed offense. King

Alexander taking ruth & pitie of him, restored him (vpon his fine to be paid in maner as was agreed betwixt them) vnto all his former honors, lands and possessions. Neuer thelesse the offense that was pardoned by man, was afterward punished by the iudgement (as some thought) of almightie God: for he was slaine as he lay in bed one night by his own meniall seruants, whome he had roughlie intreated, as the same went. The house also wherein he was thus slaine, was likewise set on fire and burnt ouer him, that no man should haue suspicion of his slaughter, but that it might seeme as though it had come by some sudden aduenture.

About this time, or somewhat before, there came into Scotland (sent by saint Dominicke) certeine blacke friers, of which order the same Dominicke was the first author. These men that were first sent by him, liued according to his institution, more perfectlie than such as folloved: for as it often happeneth, althings commonlie from a god beginning fall into worse estate, so that the successors of those men declined from all god religion, into most insolent abuses and misorders, and so continuing in vicious liuing the space of three hundred yeares, at length were perfectlie reformed into a better rule, by a frier named John Adamson, that proceeded doctor in the profession of diuinitie in the vniuersitie of Aberdeen, at the same time that Hector Boetius the Scottish chronographer proceeded there in the same facultie. On the same maner, about the selic same time, were sent into Scotland, as well as into all other parts of the christian world, friers minors, of saint Francis his order. Manye of them also after his decesse fell to dissolute liuing, keeping no such streit rules, as both he prescribed, and also obserued.

But now to returne to the residue of the historie. The Scottish people intoted peace a long time after the appeasing of the trouble in Caithness, till time that Alane lord of Galloway and constable of Scotland departed out of this life; and for that he had diuided his lands before his death amongst his three daughters, his bastard sonne gathered an armie of 10000 men, in hope to attaine the possession of Galloway by force of armes; but at length, after he had wrought much scath in the countrie by his violent inuasion, he was slaine with five thousand of those that toke his part, by the earle of Mar, and Walter Stewart of Dunwald, which was sent against him with a power. The eldest daughter of the aboue mentioned Alane of Galloway, was giuen in marriage vnto Roger Quince earle of Winchester, who after his father in lawes decesse, was made constable of Scotland, which office continued in the hands of his succession, till king Robert the second his daies; in whose time this Roger of Quinces posteritie was disherited and ertingulished, for certeine offenses committed against the kings maiestie, and then afterwards the office of the constable was giuen to the Daies of Arroll. The second daughter of the foresaid Alane was married vnto John Ballioll; & the third to the earle of Albemarle. Thus was the lordship of Galloway diuided into three, by reason whereof the inhabitants of that countrie, taking displeasure therewith, cleaued vnto the aboue mentioned bastard, till he was vanquished and slaine, as before ye haue heard. This trouble being appeased thus within the realme, king Alexander was aduertised of great diuision rising betwixt king Henric of England and his nobles, and therefore to helpe forwards an agrement betwixt them, he went to London with his wife queene Jane, and Isabell his sister. Through his earnest diligence, all the debates and quarels were remoued, and the parties thoroughlie accorded. Which being done, he married

Caithness to be pardoned by man.

The earle of Caithness murdered by his seruants.

The first coming of blacke friers into Scotland.

John Adamson.

The first coming of friers minors.

The death of Alane lord of Galloway.

His bastard sonne raised a commotion.

The earle of Mar.

Roger Quince earle of Winchester constable of Scotland.

The diuision of the lands of Galloway.

King Alexander.

married Isabell his sister vnto the earle of Hozfolke, and in the meane time his wife quene Jane decaised, without leauing anie issue behind hir, which chance caused the king hir husband to returne with great griefe and lamentation into Scotland. In the yeaere next following, which was after the incarnation 1239, king Alexander (because he had no succession begot of his bodie) married at Kocksburch the daughter of Angelram lord of Coucie, a virgine of excellent beautie named Marie, on whome he got a sonne named Alexander, which succeeded after his decaise in the gouernement of the realme.

About the same time, John Cummin earle of Angus, being sent in ambassage to Lewes the French king, died by the way. Also at Haddington was holden a roiall toynament, where knights and esquires advanced the miselues by valiant prowesse to win hono: neuertheless the end of all that pleasure and pastime ended in sorow. For Patrike Cummin earle of Atholl was slaine within his lodging in the night, and the house set on fire and burned ouer him, to the intent no suspicion should rise, but that it happened by some euill misfortune, and negligence of fire. But yet was John Bissart, with Walter Bissart his uncle theodlic suspected for the matter, inasmuch that though no euident profe could be had against him, yet were they banished the realme, and lost all their goods by confiscation to the kings vse. After these things were thus passed, a conuocation was called of the cleargie at saint Johns towne. In the which were diuerse prouinciall ordinances and statutes, made by consent of the king and nobles of the realme, which were obserued in the church of Scotland vnto these late daies. About the same time also, one Somerleid thane of Argile, the sonne of that Somerleid of whome ye haue heard before, following his fathers steps, rebelled against the king, soze indamaging by rodes & forages the parts bordering vpon the confines of his countrie of Argile, till at length the earle of March brought him to the bynke of such extreme necessitie, that he was faine to yeld himselfe, with a cord about his necke in token of submission; and being so brought before the king, obtained pardon of his heinous offense.

In the same season, Henrie king of England, prouoked by the setting on of such seditious persons remaining in his court, as trusted by wars to aduance their priuat gain (during which time lawe and iustice haue no place) began to build a castell iust against Berwike, in the same place where the other was begun afore by king Richard, which (as before is shewed) was rased and thowen downe by king William, by the articles of agreement with covenant that it should neuer be builded vp againe. This attempt of the Englishmen had ministred sufficient occasion of warre, if the nobles of England (considering that the building vp of this castell was contrarie to their bond and promised faith) had not staied the worke, and so therevpon that beginning of new trouble betwixt the English and Scottish nations for that present ceased.

In the yeaere following came ambassadors forth of France into Scotland, declaring that B. Lewes was ready to passe forward on that iourne, which he had taken in hand to make into Ierowie, and therefore desired aid of king Alexander, to support him in those warres against Gods enemies. With these ambassadors were sent ouer into France, certaine chosen bands of men of warre under the leading of Patrike earle of March, David Lindsay of Glenelke, and Walter Stewart of Dundonald, three captains of great wisdome, and perfect experience in feats of chualrie. The most part of all those Scottishmen, that thus went forth in that iourne,

perished in Aegypt either on the sword or by sickness, so that few or none of them returned home againe. From henceforth, king Alexander liued not long: but falling into a fore and grienous sicknesse within a certaine Ile called Carnere, not far distant from the coast of Argile, decaised in the same Ile shortly after, in the 51 yeaere of his age, the 35 of his reigne, and of our redemption 1249, his bodie (according as he had commanded in his life time) was buried in Helrosse.

After that Alexander the second was thus dead and buried, his sonne Alexander the third of that name, not passing nine yeres of age, was proclaimed king. There was no small adoe on the daie of his coronation amongst the nobles, for that by reason of the obseruation of starres, it was iudged to be an infortunate daie for him to receite the diadem. And againe some held opinion, how he ought to be made knight first, before he were crowned; so that thus they were at strife together, in such earnest maner, that it was doubted, least this contention would haue bred some great inconuenience, had not the earle of Fife preuented the same, in causing vpon a sudden the crowne to be set vpon the kings head, being placed in the marble chaire, according to the custome, without regard to the striculous allegations of them that spake to the contrarie. When the solemnitie was ended, there came before him an Hillandman (for so they call such as inhabit the mountaine countreies of Scotland) who in a kind of meter of the Irish language, saluted him as king, thus: Bennach de re Albin Alexander, mak Alar, mak William, mak Henrie, mak David, and so forth (reciting in maner of a genealogie or pedigree, all the kings in order of whome he was descended, till he came vp to Cathelus the first beginner of the Scottish name & nation.) The words in English are as followeth: Haile king of Albine, Alexander the sonne of David, the sonne of Alex, the sonne of William, the sonne of Henrie, the sonne of David, and so forth as before. This Hilland Scot was highly rewarded by the king for his labour, according as was thought requisite.

In the second yere of his reigne, king Alexander (or rather such as had the gouernement of the realme vnder him) assembled together all the prelates and barons of the realme at Dunfermling, and there ordeined to take vp the bones of his grandmother quene Margaret, which being done, he caused them to be put into a shaine of silver, the 21 day of Iulie, and minding to place the same where it resteth at this present, as it was borne forth toward that place, when the bearers came against the sepulchre of hir husband king Malcolme, they were not able to remoue the reliques anie further, till by the counsell (as is said) of an aged man that was then & there present, they toke vp the bones of the same Malcolme also, and bare them forth with theirs to the place aforesaid, where they after rested in great veneration of the people. Such as were appointed gouernors (during the minority of king Alexander) doubting least the tender yeres of their soueraign might embolden the enemies of the realme to attempt some inuasion, sent ambassadors vnto Henrie king of England, requiring that the peace might be ratified anew with him and his people, and further to make a motion of marriage to be had betwixt king Alexander and a daughter of king Henries.

Shortly after, vpon this motion, both the kings met at Forke with a great number of lords, as well spirituall as temporall of both the realmes, where king Alexander (according to the promise before that time made) married the ladie Margaret daughter to the forenamed king Henrie, on saint Stephens day.

The death of king Alexander the second. 38. 10. Ma. but that can not be.

Alexander.

Alexander the third crowned

An infortunate day.

The earle of Fife preuented the occasion of further troubles.

The salutation of an Hilland man.

The translation of quene Margarets bones.

They were affianced in the daies of king Alexander the faire, as in the English chronicle it may appear.

An interuiew of the kings of England and Scotland.

As it is.

in

I 250.

in Christmasse, with all solemnitie and ioyfull mirth that might be deuised. The charges wherof were borne partlie by king Henrie, & partlie by the archbishop, who in feasting those princes spent right liberallie. At length, king Alexander after he had solaced himselfe in the companie of his father in law king Henrie a certeine time, returned into Scotland with his new married wife. During the minority of k. Alexander, the realme of Scotland was gouerned in great prosperitie by the nobles: but after his comming to ripe age, he was informed of certeine extortions done by some of the pères of his realme against the poore people, and thereupon determined to see redress therein. Amongst other there were accused of such transgression, the earles of Menteith, Atholl, and Buchanane, with the lord of Strabogie, which were of one surname, that is to saie, of the Cumins. These being summoned to appeare before the iustices, with one Hugh Aberneth, and other of their complices, upon their contempt so to do, were proclaimed traitors, and as the Scottish men tearme it, put to the horne.

The fore said lords moued with this displeasure, purposed to reuenge the same, and assembling their powers in secret wise, took the king at Linroslie, and brought him into Strathkelting, where they kept him as captiue in ward a long time after. Through which aduerture much harme ensued, by reason of mistrusted persons, that wrought manie oppressions against the people, in hope to escape the due punishment for their mischievous acts provided, with the king who should haue bene iustice ministered, was holden in captiuitie by his presumptuous aduersaries. But of this matter ye maie see moze in the English chronicles, about the 39 yere of Henrie the thirde. The house of the Cumins was in those daies of great power within the realme, both in multitude of offspring, riches, lands, possessions, and maintenance. There were at the same time to the number of 32 knights of that surname within the realme, all men of faire possessions and reuenues. But as it often happeneth, that men of great possessions and dominion are had in suspicion with the prince, whereby the same is for the moze part the cause of their ruine and fall, speciallie when they presume to farre upon their high power: so it chanced here. For within a short time after that the king was thus taken (as before is shewed) the chiefe author of the whole conspiracy, that is to saie, the lord Walter earle of Menteith, who was highest in authoritie among all those Cumins, was poisoned (as was thought) by his owne wife, through which mischance the residue of the Cumins were so exanimated, that obtaining their pardon, for all offenses passed of the king, they did set him againe at libertie.

This woman did thus make awaie hir husband the erle of Menteith through instigation of an Englishman called John Russell, as by coniectures it was suspected; namely, for that refusing to marrie with anie of the Scottish nobilitie, he took the said Russell to husband, though in estate to be compared with hers, he was iudged a match farre vnmét, and thereupon constrained to flie with him into England, he died there in great miserie. About this time pope Urban the fourth of that name instituted the feast of Corpus Christi, to be celebrated each yere on the Thursday after Trinitie Sunday. The Carmelite friers came at this time into Scotland, and erected a chappell of our ladie without the walles of saint Johns towne, which the bishop of Donkeeld appointed them, therein to celebrate their seruice. It was also said, that in this season a monke of Melrose was admonished in a dreame, where he should find a part of the holie crosse, not far from Drepis in Low-

thian, inclosed in a case ingrauen with the title of S. Nicholas. And not farre from the same was likewise found a stone chest, right cunninglie wrought and ingrauen, wherein were found certeine bones wrapped in silke, but whose bones the same were it was not knowen. As soone as the case was opened, within the which the crosse was included, manie miracles were wrought (as it was then believed) king Alexander for deuotion hereof, builded an abbey in honor of the holie crosse, in the same place where that peece of the crosse was so found. In this abbey after, wards there were monks inhabiting of the order of the Trinitie.

Not long after, the two kings of England and Scotland met together at Marke castell, accompanied with a great number of the nobles and gentlemen of both their realmes, for the redresse of certeine misorders committed betwixt the borderers. Such reformation also was here deuised, and recompense made on either side, that both the realms continued afterwards in moze perfect tranquillitie for a certeine space, than euer was seene in anie kings daies before that time. In this season was the church of Glasco finished in that perfection as it stands to be seene at this day, right sumptuously builded, for the most part at the charges of William bishop of that se, who liued not long after the finishing of the said worke. In the yere following, which was the yere after the birth of our Saviour 1263, there fell a great dearth through both the realmes of England and Scotland, by reason of the wet harvest preceding, so that the corne and graine was quite marred and corrupted before it could be got before the ground.

Acho king of Norwaye, being informed how the Scots were thus oppressed with famine and other miseries, by report of them that made the same moze than it was in deed, supposed to find time and occasion fit for his purpose, to subdue them whole to his dominion. Hereupon, preparing an armie and a fleet of ships conuenient for such an enterpryse, he landed with the same in the westerne Isles, on Lammas day otherwise called Petri ad Vincula. Those Isles continued vnder subiection of the Norwegians and Danes, from king Edgars time vnto the daies of this Acho. From thence the said Acho with a mightie power of his Danes and Norwegians came ouer into Aran and Bute, which are two Isles, and onelie at that time amongst all the residue were vnder the dominion of Scots. But Acho hauing quicklie subdued them at his pleasure, in hope of moze prosperous successe, transported his whole armie ouer into Albion, and landed with the same on the next coasts, where after he had besieged the castell of Aire a certeine time, he took the same, and began to waste and spoile all the countrie thereabouts.

King Alexander being soze affonied with these newes, for that he was young, and not able (as it was doubted) to resist the force of his enemies, imboldened upon such frequent victories as they had achieved, thought best to prolong the time by colour of some treatie for a peace, that waie to diminish the enemies force, by long solozning in campe without trial of anie battell. Whereupon were ambassadors sent vnto Acho, of the which one amongst them appointed thereto, being well languaged and wise, at their first coming before him spake in this manner.

Where it not that our king & nobles of the realme (by an ancient custome obserued euen from the beginning) doe his first to seeke redresse of all iniuries received; before they offer to be reuenged with the sword; ye should not now behold orators sent vnto you to talke of concord, but a mightie armie in ordi-

Complaint made of the Cumins.

The Cumins put to the horne.

The king taken by the Cumins.

The great power of the Cumins. Thirtie and two knights of one surname. The height of great families the cause of their fall.

The earle of Menteith is poisoned.

The king set at libertie.

John Russell an Englishman.

The feast of Corpus Christi instituted. The first coming of the Carmelite friers.

A part of the holie crosse found.

In this abbey built.

An interuall March. Paris. Somewhat that in the year 1256, both k. Alexander & his wife came into England to visit king Henrie, where they found as woodstoke, as in the English chronicle further appeareth.

I 262. A great dearth.

Acho king of Norwaye.

The westerne Isles vnder subiection of the Danes & Norwegians.

Acho landed in Albion.

The castell of Aire besieged and taken.

King Alexander's purpose to infect his enemies.

Ambassadors sent to Acho.

The oration of one of the ambassadors.

nance

stance of battell comming towards you to giue the onset. We are of that opinion, that we neuer get to much gaines by victorie of the enimies, no though they haue robbed and spoiled our confines, but that we account it much better to haue peace, if we may haue restitution of wrongs done to vs, by some manner of honest meanes. For what greater follie may be, than to seeke for that by fier and sword, which may be purchased with faire and quiet wordes. Neuertheless, when our iust desires and reasonable motions are refused of the enimies, when we find them not willing to haue peace (for the obtaining whereof all warres ought to be taken in hand) but rather that their onelie seeking is to haue warres, not respecting the quarrell: we are ready to rise whole together in reuenge of such contempts with all possible speed and violence against our aduersaries. We are sent therefore from our king and souereigne, to inquire what occasion you haue thus to invade his realme and subjects, in violating that peace and league, which hath bene obserued and kept betwixt vs and your nation, the space of this hundred yeres, and not onelie to take from him his two Isles of Bute and Aran, but also to invade the maine land of his dominions, with such crueltie, as neither consideration of age or person seemeth to be had; but that women, children, and feeble old persons haue passed by the sword, as well as those that haue stood at resistance with weapons in hand against you. What heinous offense haue the Scottismen at anie time committed either against you or anie other (whose reuengers ye may seeme to be) that they should deserue to haue such crueltie shewed against them? What furious ire hath moued you to burne the churches of God and his saints, with the murder of his people that flee into the same for safegard of their liues? But if you deade not God that governeth all things (by his diuine providence) which here in this world we see; if ye deade not the saints nor vengeance to come on you by the punishment of the righteous God: ye ought yet to deade the two most puissant kings of Albion, alied together in bond of amitie and mariage, which shall come against you with such puissance, that ye shall not be able to resist the same. Therefore sith ye may depart with honoz, we on the behalfe of him from whome we are sent, do admonish you, that better it is for you to redresse such iniuries as ye haue already done, and therewith to repaire home, than to adventure to be brought vnto such desperate ends, that when ye shall be constrained to seeke for mercie, the same in no wise will be granted vnto you. These wordes were spoken by the ambassadores, vpon purpose to put some terroz into the hart of this hardie king Acho.

Neuertheless he was abashed so little therewith, that he answered them in this manner. Your beliefe is (I perceiue) ye ambassadores, to abash vs with your fierce and awfull wordes, supposing vs so weake harted, that we should leaue off our enterprize through your menacing threats: but ye are farre deceiued, sith your imagination be such. And where ye exaggerate our iniuries done to you in taking from you certeine Isles, we perceiue you are not met nor indifferent persons to be chosen for iudges in that cause, neither do we mind to learne of you, what we ought to esteeme right or wrong in such behalfe. If ye desire further to know and vnderstand the cause why we haue invaded Aran and Bute, we saie and affirm, that not onelie those two Isles pertaine to vs and our people by god title and ancient right of inheritance, but also all the other Isles of Scotland, as we are able by firme evidences sufficiently to proue. And therefore are we now come to take presentlie so much in value out of Scotland, as ye haue taken in

issues and profits out of those Isles in times past from vs. Shew then to your king, that we feare neither his menacing wordes, nor yet anie other violence that he can shew against vs. Notwithstanding, if he be more desirous of peace than of battell, and lusteth to auoid the spoiling and burning of his towne, and slaughter of his people; or if he desired not to see the utter extermination of his realme afore his eyes, command him to send vnto vs forthwith ten thousand marks sterling for the fruits of our lands taken by and receiued by him and his elders in times past, and further that he make a cleare resignation of all claime or title that he may seeme to pretend vnto the said Isles, in such sort that the same may passe vnder our dominion in perpetuitie without anie contradiction.

When king Alexander had heard what the answer of his enimie was, he was therewith soe moued, & perceiving no waie to eschue the battell, but that he should be constrained to trie fortunes chance, he assembled together an armie of fortie thousand men, that though he were not able to match his enimies in prouelle, he might yet passe them in number. He diuided his host into three battells. In the right wing was Alexander Steward, a very valiant knight, nephew to that Alexander which indowed the abbeie of Dablie. He had with him all the men that came forth of Argile, Leuenor, Atholl, and Galloway. In the left wing was Patrike Dunbar, hauing with him the men of Louthian, Fife, Mers, Berwick, and Strathelyne shire. In the middle ward was the king himselfe, with all the remnant people of the other parts of Scotland, to succour the wings when danger appeared. These battells were ordered in such arraie, that euerie band had a capteine assigned to them of their owne language, to exhort them to manhood, thereby to win praisse and honoz.

At his entring into the confines of Conningham, where he came first within sight of his enimies, he called his people together, and exhorted them to do their dutifull indewors like hardie and valiant men, against those enimies that invaded their countrie without anie iust cause or title of warre, and to put their trust in almighty God, desiring him to grant victorie vnto that part, which had most right and iustest cause of battell. He further shewed how necessarie it was for them to behaue themselves valiantlie, and how much it stood them in hand to fight with manlie courages, in defense of their wiues, children, liberties, and lands, hauing no hope of suertie of life but in the valiant vsing of their able hands, so that their whole safegard rested in this point, either to vanquish their enimies with manhood, or else to lue in seruile bondage as their flanes and miserable thral, and to suffer their wiues and daughters to be abused at their lust and pleasure. He willed them therefore to consider, that not onelie he, but all Scotland should see them fight that day, noting both their manhood & cowardise. But sith their cause was iust, and moued onlie in defense of their native countrie and ancient liberties, he trusted they would shew the more hardinesse and courage, namelie against them that sought onelie blood and spoile. These words other the like wordes king Alexander uttered with bold spirit, to encourage his people. And on the other part king Acho likewise thought it expedient to vse some exhortation vnto his armie, that they should not be afraid of the great number and huge multitude of the Scots.

The chiefeest point to encourage them to do valiantlie, he supposed was the hope of spoile, and therefore he put them in remembrance, how by victorie not onelie all such riches as the Scots had brought thither with them (which could not be small) but also

ming into Scotland.

his demand.

King Alexander assembled his power.

The ordering of the Scottish host. Alexander Steward leader of the right wing. Patrike Dunbar capteine of the left wing. The king in the middle ward.

King Alexander exhorted his people to do valiantlie.

Hope of suertie in what point it rested.

The necessitie of the cause.

Desires of blood & spoile.

Acho's exhortation to his people.

Hope of spoile encourageth men of warre.

High enter-
prises atch-
ued with ex-
treme perill.

The ordering
of the battels.

The battels
toine.

The ballance
of the kings.

The great
number of
Scotishmen.

The left wing
of the Norwe-
gians are put
to flight.

Acho's nephue
is slaine.

The maine
battell of the
Norwegians
fleeth.

all the whole substance and treasure of the realme to be at their commandement, yea and the realme it selfe, if they minded to enjoy it: so that this was the day which they had so much desired, wherein sufficient opportunitie was offered to shew what reward should follow to each man for his good and valiant service. But for that high enterprizes and famous exploits might neuer be atchieued without extreme jeopardy, it behoued them to attaine to these so great commodities by perishing thorough, and ouerthrowing by dint of sword the arraied battels of their enemies, which how easie a matter it should be for them to bring to passe, such as well considered the circumstances, might some coniecture. For through dearth and famine which so long hath reigned amongst the Scotch people, their bodies and forces (saith he) are so wonderfullie infabled, that they appere to represent rather shadowes than full personages of men able to make resistance.

Againe, in consideration how necessarie it was for euery man to fight without fainting, sith they were inuironed on each part without meane to escape, he desired them, that if it so fell out, that they should chance to be overcome (which as he trusted should not come to passe) that in such misadventure they would yet sell their liues deere, and not to die vncouenged. Thus hauing opened vnto them what prosperous hap followed by victorie, and what danger by the ouerthrow, he thought to haue sufficientlie instructed them to put all feare aside, and to do what lay in their uttermost forces to vanquish the enemies. The kings on either side, hauing thus exhorted their people to do their deuours, they arraie their battels. Acho disposed all his best souldiers and whole force of his armie in the middle ward, for that he had knowledge how the Scotch king was placed in the middle battell of his people: wherefore he supposed, that if he might ouerthrow and vanquish that part where the king stood, he should easilie then put the residue to flight. His wings (because he had not number sufficient to furnish them fullie) were arraied more weakelie in slender and thin ranks: but yet at the first encounter there was a terrible fight betwixt them, especiallie where the two kings fought: for they pressed still with great violence on that part where they saw any danger, not ceassing to exhort & encourage their men to stand to the bargain with manlie stomachs, so that on either side these two kings played the parts of verie valiant capitains.

Acho with a band of verie hardie souldiers assailed sundrie times to perse and disorder the battell where king Alexander fought: notwithstanding he had so great number of people there with him, that he stuffed even the ranks with fresh men where he saw it needfull. Also betwixt the wings, there was no lesse crueltie shewed on either side in the beginning of the battell, till at length the Norwegians, perceiving themselves overpressed with multitude, and compassed in on euery side, did somewhat begin to shrinke, and first those in the left wing, constrained to breake their order, fell to running afoate. Alexander Steward therfore, that had the leading of the right wing of the Scots, hauing pursued the enemies a certaine space, and slaine Achos nephue, a man of high reputation and authoritie amongst the Norwegians, caused the retreat to be sounded, and gathering his men againe into aray, brought them against the enemies of the middle ward, where was hard hold betwixt the two kings, the battell continuing with great slaughter on both parts, and incertaine a long while to whether part the victorie would incline: but the Norwegians being now assailed on the backs by a new power of their enemies, at length they began to flee amaine.

In the meane time, the left wing of the Scots, whereof one Patrike had the leading, was in great danger, by reason the capteine himselfe was fore wounded, and thereby all the companies in the same wing sore discomfited: but after they once beheld how the middle ward of their enemies was put to flight, they recovered new courages, and with great force caused their aduersaries, with whom they were matched, to giue backe also: and so were the Danes and Norwegians chased by the Scots, with verie cruell slaughter through all Cunningham, not ceasing from the pursute of the enemies, till night made an end of that dales worke. King Acho with a fewe other escaped out of danger, and comming to the castell of Airc, which (as ye haue heard) he had wone before, he was there informed of an other losse which he had sustained: for his fleet containing the number of an hundred and fiftie ships, were so beaten with an outrageous tempest, that there were not past foure of all that number saved, the residue being drownded and broken against the rocks and cliffes. The mariners also, being constrained to come on land for safeguard of their liues, were slaine by the people of the countrie, so that few of them or none at all escaped.

Acho being thus abashed with these two unfortunate mishances, aswell for the losse and discomfiture of his armie by land, as for the perishing of his naue on the seas, got him vnto those foure ships that were saved, and sailed with them about the coast, till he arrived in Orknie. In this battell, which was fought at Largs on the third day of August, in the yeere 1263, there were slaine of Danes and Norwegians 24 thousand, and of Scots about five thousand. Thus saith Hector Boetius. But Fourdon saith not to agree altogether herewith, who writing of this inuasion made by the Norwegians into Scotland, saith, that they were but twentie thousand men of warre in all, imbarcked in foure score ships, which comming to the new castell of Aran, besieged as well the said castell of Aran, as the castell of Bute, and toke them both, spoiling also the churches along the sea coast, and after arriuing at Largs in Cunningham, on the feast of the natiuitie of our ladie, lost the most part of their vessels, which were drownded together with thousands of men in the same. The residue that got to land, encountering with the Scots led by Alexander Steward of Dondonald, were discomfited, put to flight, chased & drownded in the sea, into the which they were driuen. Amongst other that were slaine, a nephue of king Acho was one, a yong gentleman of great ballance, and so lamented of his uncle. Acho had much ado to escape himselfe, he was so egerlie pursued of his enemies.

Thus haue I thought good to shew the diuersitie of writers in this behalfe, that it may appere how things are sometimes amplified by Boetius, to aduance the glorie of his countreymen, further perhaps than by the simple veritie of those that did write before him, may in some points be well auerred. But now to proceed. King Acho at his comming into Orknie, sent into Norwaie and Denmarke for a new armie, providing ships & all other things necessarie, to haue made a new inuasion into Scotland against the next spring: but for that he himselfe departed out of this life in the beginning of the yeere next following, all that purueiance and great preparation was dashed, and came to none effect. The same day that Acho deceased, that is to saie, the 21 day of Januarie, Alexander prince of Scotland, the eldest son of king Alexander, whome he begot on his wife queene Margarete, the sister of Henrie king of England, was borne, to the great reioicing of the people. For the people conceiued double ioy & gladnesse.

The left wing
of the Scots
in danger.

The Danes
and Norwe-
gians chased
by the Scots.

The losse of
Acho's ships
by tempest.

The losse of
the mariners.

Acho's flight
to Orknie.

1263.

John Fourdon

Acho prepared
to make
new inuasion
into Scot-
land, but died
before his pre-
paration was
made.

Alexander
prince of
Scotland, the
eldest son of
king Alexander,
whome he begot
on his wife
queene Margarete,
the sister of
Henrie king of
England, was
borne, to the
great reioicing
of the people.

me to hereof, because that both a new prince was borne, and that crumie dead which sought the destruction of the whole realme. After the deceasse of king Aho, his sonne Magnus succeeded him, a verie faithfull prince, and one that had the feare of God before his eyes.

In the second yeere of his reigne, he sent his ambassadors of whome the chiefe was the chancellor of Norwaie unto king Alexander, whome they found at saint Johns towne, and there signified unto him, that king Magnus their maister would willanglie give out all his title, right, and claime unto Aran and Sute, so that the residue of the Isles might remaine in quiet possession of him and his successors in time coming. Herevnto was answer made by king Alexander, that the Isles by right of old inheritances pertained unto him and his progenitors kings of Scotland, and therefore he might not make any agreement with the Danes or Norwegians, till he had recovered the full possession of the same Isles.

The ambassadors being dispatched and sent awaie with this answer, incontinentlie Alexander Steward of Hallowe, and John Cummin were sent with an armie over into Aran, which Isle they then recovered (though not without blood) out of the hands of the Danes and Norwegians, who had kept the same in possession now for the space of 167 yeeres passed, but not without some alteration and trouble, as may appeare by the annales of Richard Southwell, a writer (as should seme) well instructed in matters as well touching Scotland, and the north parts, as also concerning the state of the out Isles. And therefore that the same may the better appeere to the readers, I have thought it not unpertinent to set downe what I have read in the same Southwell, touching the kings, or rather viceroies of Aran, and those Isles which for a season (as should seme in deed) were subduted by the kings of Norwaie, though it may also appeare, that sometime there was a certeine succession in them, as from the father to the sonne, & from the brother to the brother, &c. in manner as if it had bene by waie of inheritance.

In the daies of king John therefore (as saith the foresaid Southwell) one Godred reigned as king in Aran. And in the yeere 1228, one Reginald being king of those Isles, was murdered by wicked persons, & then his brother Olave reigned in his place. In the yeere 1230, the king of Norwaie appointed one Husbar, the sonne of Olmund surnamed Haren, to governe the said Isles called Sodorlenes, that is to say, the Isle of Aran, & the other Isles thereabouts the coasts of Scotland; the which Husbar, together with two other captains Olave and Godred, surnamed Don, came by sea, and arrived at Sute, where they wan the castell: but Husbar was slaine with a stone that was throwne downe upon him. And then after this, the foresaid Olave and Godred came unto the Isle of Aran, where they divided the kingdome of the Isles betwixt them, so as Olave had Aran allotted to him for his part, and Godred the other Isles. But after that Godred was also slaine, Olave goverened both in Aran, and in all the other Isles: those excepted which the sonnes of Somerleith held in possession. In the yeere 1227, in the moneth of Maie, Alane king of Aran, the sonne of Godred, & brother to Reginald, departed this life, after whose deceasse his sonne Harold succeeded him, and reigned 12 yeeres, being but 14 yeeres of age when he began his reigne.

In the yeere 1247, Haco king of Norwaie sent for Harold king of Aran to come unto his coronation, who coming thither, was honorable received, and obtained king Hacos daughter in marriage: but as he returned from thence, in the yeere 1249,

together with his wife, they perished in the seas by a tempest on the coasts of Ireland. Then succeeded his brother Reginald, who reigned but 27 daies, for he was slaine the first of June the same yeere, by the servants of a knight called Puarus. Then Harold the sonne of Godred Don goverened Aran one yeere, being removed by the king of Norwaie: & after him Magnus the sonne of Olave began his crigne over Aran & the other Isles, by consent of the Hantsmen themselves. But in the yeere 1254, one Puarus was ordeined king, or rather viceroie of those Isles, & goverened the same, till the foresaid Magnus king of Norwaie resigned his title to all the said Isles unto king Alexander (as ye have heard) who placed his lieutenants there, of whome the first was called Godred mac Spares, the second Alane. And after him Maurice Chastaine succeeded; and then followed one that was the kings chaplaine.

For the time of the resignation made, I followm Hector Boetius, by reason of some contrarieitie which appeareth in Southwell in the account of the yeeres assigned to the reignes of those Island kings, if you confer the same with the time of the foresaid resignation. But now to the matter. The lieutenant appointed to have the rule of those Isles, now that they were thus come into the hands of the Scots, was bound by his office to be readie with thirtene ships, and five hundred mariners to come to the aid of the Scots, at all times when he should there to be required. After this, were the earles of Atholl, Carrike, and Sparch, Alexander Steward, with the thanes of Argile, and Lennox, sent with a puissant armie unto the other of the wessterne Isles, the which those that were greatest, they brought with much a do under the obsequance of the crowne of Scotland, the residue submitted themselves.

Magnus king of Norwaie informed hereof, sent thither his chancellor in ambassage unto king Alexander, to trie if he might by treatie recover againe those Isles: and if he might not bring that to passe, yet to comprind with him for a pecunie tribute. The first motion of the chancellor: would in no wise be heard, therefore surceasing to spend any longer time about it, they fell in communication touching the second, which took effect at length in this wise. King Magnus by his letters under his great seale, renounced and gave over his right or claime that he had or might have, both for him and his successors to all the Isles of Scotland. And king Alexander for this resignation was agreed to paie the said king of Norwaie, four thousand marks sterling, together with a pension or tribute of an hundred marks by yeare. And for the more confirmation of love and amitie betwixt the two kings and their people, Margaret the daughter of king Alexander, being not past one yeeres of age, was promised in marriage unto Hanigo, the sonne of king Magnus, the same marriage to be consummat when she came to yeeres mariable. Further, in place where the greatest slaughter of Danes and Norwegians had bene made, it was covenanted that an hospitall should be erected & founded there, for the sustentation of poore folks.

About this season, there were great warres in England betwixt king Henrie and his barons, of whome the chiefe was Simon Montfort earle of Leicester, and divers other. King Henrie being not well able to withstand his adversaries attempts, requested King Alexander to send him some aid of Scots to subdue the rebels of his realme, that had arreared warres against him. Hereupon shortly after, was Alexander Cummin, with five thousand chosen men, sent by king Alexander into England, who right ballantlie bare themselves in that war which king

1249.
Reginald.
He began to
reigne the first
of June.
Puarus.
Harold.

Magnus.

1254.
Puarus.

Lieutenant or
baillie of the
Isle of Aran
under the
Scots.

The wessterne
Isles recovered
out of the
hands of the
Norwegians.

The chancellor
of Norwaie
sent ambassa-
dor to king
Alexander.

The residue of
Magnus
king of Nor-
waie to the
Scottish Isles.

A pecunie
pension.

Margaret K.
Alexander's
daughter.

Warre in
England.

King Henrie
required aide
of the Scots.

Alexander
Cummin sent
into Eng-
land.

Robin Hood
and little
John his
companion.

A legat from
pope Clement

The legats
demand.

The answer
of king Alex-
ander to the
legats mes-
sage.

The more pre-
cepts the more
offendoys.

King Alex-
anders wife
dome praised
by king Hen-
rie.

A thousand
marks sent to
the pope.

Scottish cap-
tains sent in-
to Affrike.

1270.
Thomas
earle of Car-
rike.

Martha
daughter to
the earle of
Carrike.

Robert
Bzufe.

Robert
Bzufe married
to Martha
daughter to
the earle of
Carrike.

king Henrie held against his barons, whereof in the English chronicle ye may read more at large. In these daies (as the translator of Hector Boetius hath witten) that notable and most famous outlaw Robin Hood lived, with his fellows little John, of whom are many fables and merie tests deuised and song amongst the vulgar people. But John Maior witteth that they lived (as he doth gesse) in the daies of king Richard the first king of England, 1198.

In the yere next and immediatlie following, after that Henrie king of England had subdued his domesticall enemies, there came a legat from pope Clement the fourth, requiring him to haue a collection of monie in Scotland towards the charges of leueng an armie against the Saracens. But this legat was not receiued into the realme, but commanded to shew his message vpon the borders. He demanded therefore of euery parish-church in Scotland foure marks sterling, and of euery abbey foure score marks. And to the end he might the sooner purchase fauor to the furtherance of his purpose, he deuised by the way certeine statutes and ordinances right profitable to be used in the realme of Scotland, as he iudged. But king Alexander for answer hereunto alledged, that the Scots minded not to receiue anie statutes or decrees, other than such as were ordeined by the pope, or some generall counsell: for by a generall rule; The more precepts, the more offendoyes are alwaies found. And as touching the request made for the collection of so great summes of monie, it was not thought necessarie, that so much coine should go forth of the realme: neuertheless if it were thought expedient, he would be contented to send forth at his owne proper costs and charges, a number of armed men to go with the christian armie against the Turks: but for monie otherwise forth, the realme would not depart with anie, least it should be wastfullie spent, or taken by the way of theues, as it had bene aforesayd.

Henrie king of England passed much the worse doime of king Alexander for this his answer, as he declared shortly after by his sonne prince Edward, who came to visit his sister the queene, and his brother in law king Alexander at Norburgh, where they met him; for ye must vnderstand that king Henrie had also learned by experience to be wise in that behalfe, as well as others. King Alexander yet after this sent vnto the pope a thousand marks in silver: and vnto the French king, that required his aid in that iournie which he made into Affrike against the Saracens there, a thousand souldiers, vnder the leading of the earles of Carrike & Atholl, John Steward brother of Alexander Steward, Alexander Cummin, Robert Beth, George Darward, John Quincie, & William Gordon. All these going ouer with him. Leues into Affrike, died there, either vpon the enemies sword, or by the intemperat heat of that countrie (where to they had not bene accustomed) in the yere after the incarnation 1270. The earle of Carrike, whose name was Thomas, perishing thus amongst the residue in Affrike, left no inheritor behind him to inioy his lands, leaving a daughter named Martha, being then about fiftene yeres of age. This yong lady, chancing to ride on hunting in the woods for pastime and solace, as she vsed, was fortunely aduentured to meet with a noble yong man one Robert Bzufe the sonne and heire to Robert Bzufe the lord of Anandale in Scotland, and Cleueland in England, begot of Isabel the second daughter of David earle of Huntingdon. The lady die immediatlie became so inamored of this yong gentleman, that she led him with hir home vnto Carrike, where (without making hir friends priue to the matter) she married him in all hast, least anie

man should be about to hinder hir determined purpose. Of this marriage was borne that Robert Bzufe which after wards (through want of heires of the linage of king Alexander) attained the crowne of Scotland. As soone as Alexander was aduertised hereof, he took such indignation that he should bestow hir selfe so lightlie vpon one whom he neuer saw before, that he seized hir castell of Turneburgh into his hands, with all hir other lands and possessions, as it were by escheat, for that she had married without his consent. Notwithstanding, within short while after he took pittie on hir case, and for an easie composition of monie which he paid for hir marriage, restored to hir againe all hir lands and liuings, suffering hir to inioy hir husband without anie more trouble or veration. In the third yere after, the said lady was deliuered of the afore-remembered Robert Bzufe that was after king of Scotland. And the same yere, which was the yere after the birth of our Saviour 1274, David the second son of king Alexander deceased; and the third yere after, the byethzen of Edward king of England came into Scotland to visit the queene their sister, & their brother in law the king: after which attend them in their iournie to London, whither they went to be present at the coronation of the foresaid Edward, as then returned south of Affrike after the deceasse of his father king Henrie, to take vpon him the gouernment of the kingdome descended vnto him by right of inheritance. He was crowned the same yere on the day of the assumption of our lady in August, with great solemnitie and triumph.

At the same time there was a flozeman in king Edwards court, of such passing strength of bodie, that he ouerthrew all men with whom he wrestled, till at length one Fergushard a Scottishman boine of the countrie of Rosse, descended of noble parentage, vanquished him to his great praise & aduancement in honor: for king Alexander in guerdon of so worthe a deed there done in the presence of so honorable an assemblee, gaue vnto him the earldome of Rosse for euermore. Of this Fergushard succeeded five earles all of his surname, but the first earle was named William Rosse, otherwise Leslie, in whose sonne the seuenth earle failed the dignitie of that house for fault of succession. At the same time prince Alexander king Alexanders sonne did homage vnto king Edward for the earldome of Huntingdon, as the Scottish writers doe testifie. Shortly after that king Alexander was returned south of England at that time into Scotland, his wife queene Margaret deceased, and was buried in Dunfermling. She bare by him two sonnes, Alexander and David, and one daughter named Margaret, which (according to the assurance before made) was married about thre yeres after hir mothers deceasse, vnto Hango, or rather Aquine king of Portugal, and deceased in the second yere after the solemnization of the marriage, leauing behind hir a daughter named also Margaret.

But before this hap fell so out, euen immediatlie after the death of queene Margaret the mother, hir yonger sonne David deceased: by reason whereof king Alexander being carefull of his succession, procured a marriage for his elder sonne prince Alexander, with the earle of Flanders his daughter, the which being brought into Scotland, was married vnto the said prince in Jedburgh, on the sunday after the feast of saint Martine in winter, in the yere of our Lord 1279. The feast of this marriage was holden with great triumph and solemnitie continuallie for the space of fiftene daies together. This yere a number of the Scottish nobilitie, which had attended the lady Margaret into Portugal, were lost

King Alex-
ander
with the
king of
France

Robert
Bzufe that
was after
king of
Scotland
1274

King Alex-
ander
with his
wife the
queene came
to London

A flozeman
of passing
strength
Fergushard
Scottishman
ouerthrew
the said
flozeman

The earle
dome of
Rosse
named
William
Rosse
alias Leslie

The death
of
queene
Margaret

The marriage
of
king
Alexanders
daughter
prince of
Scotland

The death
of
David
sonne
of
king
Alex-
ander

The marriage
of
king
Alexanders
daughter
prince of
Scotland

1279

lost by shipwacke; as they would haue returned
backe againe to Scotland after the consummation
of hir marriage there with king Harigo of Aquine.
Shorlie after, by the force of deaths dreadfull dint,
two greivous losses chanced vnto king Alexander,
the one following in the necke of another. For first
his eldest sonne prince Alexander, being not past
twentie yeares of age, departed out of this worlde,
withont leauing anie issue behind him; and not long
after, his daughter Margaret queene of Forwaie
deceased also, leauing behind hir one onelie daugh-
ter (as before is mentioned) being as yet but an
infant.

In the same yere was a generall counsell holden
at Lions, the pope and a great multitude of the pre-
lates of christendome being there assembled. To
this counsell were summoned to appeare all the pro-
uincials, wardens, and ministers of the begging
friers. And so; that there were so manie sundrie or-
ders of them, each man deuising of his owne baine
some new alteration; all those orders were reduced
into the foure orders, which after by the church of
Rome were approued and allowed. A generall com-
mandement was also given, that no man should go
about to begin anie new forme of such baine super-
stitious orders, which appoint themselves to eschue
labour, to the end they may liue in pleasure, lust & idle-
nes, vpon the trauell of other mens bowes. In this
mean time after that the christian armie was retur-
ned home out of Affrike, by reason of a truce con-
cluded with the Solban, the same Solban that truce
notwithstanding ceased not to make great slaugh-
ters and inuasions vpon those christian men that re-
mained behind. The christian princes soe moued
herewith, made their appells for a new expedition
into the holie land. The Scots gaue the tenth partie
of all their lands, or rather (as some bookes say) the
tenth part of all tithes belonging to churches, to the
furtherance of this iourne: notwithstanding through
such enuie and contentions as rose amongst the said
princes, that iourne brake, to the great damage and
preiudice of the christian faith.

King Alexander hauing lost his wife and chil-
dren in maner as is before expressed, not onelie hee
himselfe, but also all Scotland was in great pen-
suene and sorrow, each man by a certaine fore-
lodgement and misgiuing in mind, doubting the
misshap that might thereof insue. But yet did king
Alexander, by the aduise of his nobles, in hope of
new issue, marie the daughter of the earle of Cham-
paigne in France, named Yolant. The mariage was
celebrated at Jedburgh with great feasting and tri-
umph: but that ioy and blisshesse indured not long
after. For the same yere on the 18 day of Aprill, as
he was galloping vpon a fierce horse at Kingorne,
forcing him in his race somewhat rashlie, he was
tholone ouer the west cliffe towards the sea by a
wonderfull misfortune, so rudelie, that he brake his
necke, and so therewith immediatlie died in the 42
yere of his reigne. He was buried at Dunferm-
ling, in the yere after the incarnation 1290. It is
said that the daie before the kings death, the earle of
Sparch a little before night, demanded of one Tho-
mas Leirmont, otherwise named Thomas the ri-
mer, or (as the translator of Hector Boetius saith)
Thomas Crillon (who in those daies was reputed
for a noble prophetier or (as we may call him) a sooth-
saier, what weather they should haue on the morow:
To whome the said Thomas answered, that on the
morow before none should blow the worst wind
and tempest that euer was heard of in Scotland at
anie time before.

On the morow when the skie appeared cleare
and bright, without cloud or anie other signe of foule

weather, and that it blew nere vnto the midst of the
daie, and no wind heard from anie side, but all calme
and quiet, the earle of Sparch sent for the forenamed
Thomas, and told him that he had mistaken his
marks, in prophetiering of anie such notable tempest
as he had spoken of the night before, considering it
prooued so lithe a daie, without appearance of anie
tempest to insue. This Thomas said little thereto,
saung that he said it was not yet past none. And
incontinentlie herevpon came a post to the castill
gate of Dunbar, where this earle of Sparch as then
laie, bringing word of the kings sudden death, as
before is recited. Then said the prophetier: That is
the scathfull wind and dreadfull tempest, which shall
blow such calamitie and trouble to the whole state of
the whole realme of Scotland. This Thomas was
a man in great admiration of the people, thewing
sundrie things, as they after ward chanced: howbeit
they were euer hid and inuolued vnder the veile of
darke and obscure speeches.

Anie strange wonders and unkinde sights were
seene in the daies of this Alexander the third. In the
17 yere of his reigne, there was such an infinit
number of wormes through all the parties of Al-
bion, that not onelie the leaues and fruits of trees,
but also flowers & herbs in gardens were eaten vp
and consumed with them. And in the same yere, the
waters of Forth and Tait rose with such high tides
in flowing ouer the banks, that manie towines and
villages were drowned, to the great destruction
both of men and beasts. In the 20 yere of his reigne,
there was a comet or blasing starre seene of a mer-
vellous quantitie, shining euerie day toward the
south, euen about none daies. On the Epiphanie
day next after, rose so great winds, with stormes of
such immeasurable great hailestones, that manie
towines were tholone downe by violence thereof.
In the meane time, rose through the vehement rage
of winds, a sudden fire, in manie bounds within the
realme of Scotland, that did much hurt to buildings
and edifices, burning vp steeple with such force of
fire, that the belles were in diuerse places melted, as
though it had bene in a fornace. Amongest other,
those of the abbeie of Abir:othose were most pesti-
ous, which were as then consumed together with the
steeple wherein they hong. The towines of Aberdeen
and Perth were burned the same time: also part of
Lainrike, with the temple, and all the towines and
villages in Clow, a part of Angus: and likewise
manie towines and other buildings in Louthian, and
in diuers other parts of the realme, so long here to
rehearse.

In the 21 yere of his reigne, was the first com-
ming of the pestilence into Scotland, with great
mortalitie of the people, where it hao not bene heard
that euer this sicknesse had come within that realme
before that time. In the solemnization of the second
mariage of king Alexander, as the bidegrome (ac-
cording to the manner) led the bride in a dance,
a great number of lords and ladies following them in
the same dance, there appeared to their sight as it
were closing vp the hindermost of the dancers, a
creature resembling death, all naked of flesh & lire,
with bare bones right dreadfull to behold. Through
which spectacle, the king and the residue of all the
companie were so astonied, and put in such fright
& feare, that they had quicklie made an end of their
dance for that time. In the daies of this Alexander
the third, liued sundrie great clearkes. Amongst o-
ther, Michaell Scot was reputed for an excellent
physician, and for his singular practise & knowledge
in that profession was no lesse esteemed and had in
high fauour with Edward king of England, than
with king Alexander, during his life time.

* This

The death of
Alexander
the third.

The death of
Margaret
queene of
Forwaie.

The counsell
at Lions.

The four
orders of
friers.

The com-
mandement
given
vnto the
friers.

The Solban
truce to
the christi-
an armie.

The Scots
contribution
to the holie
land.

Alexander
married the
daughter of
the earle of
Champaigne
in France.

Scottwell
buried from
the
ground
in re-
membrance
of his
death.

H.B.

1290.

H.B.

1290.

H.B.

1290.

H.B.

1290.

H.B.

1290.

H.B.

1290.

H.B.

1290.

Unkinde
sights and
wonders.

High tides.

A blasing
starre.

Great winds.

Fire caused
through wind.

Bells melted.

The first com-
ming of the
pestilence into
Scotland.

A strange
creature
in dance.

Learned men.
Michaell
Scot a phy-
sician.

Francis Thins
addition, to
this marke.)

The lawes of
Alexander the
third.

* This Alexander made manie healthfull and good lawes, whereof most by the negligence of men, and longnesse of time are woone away; so that things so profitable by him deuised, same rather by report to haue bene ordeined, than that they are by custome practised. He diuided the kingdome into foure parts, through which he made his progresse almost euerie yere, remaining about thre moneths in euerie place, there to sit in iudgement, and to heare the complaints of the poore, at what time the meanest person might haue free access vnto him. As often as he went into anye prouince to giue sentence of law, he commanded the gouernor of that place to receiue him with a chosen companie; and when he departed thence, to bring him to the borders of his iurisdiction, where he was honorably receiued of the next gouernors. The which traouelling about his realme he vsed, to the end that he might know all his nobilitie, and that he might also be knowne of all others. During which time of his progresse, no great traine or multitude of courtiers did follow him; because he would not charge his people in receiuing of them; and for that cause also abated and restrained the troope of horsemen which followed the nobilitie, and brought them into a certaine & meane number, because he supposed that the multitude of horses (whereof in warre there was no vse) were needlesse deuourers of meat. Further, he forbade his people to trauell by sea for gaine or merchandize, when he considered that through the unskillfulness of sailing, the rashnesse that men vsed in committing themselves to the seas, and the rapine of pirates, manie men were lost, and their goods spoiled: whereby the merchants were driuen to extream pouertie. Which precept when it had continued almost a whole yere, and by manie mens speeches was reprehended as dangerous and hurtfull to the weale publike, at the length there arrived such plentie of strange merchandize in Scotland, that the abundance and cheapenesse thereof did exceed the memorie of anye former age. But yet to take order with and for the benefit of the merchants, he forbade his people to buye anye thing brought in by strangers, but such as were merchants of his land, and that all the other people should buye of them such things as they needed.)

Scotland
without a k.
and gouernor.

Mischiefes
insuing for
lacke of a
king.

Six gou-
ernors chosen to
haue the rule
of Scotland.

King Alexander the third, being in such miserable wise deceased, as before is specified, the realme remained in great discomfort, by reason he had neither left anye issue behind him to succeed in the gouernment thereof, neither taken order in his life time by testament, or otherwise, for anye other to supplie the want of a gouernor, so that hereof insued such infinite misorders, by the presumption of wicked and brigatious persons, the which vpon hope to escape unpunished (because iustice was like to want due process) ceased not to attempt manie unlawfull acts, to the grievous oppression of the people: which misruled demeritors and disordered enterprises of those outrageous persons, when such as had anye zeale to the wealth of their countrie vnderstood dallie to multiplye and increase, they thought it appertained to their duties to prouide some remedie in due time, and thereupon called a councell together, wherein after sundrie consultations had, and manie matters debated touching the rule of the realme, it was finally agreed, that six gouernors should be elected and chosen, of the which thre should haue the administration and rule of the north parts, and these were William Fraser bishop of saint Andrews, Duncane earle of Fife, & John Cumyn earle of Buchquane. The other thre were appointed to the gouernance of the south countreies, that is to say, Robert bishop of Glasgow, sir John Cumyn (a man of high estima-

tion for his wisdom and experience as well in matters concerning peace as warre) and James high steward of Scotland.

But in the meane time Edward king of England, surnamed Longshanks, call in his mind, how he might make some conquest of Scotland, now the same was thus destitute of an head to gouerne it. And for that he well vnderstood that the daughter of Morwaie (of whom before ye haue heard) was right inheritor to the crowne of Scotland, though she were but verie young in yeres, & not able for marriage: yet to compasse his purpose that waies forth, he sent his ambassadors vnto the lords of Scotland, requiring to haue hir to wife, and the realme with all, as due vnto hir by good title and right of inheritance. The lords, after long deliberation betwixt them, consented to his desire, vnder these conditions, that the realme should remaine in all freedoms and liberties, without anye kind of seruaile subiection, in the same maner and state as it was vsed in the daies of king Alexander last deceased, and other his noble progenitors: and if it chanced, that no issue came of this marriage to succeed them, then should the crowne returne by remainder ouer to the next heirs of king Alexander, without anye claime or pretext of title to be made by king Edward, or anye of his successors in time to come.

Immediatlie herewith, two noble knights, sir John Scot of Albaluore, and sir James Menis, were sent into Morwaie to fetch the bride ouer into Scotland: but before their coming thither, she was deceased, & so they returned backe into Scotland againe without effect of their errand. And thus by means of hir death, all amitie betwixt Englishmen and Scots ceased. Then began to insue great trouble and businesse in Scotland, by reason of the contention which sprang betwixt the kinsmen of king Alexander, for the title and claime which they severally made and pretended to the crowne. There were thre chiefe that seemed by nearnesse of blood to haue most right, and therefore made most earnest sute in their claime: John Balioll, Robert Bruce, and John Hastings. This Robert Bruce was sonne to the son of that Robert Bruce, which married Isabel the yongest daughter to Dauid earle of Huntingdon, on whom he got a son named also Robert, that married the inheritor of Carrick, as we haue shewed before, whose sonne this Robert Bruce was, that now claimed the crowne. John Balioll came of Margaret, eldest daughter to the foresaid Dauid earle of Huntingdon: for Alane lord of Galloway, which married the said Margaret, begot on hir two daughters, of the which the eldest named Dornogill, was giuen in marriage vnto sir John Balioll, father vnto this John Balioll, that thus made claime to the crowne: alledging that forsomuch that he was come of the eldest daughter of earle Dauid, the brother of king William, he ought by reason to be reputed as next heire to the same king William, with none other person alius approached so nere vnto him in blood.

* Here I thinke it convenient before any more be spoken of this historie, to interlace somewhat (besides that which is alreadie spoken, being here in part repeated) of the descent of this Dornogill, the daughter of Alane lord of Galloway, beginning the same somewhat higher, in this sort. In the reigne of William I. of Scots, which began in the yere of Christ 1160, as faith Lesleus, lib. 6. pag. 226, Fergusius gouernor of Galloway left two sons, Gilbert, and Ethred, who after the death of their father, fell at variance for the lands of Galloway, to be diuided betwixt them in equal portions. This hall coming to the eares of king William, he was desirous to quench

How can the
be true, for
the Crowne
had a wife at
that time: but
because the
Scottish lawe
ters them
themselves as
successors
to much
lice in most
things which
they write in
the daies of
the Crowne

The daughter
of Morwaie
deceased.

The conten-
tion betwixt
the kinsmen of
A. Alexander
for the crowne
shew more of
this matter in
the English
histories.

The entree
of Robert
Bruce.

The line of
the Balioll
which by right
to the crowne.

Fr. Thin.

Buchanan.

Wil. Parvus
nameth him
Ethred.

quench those flames of unkindnesse betwene the said brethren, and for that cause with indifference (as he supposed) he ment to pacifie and satisfie each part, by diuiding the inheritance equallie betwene them. But Gilbert highlie taking this partition in grudge (because he was eldest, & that the whole inheritance belonged to him) did with like hatred pursue both the king and his brother, the one as enuious against him, and the other as an vnequall iudge, in giuing his right from him. Wherefore when king William was taken prisoner of the Englishmen, this Gilbert being of bold spirit (and now by the kings mishap out of all danger, being deliuered from the feare of anie law) began to bitter his conceiued hatred till this time couertlie concealed. For vpon the sudden, he took his brother prisoner, put out his eyes, cut out his tongue, and not contented with a simple death (to be giuen vnto him at one instant) did most miserable a long time together put him to paine, by dismembryng the severall parts of his bodie, before he should die. After which wretched fact against his owne brother, he ioined himselfe to the English nation, and taking prizes on the borders, he did unnaturalie and traitorouslie (as it were an vtter enemy to his countrie) rage against his owne citizens, with all kind of murder and slaughter of battell. In which he did such harme, and so great oppression, as if he had not bene resisted by his nephew Rowland (gatheringe a strong power to him of such common people as remained stedfast in dutifull obedience to the imprisoned king) he had vtterlie spoiled all the countreies adioining to England, or else would wholie haue brought them into his subiection. For this Rowland a lustie yong gentleman, bold of spirit, indued with noble strength of mind and bodie, did not onelic beat downe the force of his vnkle, but did manie times (and that sometimes most happilie) fight with the English, when they spoiled his native soile, or that he made anie inuasion into their borders.

At length when king William was deliuered of restraint, and returned into Scotland, this Gilbert (notwithstanding all his former euils) by the mediation of his friends, found fauor in the king, and was pardoned of all his offenses, but yet so as he promised to make recompense of all such damages as he had committed; for the sure performance whereof, he found sufficient pledges to the king. But Gilbert shortly after departing this life, they which had served vnder him, giuen by continuall vse vnto theft and blood, did yeld themselves to the fauourable protection of the king of England, either for inconstancie of mind, or feare of punishment, being touched with remorse of conscience for the euill which they had before committed. These men thus shadowed vnder the wings of England, did againe take armes against their countrie, vnder the conduct of Gilpatrick, Henrie Kennedie, and Samuell, who before had borne anthors and executors to Gilbert, of all such euils as were by him perfoymed. Against whom was Rowland sent with an armie, who in a set battell slue the captaine, and a multitude of both kinds of the common people. They which escaped the conflict, did flie to the refuge of one Gilcombe, captaine of such persons as liued vpon spoile and pilfering, who by continuance of followers, & increase of people, were now growne to some number, & did wander ouer all Northian, robbing & spoiling in euerie place where they set foot: and not so content, did from thence passe into Galloway, where this Gilcombe took in hand the defense of Gilberts cause (now vtterlie forsaken of all men) vnder colour whereof, he not onelic challenged the inheritance belonging to Gilbert, but also behaued himselfe as chiefe lord of all Galloway. At length encountering with this

Rowland in the kalends of October (the third moneth after the companie of this Gilbert was before dispersed) this Gilcombe was valiantlie slaine, with the greatest number of his followers, by the said Rowland, on whose part there was verie few missing.

The king of England highlie offended therewith (because the yere before they had swozne themselves to serue faithfullie vnder him against their owne blood) came in haste with a maine armie to Carleill to seeke reuenge thereof. Which when William king of Scots vnderstood, he laboured by all the meanes he could, to appease the king of Englands displeasure, and to reconcile this Rowland vnto him. In the end the king of Scots wrought so with the English, that Rowland was admitted to come to Carleill to the presence of the king of England; the which Rowland did accordingly. At what time before the king of England, refelling the slanderous accusations of his aduersaries (and further declaring that he had done nothing either rashlie, or vniustlie against his and the common wealths enemy) he was honorably by the English king suffered to depart from Carleill. These things thus done, & king William returned into Scotland, he called to remembrance the continuall constancie and good seruice, which the father of Rowland had manie times done to him and to the realme; therewithall not forgetting the worthie exploits which this Rowland had of late performed for the common wealthe: for which considerations he worthilie recompensed the said Rowland, in bestowing on him the whole countrie of Galloway. And further (although he did not merit the same by reason of his fathers euils) yet the king mildlie considering, that the sonne was not to beare the offense of the father (but hoping by this vnderferued liberalitie, to bind him faithfullie to serue him) did giue the lands of Carrike vnto the sonne of the said Gilbert. All which William Parvus reporteth to haue happened in the yere of Christ 1183.

Rowland being thus made lord of Galloway, married the sister of William Home constable of Scotland, who dieng without issue, obtained the same office by inheritance in right of his wife, from whome did issue Alane lord of Galloway, and constable of Scotland, by inheritance from his mother, a valiant gentleman, and such a person as for his notable seruice (imployed in Ireland on the behalfe of John king of England) was rewarded by the said king with honorable and rich reuenues: for which by the permission of William king of Scotland, he possessed himselfe the liege man of John king of England, and sware fealtie vnto him. This Alane (as is before said) married Margaret the elder daughter of David earle of Huntingdon, of whome he raised three daughters, whereof the eldest being Dornagill, was married to Balioll, the second to Bruce: in right of which Dornagill, the sonne of this Balioll challenged the crowne of Scotland, as descended from the elder sister. On the other side Robert Bruce, albeit he was descended of the yongest daughter to earle David, yet was he come of the first issue male, for his father was first borne, and therefore if king William had deceased without issue, the crowne had descended to him: for which consideration Hastings also for his part, because he was come of the yongest daughter of king David, married to his father Henrie Hastings, wanted not allegations to propone, why he ought to be admitted. Beside these, there were other also, that made claime to the crowne of Scotland, and had matter sufficient to mainteine their sute. This controuersie being brought before the gouernors, was at sundrie times argued with much contention,

Gilcombe
slaine.

Rowland re-
stoyed to the
fauour of Eng-
land,

Rowland
made lord of
Galloway.

Carrike giuen
to the sonne of
Gilbert.

Rowland con-
stable of Scot-
land.

Alane lord of
Galloway, &
constable of
Scotland.

The title of
Robert Bruce

Hastings.

Which mat-
ter though not
likely to
be that in-
quid before,
yet it is
the crueltie
of the
sumpter.

Gilpatrick &
other spoile
Rowland.

Gilcombe
captaine
of his
countie.

Robert him-
selfe lord of
Galloway.

The doubt of
the gouernours

Fr. Thin.
Buchanan.

The title
doubtfull.

Fr. Thin.
Buchanan.
The nobles
swore to
stand to the
order of king
Edward.

This report
of the Scottish
writers smel-
eth altogether
of malice con-
cerned against
him, for that
he scourged
them so sore
for their
vnttruths.

Respect of
persons in de-
ciding contro-
uersies is not
to be confide-
red.

tention, not without the assistance of the nobles fauouring the parties, as occasion of friendship or kindred moued them, namelie Balioll and Bruce had no small number that leanevnto their parts, by reason whereof, the gouernours were in doubt to proceed to anie definite sentence in the matter, least if they declared one of them king, an other would attempt to stirre the crowne by force.

Whereupon they iudged it best to refferre the decision of all this whole matter to some mightie king, which was of puissance able to constrain the parties repugnant to obey his sentence. Wherevnto was none thought so meet as Edward king of England, and therefore they chose him. [Of whose faith and love towards them, they did not anie whit mistrust, because Alexander the last king of Scots had found the father of this Edward, both a louing father in law to himselfe, and byright tutor to his realme. Wherevnto also they ioined this cause of hope in king Edward, for that the said Edward had of late before tried the fauour of the Scots towards him, by a singular testimonie, in that they so easilie consented to ioine the heire of Scotland with the son of the said Edward.] Whereupon king Edward took this charge vpon him, as competent iudge, & promised by a certain day to come vnto Berwik, willing that their counsell might be assembled there against that time. At his comming thither, at the day assigned, and hauing heard what could be said on each part, and thoughtlie considering at length their allegations, he perceiued the same doubtfull, and required a longer time to discuss the truth by good aduise of counsell: and therefore required to haue twelue Scottishmen, the best learned and most skilfull lawiers of all the realme to be associat with twelue Englishmen, which he promised to chose forth of the most perfect and wisest clerks that might be found within all his dominions, to the intent that by their ripe and aduised debating of the matter, the truth might appere, according to the which he minded to giue sentence, without fauour either of one part or other. [Before which he toke a solemne oth of the ambassadors of Scotland, and such nobles as were there to stand to his definitiue sentence, further therevpon requiring a writing to be made, sealed with the seales of the same nobles.] After when all such matters and proses as were proponed by the parties, alledged by them for furtherance of their titles were put in writing, as matter of record, he returned backe againe into England.

¶ Where the Scottish writers report, that king Edward vsed himselfe nothing byrightlie in this matter, but accordinglie (as it often happeneth) had the eyes of his conscience blinded, vpon hope to gaine somewhat by this credit thus to him committed. But how vniustlie he is slandered in this behalfe, I leaue to the indifferent readers to consider, by conferring that which the Scots doe write thereof, with that which is to be found in our English historie. But to proceed as we find it in the Scottish writers. King Edward to be satisfied in knowledge of the truth, sent into France for men learned and of great experience in the lawes, that he might haue their opinions in the demands of the parties for their doubtfull rights. But (saith Hector Boetius) he first commanded them in no wise to agree vpon anie resolute point, but rather to varie in opinions, that when the plee should seeme doubtfull by reason of their contrarietie in deciding thereof, he might the better vnder that colour, giue iudgement with which partie he thought most expedient to serue his purpose.

Wherobit the most part of the lawiers iudged with Robert Bruce, both for the worthines of his person, and also for that he was come of the first issue male. But some there were that gaue sentence with John

Balioll, for that he was descended of the eldest sister, King Edward supposing this to be the time most conuenient for his purposed intention to conquer the realme of Scotland, returned to Berwik, where he had appointed the 24 learned men before specified, to be present, that final sentence might be giuen, according as he had before promised. When he was come thus vnto Berwik, and the foresaid 24 learned lawiers assembled as assistants with him, and the parties appering before him in a chamber provided for the purpose, he caused the doores to be shutlie kept, and the entries stronglie warded, that no man might come in or out, but by his appointment and licence. His purpose was to make him king, that would be sworne to hold the crowne of Scotland of him, as superior lord thereof. And because he knew that Robert Bruce was a man of singular manhood and wisdom, he thought best to assaie him first, and if he found him not conformable to his purpose, then he intended to trie what the Balioll would do.

When Robert Bruce had thoughtlie heard king Edwards motion, he answered that he weied the libertie of his countrie, more than his priuate preferment, and therefore minded not to deliuer his countrie (which euen to that day had bene free) into the bondage and seruitude of the Englishmen. King Edward perceiuing his stoutnesse of stomach, brake off with him, and fell in faile with the Balioll, who had such blind desire to attaine the crowne, that he passed not whether he inioined the same in libertie or seruitude, so he might haue it. Wherevpon when this Balioll had giuen his faith by assured oth vnto king Edward, that he would doe homage vnto him for the realme of Scotland, and acknowledge to hold the same of him as superior lord, king Edward gaue sentence with him, to haue most right to the crowne and realme of Scotland, now thus in controuersie.

It is said, that the earle of Gloucester, a man of great prudence and authoritie in England (seeing the Balioll thus made king, and Robert Bruce with out reason put backe) spake in this sort to king Edward: Oh king, remember what is done by thee this day, sparing to giue righteous sentence in this matter; for though the same be now couered and hid, it shall be reuealed, when the great iudge that searcheth consciences, and the secrets of euerie mans mind, shall cause thee to answer for it at the dreadfull day of that vniuersall iudgement: thou hast now giuen sentence on a king, but then shall iudgement be giuen on thee. Shortly after, John Balioll went in great arraie vnto Scone, where he was crowned king of Scotland on saint Andrews day, in the yere from the incarnation 1292. In the yere next ensuing, on saint Stephens day in Christmalle, he came to Newcastle vpon Tyne, and there did homage vnto king Edward for the realme of Scotland, contrarie to the mind and consent of all his nobles, for that by this meanes, he seemed to submit his realme (which had remained in freedom vnto those dates) into the seruitude of the Englishmen: but small felicitie succeeded thereof. And here it appereth by Buchanan, that the nobilitie of Scotland, which held with Balioll, did also their homage: for being farre from home, they durst not contend against the power of two kings. Whereof some taking it greivouslie in their hart, dissembled with the present time, and couered their anger under the cinders of a faire countenance, which yet in the end burst out, notwithstanding this painted shew. For the declaration and prose whereof, there was shortly after occasion offered to Spaldus, by the death of the earle of Arle, being in the time when there was no king made one of the six gouernours of the realme: for this earle was not anelie killed by these of Abirneithie

Edwards
commeth to
Berwik.

Thy purpose
of king Ed-
ward, as the
Scots doe
vnto him, see
page.

The earle
of Robert
Bruce.

The Balioll
promiseth to
doe homage
king Edward.

The story
of the earle
of Gloucester
the Scots
swore, that
he to be
true.
King Ed-
ward feared
man to be
great South.

John Balioll
crowned king
of Scotland.

John Balioll
doth homage
to king Ed-
ward.
So say the
Scottish writers,
but those
more iudged
in England.
Fr. Thin.
Buchanan.

which familie did them grea the flourish in riches and
antiquitie within Scotland; but the brother also of
the said earle was called into laie by the Abernethy-
ans, for whom the king in assemble of the states did
give sentence against the other. This spaketh after
the laie thereof the contention greiv was so adven-
ged, supposing therein the king to be more trust a-
gainst him than was cause, and that the king was
not so severe a revenger of his brothers death, as he
hoped that he would be; for sake the Balliol, and ap-
pealed to the king of England, before whom he com-
menced his sute against Balliol. The deciding there-
of was appointed to be holden at London, where was
an assemble of parliament of the nobilitie, after the
English manner, amongst whom this Balliol had
his place also.

John Balliol
king of
Scotland
was
summoned
to
appear
before
the
parliament
of
England
at
London.

The parliament begun and Balliol there summo-
ned as cited, would have answered by his proxy; as
attornies; but this, not being allowed, Balliol was
compelled to rise out of his seat, and to defend his
cause himselfe in an inferior place. Which contumelie
when he durst not at any time reasse, secretly
he still bare in mind, untill fit opportunity might ar-
rive for the revenge thereof. But when he would, and
then could not deliver himselfe of such disgrace; he
returned home with a mind of double anger, rol-
ling mountains of choler therein, who still branding
himselfe on everie side to satiffie his anger, dwelled
on this point; how he might reconcile the hearts of
his subjects; and offend the state of the English.
Whilist Balliol with this meditation was feeding
his hot stomach, a fit means was now offered to
perform his desire, by reason of the wars betwixt
groven betwixt England and France, as after
shall appeare. For upon this occasion of wars, king
Edward of England commanded this Balliol by
tenure of his land, & tenure of his homage, to come
with all the power he could prepare to aid him in his
warres against the king of France.

John Balliol
summoned
him

John Balliol

John Balliol
in England

John Balliol
in France

King John Balliol discontented herewith be-
came repentant, in that he had endangered himselfe
thus by doing his homage; and thereupon sent his
ambassadors to king Edward, as then sojourning
at London, to renounce his act touching the same
homage, alledging that for so much as it was done
without the advice of the three estates of Scotland, it
was of no strength in it selfe, and not meete to be
observed being done by force; for which cause he
would renounce his friendship and alliance, altho
for manie other reasons done unto him and his; as
for that he would seek to reduce his countie to his
former libertie. Which message when none of the
better sort durst take in hand to execute, a certaine
monke, or as other have the abbot of Aberbroth-
oc, carried these letters into England, upon the receipt
whereof, king Edward authorized the ambassadors
whom he sent with him, to require the king Balliol
that since he perceived (saith he) your king will not
come unto us, we intend specifically to come unto him,
whereunto the ambassadors departed. Whom (saith
Buchanan) could scarce returne home in safetie:
being at his returne into Scotland rather had in
contempt of his own people, than ever not remem-
bered for such an ambassage.

After this, king Edward the better to accom-
plish his purpose against the Scots, found means to con-
clude a peace with the king of France, and for the
more confirmation of the same peace, the French
kings daughter was given in marriage unto king
Edward his sonne. Partheke (as saith the Scot-
tish historie) he purposed when he had brought his
will once against the Scots, to invade France as
secretly as before, notwithstanding some bond of
amitie or marriage by him contracted. After this he

procured the friendship of Robert Bruce, and upon
promise (as it is to be thought) to make him king,
the same Robert delivered unto king Edward his
hands all such castles as he held in Scotland. John
Balliol the Scottish king, understanding that king
Edward minded to make a conquest upon him, sent
William bishop of Saint Andrews, and Spawthorne
bishop of Dunblay, with sir John Scotus, and sir
Ingram Umfraville into France, to renew the an-
cient league betwixt him and Philip the fourth, as
then king of France; which accordingly was done:
and for the more confirmation thereof, the eldest
daughter of Charles earle of Flanders and Artois,
brother to king Philip, was promised in mari-
age unto Edward Balliol, the sonne of king John,
which Edward should enjoy lands of yearly rents
& revenues to the summe of fiftene hundred pounds
sterling, in places not of the demaines belonging to
the crowne, as Ballieuville, Dampierre, Harcourt,
and Honezie, which his father held in France with
Lanarke, Midion, Spaldew, Cuninghame, and the
castell of Dundee, with the appertinances in Scot-
land: and hereto was annexed a promise, that if those
seignories and places exceeded the value of fiftene
hundred pounds of yearly revenues, then should
the surplusage remaine to the k. of Scotland: but if
the same amounted not to that summe, then should
the said king make them good, and supply the same
with other rents in Scotland, or otherwise, as should
be thought meet. And further, the said summe of
fiftene hundred pounds in yearly rent was assigned
as it were the dower of the said lady, to enjoy to
her selfe during her life after her husbands decease, if
her hap were to survive him.

Ex chron. A. 1
London, as 3
table II.

In consideration whereof, king Philip contri-
buted to content and pay unto king John in name of
the marriage monie, the summe of 40000 crownes,
or as other write, 25000 pounds sterling. The charter
containing the articles, covenants, and agree-
ments of this marriage and league above men-
tioned, beareth date at Paris, the 22 day of October,
in the yeare of our Lord 1295. And the letters pro-
curatorie made by king John to the said bishop of
Saint Andrews, & the other his associates, bare date
at Strimling, the third moneth of Julie the same
yeare. Wherewith heretofore, king John was adver-
tised that king Edward purposed to come and be-
siege Berwick; therefore by advice of his nobles
he sent the most part of all the lords and gentlemen
of Fife and Lothian unto Berwick, to defend the
towne against the enemy, if he came to besiege it.
The Englishmen came not onely with a mightie
power by land, but also with a great number by sea to-
wards the said towne of Berwick. Wherewith com-
ing the Scots being advertised, came forth &
gained those that approached by sea, broke 14 of their
ships, and chased away the residue.

Hector Boe-
con.
Abandon.

1295.

The gentle-
man of Fife,
and Lothian
sent to Ber-
wick to be-
siege the Eng-
lish men.

English ships
taken at Ber-
wick.

Berwick be-
sieged.

The policy of
king Edward
to lock Ber-
wick.

King Edward rather provoked than feared with
this misadventure, came with a farre greater pow-
er than before, to renew the siege: but when he
perceived his purpose took not so speedie effect as he
hoped it should have done, he devised how to take
this towne by some slightfull policie. Whereupon he
framed as though he would have broken by his siege,
and so raising his campe, withdrew a little from the
towne, and then having provided banners and en-
signes, resembling altogether such as blithe noble
men in Scotland used, he suddenly returned toward
the towne, carrying one of his footiers wearing a
a cross of saint Andrews above on their banner,
after the manner of the Scottishmen. There were al-
so sent before unto the towne, certaine Scots that
served the king of England, which gave knowledge
to the captives within the towne that their lord king
John

The Scots
deceived and
intrapped.

The cruelty
of the Eng-
lishmen.

Berwik is
won.

The 29 of
March being
good friday.

The abun-
dance of blood
spilled.
Streames
augmented
with blood.

The Scots
discomfited at
Dunbar.

The castle of
Dunbar ren-
dered to king
Edward.

Robert Bruce
occasion of the
overthrow of
Scots at
Dunbar.

Robert Bruce
submittech
himselfe to
Edward.

The answer
of king Ed-
ward to Ro-
bert Bruce.

The castles
of Berwik
burgh and
Strueling
wonne.

The castles
of Berwik
burgh and
Strueling
wonne.
King John
prisen into

John was coming with his armie to their suc-
cors. The Scots that were within the towne, be-
lieving it had bene most true, set open the gates, and
came forth against their king (as they supposed) to
haue receiued him with all ioy and gladnesse.

But when they came nere vnto the Englishmen,
they perceiued both by their language and habit what
they were: but this was not before the Englishmen
were hard at the gates, so that when the Scottishmen
would haue fled backe to haue got into the towne a-
gaine, the Englishmen pursued them so fast at the
heel, that they entered the gates with them, and so
tooke the towne with great slaughter, as well of the
souldiers and men of warre, as also of women, chil-
dren, and aged persons, without all ruth or compassi-
on, so that they left not one creature aliue of the
Scottish blood within all that towne. Thus was
Berwik wonne the 30 day of March, in the yere
1296. Such abundance of blood was spilled thro-
rough all parts of the towne (as the Scottish chroni-
cles testifie) that there at the falling tide the water
was not able to drine about the mills, some of the
same mills yet were now at a low water set on gate,
by reason the streames were so hugelie augmented
with blood. There were slaine about seven thousand
persons that day, with the greatest part of all the no-
bles and gentlemen of Fife and Louthian.

King John hearing of this slaughter of his people
at Berwik, in great desire to be auenged, gathered
his power, and sent the same forth against king Ed-
ward, with whom they met not farre from Dunbar,
and there incounting with him in battell, the Sco-
tish host was discomfited, the most part of the Scots
being either slaine or taken. The earles of March and
Arden, with 70 knights, fled to the castell of Dun-
bar, but they were besieged so streitlie by the Eng-
lish power, inuironing the castell on ech side, that in
the end they were constrained for lacke of vittells to
yeld themselves to king Edward, on condition to
haue their liues saued, which covenant was not ob-
serued; as the Scottish writers affirme: for king
Edward hauing got them into his hands, caused
them forthwith to be put to death. It was reported
that Robert Bruce vpon secret conference had with
king Edward before this battell at Dunbar, solli-
cited all his friends in the Scottish armie to flee vpon
the first iourning, which the residue perceiuing, were so
discomfited, that incontinentlie they threw awaie
both armor and weapon, and so were vanquished
without resistance.

Truth it is, that after this victorie, Robert Bruce
submitted himselfe vnto king Edward, requiring
him to performe his promise touching the right which
he had in the crowne of Scotland: howbeit he recei-
ued no answer to his liking touching that request;
for king Edward had no lesse desire to inuoy the king-
dome of Scotland, than Bruce, as the Scottish writ-
ters affirme. Therefore to cast off Robert Bruce
concerning his demand, he answered thus, as is
said, Belieue thou that we haue nothing else a do-
but to conquere realmes, and to deliuer them ouer
again vnto thee: Robert Bruce hereby perceiuing
the subtil meaning of king Edward, returned right
sorrowfull vnto his lamie in England, hauing great
indignation in his mind, that he had obeyed king
Edward's requests: but yet considered with him-
selfe that he must suffer for the time, till occasion
serued to reuenge the injuries receiued, which he
intended to do, and that in most cruell manner, as at-
terwards it will appere. King Edward after he
had thus wonne the castell of Dunbar, got likewise
both the castles of Berwikburgh and Strueling, and
prisen king John till he had constrained him to
take for his wife the daughter of a French knight.

John Cumin lord of Strabogie came to king Ed-
ward, and was sworn his liege man.

Shortlie after, by a politike practise of the same
John Cumin, king John with his sonne Edward
came to Mountrios, where perceiuing himselfe vi-
tuelie to be fallen into the hands of king Edward,
through feare of death which he doubted by reason of
the menacing words of king Edward, he suffered
himselfe to be spoiled of all his kinglie habiliments,
and with a white wand in his hand (as the manner is)
presented himselfe before king Edward, resigning
there vnto him all his right and title which he had to
the crowne of Scotland, vtterlie renouncing the
same both for him and his heires for euer. Hercof
was a charter made in most sufficient wise, confir-
med with the hand and seale of king John, and other
the nobles of Scotland substantiallie as might
be deuised, bearing date the fourth yere of his
reigne. After this, king Edward assembled all the
lords and barons of Scotland at Berwik, where he
caused them to be sworn his liege men, and to do
homage vnto him as to their soueraine lord and
supreme gouernor. Which William de Bogle (a
man of noble birth and famous for his deeds) re-
fused to do, and for his obstinacie was cast into prison,
where after a few yeares he ended his life. And for
the more suertie of their allegiance, he constrained
them to surrender into his hands all the strengths &
holds of the realme, both as well those that stood on
the sea coasts, as also such other as were situat in the
inner parts of the countrie.

These things done, and order taken in each be-
halfe as was thought requisite for the quiet keeping
of the countrie, he sent king John and his sonne
Edward Balioll vnto London, where they were
kept in strong ward; till at length he suffered the
said king John to returne into Scotland: but lea-
uing still his sonne in pledge behind him, least he
should attempt anie new rebellion after his depar-
ture; which after was deliuered at the request of the
pope. King John vpon his returne into Scotland,
perceiuing that he was in the hatred both of his
lords and commons, he withdrew againe of his
owne accord into England, forsaking wholie the
administration of the Scottish dominion, and final-
lie went ouer into Normandie to his ancient inhe-
ritance and lands there, where at length falling
blind, and wasting away by long age, he departed
out of this world in the castell Gallard, leaving
those lands which he possessed on that side the sea, vnto
his sonne Edward Balioll, who being released
out of captiuitie, was come ouer to his father be-
fore his deceasse.

In the meane time, king Edward hauing well in
remembrance the warres which he had intended to
make against France, had he not bin staied through
the businesse of Scotland, purposed not to pursue
the same with all diligence; & therefore garnishing
all the strengths & forts in Scotland to withstand
the Scots, if they attempted anie rebellion against
him in his absence, he appointed Hugh Cressing-
hame regent there, whilst he should be occupied in
France, which Cressingham before was treasurer.
Then hauing provided a great number of ships, he
passed ouer into France, trusting that the Scots
would not stur, till they had of late suffered so ma-
nye overthrowes and losse of men after an other
the last wars: but tyrannie is of such a nature, that
being kind of acquisition it may anie long time be
hugelie defended. If those people that are compe-
lled by anie tyrannicall ferocity, will not fall in with
to deliver themselves from the yoke of that oppres-
sible burden when soeuer opportunity of time and
occasion serued. Therefore the lords of Scotland
hauing

the castle of
Foulaire

John Bruce
king of Scot-
land right
all his right
to king Ed-
ward.

Thereto.

Homage of the
barons of Scot-
land to king
Edward.

Fr. Thin.

The helms of
Scotland de-
liuered into
king Edward
his hands.

John Bali-
oll kept as
prisoner in
England.

He returned
into Scot-
land.

He renoun-
ced the admi-
nistracion of
Scotland.

He returned
into France,
and deliuered
in Castell Ga-
lard.

King Ed-
ward his
purpose to re-
make France.

Hugh Cress-
ingham re-
gent of Scot-
land.

King Ed-
ward batt-
led by the
Scottish
armie.

having knowledge that king Edward was passed over the seas, they got them all together straight waies, and assembled in counsell at Strueling, where by generall agreement, twelve noble men were chosen to be gouernors of Scotland, euerie one in their limits appointed, that they might the better provide to resist the enimie. Amongest these gouernors, John Cumin earle of Buchquhan was principall, a man of great wisdom and singular knowlege in all affaires, as well of peace as of war. This earle of Buchquhan raised a mightie armie, and with the same entered into Northumberland, where he wasted with fier and sword all that countie. After this, he laid siege to Carleill, but he wan nothing there, the towne was so well defended. In that season also, the same of William Wallace began to spring, a yong gentleman of so huge stature and notable strength of bodie, with such skill and knowledge in warlike enterprises, and hereto of such hardinesse of stomack in attempting all manner of dangerous exploits, that his match was not anie where lightlie to be found. He was sonne to one Sir Andrew Wallace of Craigie, knight, and from his youth bare ever an inward hatred against the English nation. Sumorie notable feats also he wrought against the Englishmen in defense of the Scots, and was of such incredible force at his coming to perfect age, that of himselfe alone, without ail helpe, he would not feare to set vpon three or foure Englishmen at once, and vanquish them. When the same therefore of his worthie aas was notified thozough the realme, manie were put in god hope, that by his means the realme should be deliuered from the seruitude of the Englishmen within short time after. And hereupon a great number of the Scottis nation as well of the nobilitie as other, were readie to assist him in all his enterprises. By reason whereof he might not easilie be intrapped nor taken of the Englishmen, that went about to haue got him into their hands. At length, when occasion serued to vse the helpe of such a notable chieftaine, he was chosen by generall consent of the Scottis men as gouernour vnder John Ballioll, to deliuer his countie from bondage of the English nation. At the same time manie abbeies & spirituall benefices in Scotland were in Englishmens hands. Neuertheless, this William Wallace by commission had of William Fraser bishop of saint Andrews, auoided and put them forth of all parts of Scotland, leauing neither temporall nor spirituall person of their blood within that realme. For shortly after, by publike authoritie, he received the armie that John Cumin earle of Buchquhan had led before, and constrained those Scots that fauored king Edward, to obeie his commandements, in renouncing all such faith and promise as they had giuen or made vnto him.

This done, he passed forth with great puissance against the Englishmen, that held sundrie castles within Scotland, and with great hardinesse & manhood he wan the castles of Forfair, Dundee, Brechen and Mountrous, sleaing all such souldiers as he found within them. Wallace now full of this his prosperous successe, and hearing that certeine of the chiefest captains and officers of those Englishmen that kept the castell of Dunnoter, were gone forth to consult with other Englishmen of the forts next to them adjoining, came suddenly to the said castell, & toke it, not leauing a man aliue of all those whome he found as therein within it. Then after he had furnished that hold with his owne souldiers in most defensible wise, he went to Aberdeen. The towne he found in manner void of all the inhabitants, but the castell was so strongly garnished with man and munition, that

considering it might not be toone without great murder, he raised from thence, and returned into Angus. King Edward as then being in France, hearing of these exploits achieved by this Wallace his aduersarie, sent diuerse noble captains vnto his lieutenant Hugh Cressingham, with an armie into Scotland to redresse the matter.

Wallace in the meane time had laid siege vnto the castell of Couper, but now being aduertised of the coming of this armie against him, he raised his siege, & went to Strueling to defend the bridge there, that Hugh Cressingham with his armie should not passe the same, according as the report went his intent was to doe. Here encountering with the enimies, the third Ides of September, he obtained a verie worthie victorie, for he slue not onlie the foresaid Cressingham with a great part of his armie being passed the riuer, but also forced the residue to flee, in such sort, that a great number of them were drowned, and few escaped auaile with life. Thus hauing gotten the vpper hand of his enimies here at Strueling, he returned againe to the siege of Couper, which shortly after vpon his returne thither, was rendered vnto him by those that were within in garison. There were manie of the Scottis nobilitie the same time, that sent vnto him, offering to leaue the king of Englands part, and to aid him with monie and vittels, if he would onlie receiue them into fauour, wherevnto he granted. By which means, sundrie other castles were yelded vnto him, the which after he had garnished with men, munition, and vittels (according as was thought requisite) he brake vp his campe, and went with sundrie of his most faithful friends vnto the castell of Strueling.

Afterwards perceiving that through scarcitie of corne, great dearth arose on each side within the realme of Scotland, he deuised which way he might best relieue the peoples necessitie and lacke in that behalfe, and hereupon he determined to passe with a mightie armie into England, and to sojourne there the most part of the winter, in sustaining the whole number of his men of warre on such provision as they might find within the bounds of their enimies countie. He commanded therefore that all the Scots, appointed to go with him in that iourne, should be readie at a certeine day and place prefixed. But diuers of the northerne Scots (as they of Aberdeen and other) for that they disobeyed his commandements set forth by letters and proclamations, were hanged as rebels and traitors to their countie. By whose example, other being put in feare, his commandements were the better obeyed, so that hauing got together an huge host of men, he entered with the same into Northumberland, wasting and spoiling the countie euen vnto Newcastell. Thus putting the enimies in great feare and terror of his awfull name, he brought his armie backe againe into Scotland, laden with spoile and glorie of their prosperous achieved iourne. They entred into England (as Io. Maior writeth) about the feast of All saints, and remained there till Candlemas after, liuing still vpon the spoile of the Englishmens goods.

Edward king of England, being informed of the great slaughter of his people, and that damage the Scots had done in Northumberland, returned in great displeasure out of France into England, and sent his ambassadors vnto Wallace, fore menacing him, for that he had invaded his realme in such cruel wise in his absence, which he durst (as he sent him word) full little haue done, if he had bene at home himselfe. Wallace herevnto answered, that he had taken the aduantage for the achieving of his interest, touching the inuasion of England, in like sort as king Edward had done for the conquest of Scotland.

Hugh Cressingham sent into Scotland

Hugh Cressingham slaine at Strueling and his armie discomfited by William Wallace.

The castell of Couper rendered to Wallace.

Dearth in Scotland. The policie of Wallace to relieve the peoples lacke in time of dearth.

Disobedience punished.

Wallace invaded Northumberland.

Fr. Thin.

R. Edwards message vnto Wallace.

The answer of Wallace to R. Edwards message as the Scots doe write.

land, at such time as he was chosen by the nobles of the realme as indifferent iudge in decision of the right and lawfull title of the parties that stroue and were at contention for the crowne. And further, to the end it might appeare vnto king Edward, that he invaded England in defense of his owne native countrie, and that he was solliche bent to imploie his whole indewor to deliuer the same from all maner of subiection to any foireine power, and to reuenge the iniuries done to them by the Englishmen in times past; he willed the English ambassadoys to declare from him vnto king Edward, that he purposed to hold his Casser in England (if God afforded him life) and that in despite of king Edward, and all such as would beare arms against him.

Wallase entered England with an armie of 30000 men.

And vndoubtefullie according to his promise he kept his day: for assembling together an armie of 30000 men, he entred into England at the time before appointed, where king Edward was ready with an armie vpon Staneshmore, double in number to the Scots, to giue them battell: but when the time came that both parties were ready to haue ioined, the Englishmen withdrew, hauing no lust (as should seeme) to fight with the Scots at that time: who perceiuing them to giue backe, incontinentlie would haue rushed forth of their ranks to haue pursued in chase after them: but Wallase (doubting least the Englishmen had ment some policie, and saing (as writeth Io. Ma. lib. 4. cap. 14.) that it was honor enough for him that he had inforced so mightie a prince in his owne countrie to forsake the field) caused the Scots to keepe together in order of battell, and so preserving them from the deceitfull malice of their enemies, brought them backe into Scotland with liues and honors saued, besides the infinit spoiles and booties which they got in this loine.

Wallase is enuied.

R. Edward invadeth Scotland.

Wallase raiseth a power to resist him.

Strife for the leading of the vanguard.

But as in the beginning all men were glad to support Wallase in all exploits and enterprises which he took in hand, so afterward when his fame began to war great, to the derogation of other mens renownes, such as were farre his superiours in birth and linage, that saue which manie bare him at the first, was now turned into enue, hauing no small indignation, that a man of so base parentage should so surmount them in all honor and dignitie. Those that enuied him most, were of the Cummins blood, and Robert Bruce. King Edward being aduertised of this enuious grudge, and new sedition amongst the nobles of Scotland, had secret conference by his agents with the chiefe amongst those that thus enuied the high glozie of Wallase, and vpon trust of such practise as was concluded by reason of the same conference, he came with a mightie armie into Scotland, and at Falkirke met with this Wallase, who mistrusting no guile, had raised a power to resist him: but now being come in sight of the Englishmen, there rose a right odious contention betwixt the head capteins, who should haue the leading of the vanguard, which is reputed a most high honor amongst the Scottishmen. And among other, John Steward, and John Cummin, thought some, that Wallase a man of so low beginning, should be preferred before them in that honour: but on the other part, Wallase considering that the charge of the whole was giuen vnto him by agreement and consent of the three estates, thought it no reason that he should giue place to anie of them, though vnto his face, as saith John Maior, the lord Steward had before vpbraided him with his pride, comparing him to an owle, which from his originall had begged a feather of euerie bird, and being now enriched with abundance of feathers, did aduance himselfe aboue all other birds.

In the meane time came the Englishmen vpon

them right fiercelie, before the Scottish chiefeins (hauing their breasts filled with more malice one against another, than with desire to defend their countrie against their enemies) could bring their men in to anie perfect arate. Herewith at the coming to the point of ioining, the Cummins with their retinues fled out of the field, and left the residue of the Scots in all the danger. Robert Bruce seeing that day among the Englishmen, fetched a compasse about an hill, and came on the backs of the Scots, so that they were in maner compassed in, and beaten downe on each side: yet Wallase left nothing vndoone that might pertaine to the dutie of a ballant capteine. But at length, all his indewors notwithstanding, the Scots (ouerfet with multitude of enemies, as the Scottish writers affirme) were slaine in such huge numbers, that he was constrained to draw out of the field, which such small remnants as were left alive. The Englishmen pursued fiercelie after him, and namelie one ballant capteine named Freere Wyland, a templer, whom Wallase perceiuing to be within his danger, stepped forth vnto him, and stode him there in sight (as it is said) of all the English armie. Which ballant act of Wallase caused the Englishmen somewhat to staie, for doubt of further perill by their vnwise pursue likele to befall them.

In this unfortunate battell, were slaine on the Scottish side, John Steward of Bute, with his Brandans (for so they name them that are taken by to serue in the warres forth of the Stewards lands) Spaldusse earle of Fife, with sir John Graham, whose death was much lamented by Wallase, as one whom he highly esteemed for his great experience in warlike knowlege. Many other noble and ballant men died in this conflict, whose names would be too long to rehearse. This battell was fighen on Marie Magdalens daie, in the yere of our Lord 1298, and therefore the Englishmen haue holden it euer since an happy day for to fight against the Scots.

* When William Wallase was passed the riuer Carran, where he might defend himselfe, and gather his disperfed people, Bruce desired to speake vnto him, which Wallase did not denie. Wherevpon each of them (drawing alone by themselves without any arbiters to the banks of the riuer, in such place as it was narrowest, and they might without anie compaignie best heare one another; Bruce began to say as followeth. I doe much muse, thou most ballant of all men, what came into thy mind to be caried away by the vncertaine fauor of the common people, and to stand against the mightiest king of our age, supported with the greatest forces of the Scots: and baile to offer thy selfe to euerie danger, and that for no reward assured to thee for all thy labors. For if thou shouldst overcome king Edward, the Scots will neuer aduance thee to the kingdome, and if thou be overcome, there resteth no refuge for thee, but onlie the mercie of thine enemy. And dost thou not see the Cummins, and me, and the most of the nobilitie, to follow the English faction? Neither dost thou consider the malice of the princes conceiued against thee? Loke vnto thy selfe, and thou hast but a few of the nobles thy partakers, and a small number of the commons (which are more vncertaine than the wind) to follow thee, whose fortune is now almost vnder thine owne. All these words John Maior sayeth that Robert Bruce did speake, to serch the mind of Wallase, whether he ment to aspire to the crowne or no: being in deed rather contented that Wallase had left the field, than otherwise to reduce him to the part of king Edward.

To whom Wallase answered in this sort. The end of all my trauell was not to attaine the kingdome.

The Cummins fled.

The Scots discovered Falkirke.

Freere Wyland stode him there in sight of all the English armie.

Robert Bruce was slaine at the battell of Falkirke.

Marie Magdalens daie was the day of the battell.

Fr. Thin. John Maior lib. 4. cap. 14. Buchan. lib. 8. Lellius epit. Ross. lib. 6. p. 23. Conference betwixt Wallase & Bruce.

come; for my birth and fortune neither did o: could
deserve it, and my mind did neuer desire it: but the
negligent slouth of the (to whome the right of that
diadem both appertene, and who doth graeculie hunt
therafter) made my citizens (perceiuing themselves
destitute of faithfull gouernors) to follow me, and
caused me (when I saw them in that miserie, rather
butcherlie tozme, than in honest seruitude to be op-
pressed) to seeke for libertie. Which suerlie I had ob-
teined for them and you, if the nobilitie had not so e-
uillie strided against me, restrained themselves for
comming into the field, and had but sent their hinds
(which till their land) forth to the battell, at which
time I had scarce 10000 men, & those of comon sort.
Trulie if the princes had not bene impediment
thereto, I could haue brought forth to fight a hun-
dred thousand bold and cherefull souldiers. But now
in truth I perceiue the hatred of the nobles against
me this day. Wherefore if thou pretend to possesse the
kingdome, I giue thee faithfull warning, expectallie
to beware of the Cumins: who if they had more re-
garded the glorie of their countrie, than of secret ma-
lice to others, would not so wickedlie haue forsaken
the field, what hate soeuer they had conceiued against
me. If they haue giuen their faith to the king of
England, they are not bound to keepe it: in a twi-
ked promise no oth is to be perfoymed. I am now
weare of my life, and rather desire to die, than to
liue in this sort, to see the miserie of my beloued coun-
trie. Wherefore embrace you this thraldome (which is
so much esteemed of you) to whome all this seruitude
with ease seemeth more pleasant, than honest libertie
with danger: for I had rather chose willing death
with freedom (in which I meane to spend my blood)
than to do as you haue done, because the loue of my
countrie shall not depart from my hart, befoze the
life of my bodie depart from his office. Which being
said, Wylse burst forth in teares, considering the no-
bilitie of the mind of Wallace, although perhaps he
nothing misliked the misfortune of the man, as doub-
ting the end of all his pretense to be, to attaine to the
croune. This being thus done, they both depart to
their companies. By which conference (saith Leslee
bishop of Rosse) this god was wrought to Scot-
land (to recompense the ouerthrow of Falkirk) that
Wallace partlie by the bitterness of his words, and
partlie for the loue of his countrie, did now draw
Wylse from the English, to take part with the
Scots.)

1298.

Wallace re-
mained his
owne.

Philip king
of France.

Wylse.

Wylse
sent
to
the
king
of
France.

But notwithstanding all these valiant speeches of
Wallace, when he considered the infortunat discom-
fiture by him so treacherouslie receiued, he came to
Perth, and there uttering by complaint the inu-
sious enuie of the nobles against him, he renounced
and discharged himselfe of all the authoritie which had
bene committed to his hands, touching the gouer-
nance of the realme, and went into France, as saith
Leslee. But Iohannes Maior saith, that he neuer
came there, although he will not flatlie denie it. The
same time, Philip king of France, the fourth of that
name, and surnamed le Beau, hauing great ruth in
his hart for the miserable calamities thus chanced to
his ancient confederat friends the Scots, and that
chieflie for the quarrell of France, sent his ambassa-
dors vnto Edward king of England, who had latelie
before married his daughter, requirung that there
might be some peace or abstinence of warre granted.
At his request therefore a truce was taken betwixt
the Scots and Englishmen, to indure from the feast
of All saints, till the feast of Pentecost next follow-
ing.

The Scots in the meane time soze oppressed by rea-
son of long warres, sent ambassadoz to pope Boni-
face, in presenting a verie graecious complaint vnto

him, for the great affliction done to them by king
Edward, who was fullie bent by inuious meanes
(as they alledged) to conquer their realme, and there-
fore they besought him to constrain king Edward
by vertue of his prerogative, which he pretended to
haue ouer the realme of England, to stand to his or-
der in deciding the right concerning the liberties of
Scotland, which might no other waies be determi-
ned, but by intollerable damage falling to the people
through blind desire and conetous ambition of the
nobles, contending for the croune. The pope (as is
said) after he had by god and deliberat aduise heard
the matter, gaue sentence with the Scots, that they
had iust cause of warres in defense of the liberties of
their countrie, against k. Edward and his fautors.
¶ But for this matter, loke in the English chroni-
cles, where it shall well appere, that the pope by these
letters of king Edward, was fullie satisfied of his
superioritie ouer Scotland.

The opinion
of the pope.

The Scots somewhat recomforted herewith,
thozlie hereupon chose John Cumin to their gouer-
nor, in purpose to trie with the Englishmen for their
liberties. Whereof king Edward being aduertised,
sent forthwith an armie into Scotland, which passed
through the countrie to saint Johns coluene, with
great damage of those that were adiudged rebels to
king Edwards empire. All the countrie in manner
vnto Forthie, at this season was subiect to the Eng-
lishmen, sauing such few of the inhabitants, as liued
with in the woods, hauing more regard to the ancient
liberties of their countrie, than to anie desire of pre-
seruing their goods or liues. John Cumin therefore,
desirous to redresse this heauie miserie and lamenta-
ble case of his countrie, admitted Simon Fraser
fellow with him in the administration of the warres
against the Englishmen, and therewith gathering
an armie of eight thousand hardie men of warre, set-
teth in hand to reuenge the inuious doings of the
enimies, chasing out of the realme all such officers
with their seruants, as king Edward had placed in
anie corner within the bounds of Scotland; and such
as resisted, he pursued in most cruell wise, not spa-
ring to put them vnto the sword in all places, where
he might find them.

John Cumin
the younger
elected gouer-
nor of Scot-
land.
An armie of
Englishmen
sent into
Scotland.

King Ed-
wards offi-
cers chased
out of Scot-
land.

Scotland as
gaue inuadeth

King Edward soze kindled in displeasure with
these attempts of such desperat persons, raised an
armie of thirtie thousand men, and sent the same in-
to Scotland, vnder the leading of a berie stout and
valiant capteine, named Radulph or Rafe Confrate.
This Radulph at his comming into Scotland, toke
small regard to the ordering of his field, but diuided
his armie into three parts, euerie part containing
ten thousand men, and appointed them to passe forth
to forate the countrie, and to meet altogether at Ro-
sin, in such sort and time as he prescribed. John Cu-
min and Simon Fraser being aduertised hereof,
gathered their powers together, to the number of
seuen or eight thousand men, and determined to trie
the chance of battell with one part of the English ar-
mie first, trusting that if they happened to haue the
upper hand of one of the three parts, the other two
would be the more easie to deale with. The Scottish
capteins reloued thus vpon that point, exhorted
their people to remember how they were to fight in
defense of their wiues, their children, their goods, and
liberties of their countrie, against such as sought to
bring them into thraldome and vile seruitude.

Radulph Co-
frate.
I remember
not that anie
of the Eng-
lish nobilitie
bare this sur-
name in those
daies, where-
fore I thinke
it was the
lord John
Seymour.
John Cumin
and Simon
Fraser.

With which words the Scots were so imbolened,
that minding either to die or to win the victorie, they
gaue the onfet so fiercelie on their enimies, that the
first battell of the Englishmen was quicklie ouer-
throwen and vanquished. But scarce lie had they ga-
thered the spoile, when another part of the English
men came vpon them with more fiercenesse than the
other

The first bat-
tell of the
Englishmen
ouerthrowne.

The second
battell ouer-
come.

other before: neuertheless, the Scots encouraged with their fresh twine victorie, got themselves pre-
dile into arraie, & receiued their enemies with such
incredible manhood, that they had quickly got the up-
per hand of these also. But scarce had they made an
end with this second battell, when the third part was
at hand readie to charge them, being now sore in-
fected, that thorough wearinesse and wounds recei-
ued in the two former encounters, besides the want
of such of their numbers as were slaine: yet by ex-
hortation of their capteins, and the valiant presence
of the officers of bands beside, they rushed forth on
their enemies with such earnest forwardnesse to re-
ceiue them, that after a verie sharpe bickering, they
put the whole number of them to flight. Few of the
Englishmen had escaped the Scottishmens hands,
had they not bene so wearied with continuall fight,
that they were not able to follow anie great waie in
the chase.

The third
battell of the
Englishmen
banquished at
Roslin.

1302.

The matter
is amplified
by the Scots
to the price-
most.

The great
preparation of
king Edward
to invade the
Scots.

The Scots
withdrew to
their holds.
The English
armie passed
through Scot-
land from the
south parts to
the north.

Edward
sendeth unto
Wallase.

Wallase re-
fuseth the offers
of R. Edward

The castell of
Sterling ren-
dyed.

This Alured
the Scottish
bookes name
Difes.

The castell of
Arquhard ta-
ken by force.

This victorie fell to the Scots in manner as is be-
fore rehearsed, upon saint Matthewes day, in the
yere after the birth of our Saviour 1302. The glo-
rie of this victorie was great, considering that thir-
tie thousand Englishmen well furnished, & throug-
hly appointed for warre, shoud be thus in one day
banquished with an handful of Scottishmen. For as
their histories make mention, they passed not eight
thousand at the most: and therefore all men supposed
that it came to passe by the singular fauour and grace
of almightie God. But yet the Scots did not long
inioy the benefits of so notable a victorie. For king
Edward hearing of this discomfiture of his people
at Roslin, gathered a mightie armie of English-
men, Gascoignes, Irishmen, and such Scots as toke
his part, and hauing all his furniture and puruei-
ance readie both by sea and land, he set forward with
the same to invade the Scots on eche side. The Scots
perceiuing they were not of puissance able to resist
his invasion, withdrew to their strengths: by means
whereof the English armie passed through all Scot-
land, euen from the south parts to the north, & found
few or none to make resistance, except Wallase, and
such as followed his opinion, which were fled to the
mounteins and woods, to eschue the malice of the
Englishmen.

It is said, that king Edward required by a mes-
senger sent unto this Wallase, that if he would come
in and be sworn his liege man and true subiect, he
should haue at his hands great lordships and posses-
sions within England, to mainteine his port as
was requisite to a man of verie honorable estate.
But Wallase refused these offers, saing that he
preferred libertie with small reuenues in Scotland,
before anie possession of lands in England, were
the same neuer so great; considering he might not
inioy them, but vnder the yoke of bondage. The ca-
stell of Sterling at the same time was in the kee-
ping of one sir William Alured knight, who would
not render it to king Edward by anie summons
or other meanes, till after thre moneths siege he
was constrained to giue it ouer vnder these condi-
tions; That all persons being within the castell, should
depart by safe conduct with bagge and baggage at
their pleasure. Neuertheless king Edward caused
the said sir William Alured to be conueied to Lon-
don, where he remained as prisoner manie yeres af-
ter.

Sundrie other castells were taken by force the
same time by king Edward, and all such as resisted,
being found within anie of them, slaine without
mercie or ranfome. Amongest other, the castell of
Arquhard in Murray land was taken by force, and
not one left alieue that was found in the same (one
gentlewoman onlie excepted) who being great with

child, was in that respect preferred. She was the
wife of Alexander Boyis, lord of that house, though
by reason she was got into poore apparell, the Eng-
lishmen toke hir but for some other woman of me-
ner estate. She therefore with hir life saued, being
suffered to depart, got hir ouer into Ireland, where
she was deliuered of a son; that was named at the
font-stone Alexander, who when Scotland was reco-
uered out of the Englishmens hands, came to king
Robert le Bruce, requirring him to be restored vnto
his fathers heritage, being as then in the occupation
of other possessors. King Robert doubtfull what to
do herein, for he thought it neither conuenient that
a prince should take lands or possessions from noble
men, which had bene giuen to them in reward of
their manhood, thewed in defense of the realme; nei-
ther iudged he it reason to keepe him from his right-
full inheritance that had lost his father, his friends,
and all his whole substance in the like cause and qua-
rell by iniurie of the common enemies.

Wherefore to qualifie the matter, he deuised this
meane: he gaue vnto this Alexander Boyis certeine
other lands in Mar, nothing lesse in value (consi-
dering the largenesse and fertilitie) than the other of
Arquhard were: and willed him to content himselfe
with those, in recompense of such as belonged to his
father: to the intent that all parties might be satisfi-
ed, and no man should seme to haue wrong in being
deprived of his rightfull possessions. This Alexander
Boyis had afterwards his name changed, and was
called Forbesse, for that he due a brace in those par-
ties, by great and singular manhood. And so the sur-
name of the Forbesses had beginning, as descended
from him. Scotland being subdued by the mightie
puissance of king Edward, he went about to abolish
all the old statutes and ancient constitutions of the
realme, trusting by that meanes, that Scots liuing
together with Englishmen, vnder one vni forme ma-
ner of lawes, they should finallye for themselves to
be of one mind and opinion, as well touching the su-
preme gouernement of their publike weale, as also
in all other things, touching the friendlie societie of
life.

He burnt all the chronicles of the Scottish nati-
on, with all manner of booke, as well those contain-
ing diuine seruice, as anie other treatises of pro-
fane matters, to the end that the memorie of the
Scots should perishe: and thereto appointed grie-
uous punishments for them that should disobey his
commandements herein, in keeping anie of the said
bookes vndefaced. And he ordeined also, that the
Scots should occupie church bookes after the vse of
Sarum, and none other. Moreover, he compelled all
such Scottishmen as were of anie singular know-
ledge in learning or literature, to be resident in Ox-
ford, doubting least the Scottish nobilitie increasing
in politike prudence by their instructions, should
seek to throw off the yoke of bondage. Thus king
Edward going about (as the Scottish writers doe re-
port) to extinguishe the name of Scots, together with
their rule and empire, passed through the most part
of all the boundes of Scotland. And vpon verie hate
which he had to the Scottish antiquities, at his com-
ming to Camelot, he commanded the round temple
standing ouer against the same, to be thrown downe,
which was builded (as before is shewed) in the hono-
ur of Claudius the emperour, and the goddesse Flordia.
But for that his commandement was not immedi-
atlie put in execution, he changed his purpose, and
appointed onelie that the monuments of Claudius,
with the superscription of his name, should be taken
a waie; and in place thereof, the armes of king Ar-
thur, with his name to be set vp; commanding the
place to be called Arthurs hois (as ye would say) Ar-
thurs

The begin-
ning of the
name of the
Forbesses.

Chronicles
and other
bookes burnt.

Scottishmen
learned, com-
manded to be
resident in
Oxford.

The temple
of Claudius
was at Cam-
elot, and
not in Scot-
land, wherfore
it was not
demolished
thereof.

thurs court.

Whereover king Edward at his returning into England, took the chaire of marble with him, and causing it to be conveyed up to London, did place it at Westminster, where it remaineth yet unto this day. Furthermore, before his departure out of Scotland, he appointed all the Scottish lords to assemble at Scoone, where he caused them to take a new oath, that from thenceforth they should take him for their soveraign lord, and to obeye him in all things as loiall subiects. All the nobilitie of Scotland was sworn to him that day (Wallase onelie excepted) who eschued more than the companie of a serpent, to have any thing to do with the Englishmen, touching any agreement to be made with them, agreeable to their desires. Whereover, to keepe the Scots from rebellion, king Edward ordeined Adam de Claverence to be gouernour there, as his generall lieutenant over the whole realme of Scotland in his absence. And hauing thus set all things in good and quiet order (as he supposed) he returned into England with great ioy and triumph.

In the meane time, John Cumyn surnamed the red, and Robert Bruce hauing conference together, complained the one to the other of the miserable seruitude wherein the realme of Scotland as then stood by the oppression of king Edward. And at length vpon offers made betwixt them, it was agreed, that if by any means they might deliuer the realme out of the Englishmens hands, the one of them should be king, that is to say, the Bruce, and the other, that is to say, the Cumyn, should enjoy all the Bruces lands and possessions, with manie other preferments of honours and dignities, as next vnto him in all authoritie touching the gouernement of the realme. There were indentures made betwixt them, subscribed with their names, and sealed with their seales interchangeably, for the full ratifying of covenants agreed in this confederacie betwixt them. Shortly after, vpon deliuerie of those writings, Bruce went into England, for he might not remaine long in Scotland, for doubt of suspicion which king Edward had in him, because of the title which he had to the crowne of Scotland (as before is specified) so that (as was thought) king Edward would haue put both him and his brethren vnto death long before, if he might haue once got them all into his hands.

John Cumyn (after that he and Bruce were thus agreed vpon articles, and departed the one from the other) began to doubt, least this conspiracie devised betwixt them, would not sort to any luckie conclusion for his purpose, either for that he feared the great puissance of king Edward, either else for that his authoritie and power (as he mistrusted) would not be great, if the Bruce once attained the crowne: and hereupon he sent one of his seruants to king Edward, with his counterpane of the indenture, containing the covenants of the conspiracie, signed and sealed with Bruces owne hand and seale. The messenger deliuered this writing in secret vnto king Edward, declaring vnto him the whole matter, as it was passed and concluded betwixt the Bruce and his maister, according to instructions given him in that behalfe. But king Edward at the first gave him credit either to the writings, or words of the Cumyn, supposing that the same were done through enuie, which he bare towards the Bruce, either depending lest he should beare no rule in Scotland, if the Bruce once attained any authoritie within the same. Yet at length king Edward pondering with himselfe the whole circumstance, and being in some doubt of the matter, he showed the counterpane of the indenture vnto Bruce himselfe, questioning with him, if he knew his owne hand. Bruce then answered that he

was prouide to any such deuise or writing, and therefore desired of king Edward to haue the same for one night, to peruse and scan ouer at leasure, & then if he were not able to proue that it was forged, and maliciously deuised vpon an enuious purpose, to put him in danger of life, he would forfeit all his lands and liuings that he held either within the realme of England, or else where. King Edward, because he coniectured at the first how this accusation of Cumyn was nothing like to be true, granted his request, wherein manie iudged he did unwise: but such was the ordinance of almightie God, that Bruce should escape that danger, to accomplish that whereunto he was appointed. The earle of Gloucester immediatly after that Robert Bruce was departed from the kings presence, sent vnto him twelue sterling pence, with two sharpe spurs, whereby he coniectured his meaning to be, that the best shift for him was to auoid out of the wale in most speedie wise, whereupon he causing a smith to shoo thre horses for him, contrarie with the callins forward, that it should not be perceiued which waie he had taken by the tract of the horses, for that the ground at that time (being in the winter season) was couered with snow: he departed out of London about midnight, accompanied onelie with two trustie seruants.

It chanced also, that there fell on the same night more snow aloft vpon the other snow that was fallen before, by reason whereof it could not easilie be iudged in the morning which way he was gone, though king Edward vpon knowledge had that he was fled, sent out a great manie of horsemen after, to haue brought him againe, if they might any where haue found him. But Bruce halted forth with such speed in his iourne, that the seventh day of his departure from London, he came to Louchmaben in Ammandale, and there found David, (as some books haue) Edward his brother, with Robert Fleming, a worthy yong gentleman, vnto whom (they minding what he meant by his sudden coming) he declared into what perill of life he had fallen by means of Cumyn, and how narrowlie he had escaped out of king Edwards hands. His brother hearing the matter, consented to go with him, and to be partaker of all haps that might fortune to fall out in his flight; and by the way they chanced to light vpon one of Cumins seruants, that was going with letters vnto king Edward from his maister the said Cumyn, signifying by the same, that if Bruce were not the sooner put to death, there would insue shortly such trouble and ruffling in Scotland against king Edward, that it would be much adoe to appeale it.

These letters being found about Cumins seruant, through means of young Fleming, the Bruce after he had apposed the bearer, throughlie in each behalfe, and learned of him that his maister the said Cumyn was in the friers at Dunfrise, he first due this felicitie that was thus sent with the letters, & after in all hast possible came to Dunfrise, by the guiding of the said Fleming, whereat the quier of the friers church there he found Cumyn. And reasoning the matter there with him, for that he had used him so euill, and withall shewing him the indenture which king Edward had deliuered to him, as before is mentioned, in the end after some multiplie of words together, Robert Bruce plucked forth his sword, and strooke the said Cumyn a fore blow in the halie, and thereupon fleeing out of the church, met with two of his dearest friends, James Lindsay, and Roger Blackpatrick, who beholding his countenance altered, and comming forth of the church with such hast, demanded of him what was the matter. A crow (say he) that Cumyn is slain. And say they againe) had thou attempted so high an

Robert Bruce
died.

He cometh
to Louchmaben.

Robert Fleming.

A seruant of
Cumyn taken
with letters
on him.

Cumyn was
at the friers in
Dunfrise.

Cummin is
slaine.

1305.

Wallase is ta-
ken.Wallase is
brought to
London.He is put to
death.John Fourdon.
John Maior.

Fr. Thin.

Absolution
from Rome.Robert
Wallase is
crowned king
of Scotland,
the first of that
name.John Maior.
King Robert
is disinherited
at Wyke.

an enterpryse, and lest it doubtful? And immedi-
atlie herewith they went to the place where Cummin
lay wounded (as before is mentioned) and asked of
him whether he thought he had any deaths wound,
or hoped to recouer if he might haue a good surgian.
And for that he answered how he trusted to do well
inough if he might haue a good surgian in time; they
gaue him three or foure other wounds so greivous
and deadlie, that forthwith vpon the same he yeld-
ed vp the ghost. This chanced in the yeare of our
Lord 1305, the fourth Ides of Februarie. About
the same time was William Wallase taken at
Glaskow by the means of sir John Spenteth and o-
thers, in whome he had euer put a most speciall trust;
but they being corrupted with the offers of large re-
wards promised by king Edward to such as could
helpe to take him, wrought such fetches that he was
apprehended at length by Domare de Valence
earle of Penbrooke, who with a great power of men
brought him to London, where he was put to death,
and his quarters sent into Scotland, and set vp in
sundry great townes there for a spectacle, as it were
to giue example to other. This was the end of that
pulsant champion William Wallase, praised a-
mongst the Scottishmen aboue all other in that age,
for so much as he would neuer yeld or consent to ac-
knowledge any superiouritie in the Englishmen o-
uer his countrie, no not when all other had submit-
ted themselves to king Edward as his liege sub-
iects and most obedient vassals. It is said, that when
he was yong and went to schole, he learned by heart
two verses of his scholemaster, which euer after he
bare in mind, and vsuallie would rehearse them,
(when a top toke him in the head) as followeth.

*Dico tibi verum, libertas optima rerum,
Nunquam seruis, sub nexu vincto sili.
My sonne I say, freedome is best,
Then neuer yeeld to thralls arrest.*

Of this William Wallase one Henrie, who was
blind from his birth, in the time of my natiuitie
(saith John Maior) composed a whole booke in bul-
gar verse, in which he mittred all those things bul-
garlie spoken of this Wallase. But I do not in all
points saith the same autho, giue credit to the say-
ings of such as he was, who onelie get their food and
clothing (whereof this man was most worthy) by
reciting of histories before the nobilitie of Scot-
land.

But now touching Wallase, after he had slaine Cu-
min (as before is mentioned) he purchased an
absolution from Rome for that act: and to the end he
might then through authoritie obtaine some aid to
resist the puissance of his aduersarie king Edward,
he went by support of friends into Scone, & there
caused himselfe to be crowned king, on the 27 day
of March, though he had no great number that toke
his part in the beginning, as shortly after well ap-
peared. For when he should assemble an armie a-
gainst a power of Englishmen that were sent a-
gainst him by king Edward, immediatlie vpon
knowledge had of his attempts, he was not able to
get together any sufficient number to resist his ad-
uersaries, though with those few which came vnto
him, he thought to trie the chance of battell, and so
incounting with Domare de Valence lieutenant
of the English armie at Wyke the 5 day of June
1306, he was there put to flight; and though the
slayghter was not great; yet for that it was thought
to be an euill signe to haue such infortunat lucke v-
pon his entering into the estate, the peoples fauor
spoke greaue from him.

Domare de Valence after he had obtained this
victorie against king Robert, banished the whole of
all those that supported the same Robert, by the

whereof, many ladies and gentlewomen were con-
strained to flee into woods, and other desert places,
to eschew the crueltie of their aduersaries. King
Robert also after this ouerthrow, fled into Atholl,
and from thence to Streill, where the third Ides of
August at a place called Dalreie, he fought againe
with the Cummins and other such Scots & English-
men as were assembled in those parties ready to
pursue him, and had the like lucke here that had chan-
ced to him before at Wyke; for he was put to flight
after the same manner, though he lost here but few of
his men, neither in the fight nor chase. This place
Dalreie is as much to say, as the kings field: Bu-
chan lib. 3, which is also called Dalwhie by I. Maior.
lib. 4. cap. 19, who supposeth that Wallase had so hard
a beginning for a punishment of the death of Cu-
min, slaine in the church by him and his friends.
Wherevpon finding fortune thus contrarie vnto
him in these two severall battels, he was left so de-
solat and vnprovided of all friendship, that he was
constrained for his refuge to withdraw into the
woods and mounteins, with a few other in his com-
panie, and there liued on herbs and roots oftentimes
for want of other food.

Whilist he remained in this estate of aduerser for-
tune, there were two that shewed themselves right
trustie and faithfull seruants vnto him aboue all the
rest, the earle of Leuenox, and Gilbert Hale: for
though either enforced by persecution of enemies, or
constrained through some other necessitie, they de-
parted sometimes from his presence; yet did they e-
uer acknowledge him for their soueraine lord and
onelie king, ready at all seasons to serue and obey
him in each behalfe. The most part of all other his
friends yea and seruants, in that present miserie,
did cleaue for sake him; so that sometimes he was
left with onelie one or two in his companie, & glad
to keepe himselfe secret in desert places, where no
person lightlie vied to resort. His wife & quene fled
to saint Dutho, and chanced to be taken by William
Cummin earle of Ross, who bestowed her to king
Edward, by whose commandement he was com-
mitted to safe keeping at London, where he remai-
ned till after the battell of Bannockburne. His
brother Nigel was also taken, and so afterwards
were his two other brethren, Thomas and Alexan-
der, with many other nobles and gentlemen of
Scotland, of whome some were executed at Car-
leill, and some at Berwik. Nigel was taken at
the castell of Blythborne whither he fled, and came to
Berwik. Thomas and Alexander were taken at
Locheis, and carried to Carleill, and so beheaded.
I. Maior. lib. 4. cap. 19. Finally the most part
of all such as had aided him before, and were now
drawne from him, were within one yeare after, ei-
ther slaine or kept as prisoners in England.

Perthoug he was thus left desolat of all aid and
succor, hauing his brethren and other of his friends
murdered and slaine to his utter discomfort and ru-
ine (as was to be supposed) he neuertheless liued e-
uer in hope of some better fortune, whereby in time
to come he might recouer the realme out of the ene-
mies hands, and restore the ancient libertie thereof
to the former estate. As for the paines which he toke
in liuing barelie for the most part by water & roots,
& lodging oftentimes on the bare earth, without house
or other habitation, he was so accustomed thereto
by hanting the warres in his youth, that the same
griued him little or nothing at all. But to conclude,
such was his ballancie and most excellent fortitude
of mind and courage; that no inuincible mischance
of fortune nor enuie could abash his invincible
heart and manlike minde. At length, after he had
wandered from place to place in sundrie parts of
Scotland,

King Robert
discomfited in
Atholl.King
Robert
lost in
Atholl.King
Robert
lost in
Atholl.King
Robert
lost in
Atholl.

Fr. Thin.

The miserie
of Wallase
beginning of
his reigne.The earle of
Leuenox and
Gilbert Hale
faithfull ser-
uants to king
Robert.King Ro-
berts wife
taken.Nigel
Thomas and
Alexander
brothers to
king Robert
taken and
put to death.King Ro-
berts good
hope in time
of extreme
necessitie.His inuinc-
ible heart
and manlike
minde.

Scotland, the better to avoid the sleights of them that late in wait to apprehend him, he got ouer into one of the Isles, where comming unto one of his speciall friends, a man of high nobilitie and welbeloued of the people in those parts, he was most hartlie welcome, and gladdie of him receiued, to his great ease and comfort.

Here when he had remained a certeine space, hee got support of men, armes and weapons, by meanes whereof taking new courage, he passed ouer unto Carrlike, & winning the castell there that belonged to his fathers inheritance, he due all the Englishmen, which he found within it, and bestowed all the spoile of monie and goods gotten there amongst his soldiers and men of warre. His friends that late hid in court and secret corners, hearing of these his doings, began from each side to resort unto him, by whose assistance shortly after he won the castell of Inuernesse, and due all them that were within it in garrison. With the like felicitie he got the most part of all the castles in the north, rasing & burning by the same till he came to Glenneffe, where being aduertised that John Cummin with sundrie Englishmen and Scots were gathered against him, because he was vpon a strong ground, he determined there to abide them: but they being thereof informed, and wondering at his manlie courage, durst not approach to giue him battell, but sent ambassadors unto him to haue truce for a time, vnder colour of some communication for a peace, till they might increase their power more strongly against him: which being done, they pursued him more fiercelie than before. Whereupon the L. Robert receiued them at all times in such warlike order, that they might neuer take him at anye abantage, but were still driuen backe with slaughter and losse, though the same was of no great importance to make account of, but such like as happeneth oftentimes in skirmishes & light encounters, where the battels come not to ioine puillance against puillance. The same wherof yet procured him the fauour of sundrie great barons in Scotland.

About this time, Simon Fraser, and Walter Logan (most valiant knights, and greatlie fauouring their countrie) were taken (by such as followed the faction of Cummin) deliuered to the English, sent to London, and there executed. Almost about which time, James Dowglas (being the sonne of William Dowglas, was a yong gentleman very active and forward in all chiefe exercises and arts. When he gaue himselfe to studie at Paris (hearing that his father was by the king of England cast in prison, in which he shortly after died, as is before noted) returned home to dispose the rest of his life after the aduise of his friends. But being without liuing, & all his other friends by misfortune dispersed: he committed himselfe to the service of W. Lambert bishop of saint Andrews, of whome hee was gentlie receiued into his familie, and well entertained: untill king Edward comming to Sterling (after that he had almost pacified all the rest of Scotland) to besiege Striueling: at what time Lambert going to Sterling to salute the king, carried Dowglas to attend vpon him, to the end to prefer him to his liuing and inheritance. Whereupon the bishop finding the king at convenient leisure, besought him to be fauourable to this Dowglas; to restore him vnto his fathers patrimonie: and that (receiuing the yong man into his fealtie and defence) it would please him to imploye him in his faithfull and warlike service: adding further such commendations in the behalfe of James, as for that time he thought most conuenient. But the king be-

derstanding his name and kindred, spake bitterlie of the disobedience and stubbornesse of his father William Dowglas; further answering, that he would neither vse the same James, nor his trauch in any thing, neither that he could (if so he would) restore him to his patrimonie, because he had with the same gratified other that well deserued it. For which cause being by the king so repelled, he remained still in the bishops seruice, untill Winton came into Spierne, at what time (least he might lose the opportunity to offend king Edward, whome he secretlie in heart detested) this Dowglas departed from Lambert his master, taking with him all the bishops gold, and certeine of his best hordes, with the which, hauing in his companie diuerse other hardie yong gentlemen, priuite to his doings, he fled with all speed vnto king Robert, offering him his seruice, and to spend his life in his quarell and defence. The bishop was priuite to his counsailes going awaie, & peacelie and counselled him thereunto, though he would by no means it should outwardlie so appeare, for doubt least if things had not come to passe as he wished, he might haue run in danger for his cloaked dissimulation. The Dowglas was iustlie receiued of king Robert, in whose seruice he faithfully continued both in peace and warre to his liues end.

Though the surname and familie of the Dowglas was in some estimation of nobilitie before those daies, yet the rising thereof to honoz chanced through this James Dowglas: for by meanes of his aduancement, other of the same linage took occasion by their singular manhood and noble prowes shewed at sundrie times in defense of the realme, to grow to such height in authoritie & estimation, that their mightie puillance in mainrent, lands, & great possessions, at length was (through suspicion conceiued by the kings that succeeded) the cause in part of their ruinous decay. Edward king of England hearing of the doings of his aduersarie king Robert, doubted (if some redresse were not found in time) lest the Scots reioicing in the prosperous successe of his said aduersarie, would revolt wholie from the English obedience: and hereupon purposing with all speed to subdue the whole realme of Scotland from end to end, he came (with a far greater armie than ever he had raised before) to the borders; but before his entring into Scotland, he fell sicke of a right sore and grievous maladie, wherof he died shortly after at Burgh vpon sands, as in the English historie more plainlie doth appeare, though Buchanan say he died at Lancaster.

The Scottish writers make mention, that a litle before he departed out of this world, there were brought vnto him 55 yong striplings, which were taken in the castell of Kildrummie, after it was wonne by the Englishmen, and being asked what should be done with them, he commanded they should be hanged incontinencie, without respect to their yong pæres, or consideration of their innocencies that might haue moued him to pittie. After his deceasse, his sonne Edward of Carnaruan succeeded in the gouernement of England, who following his fathers enterprize, called a counsell at Dunfreis, summoning the lords of Scotland to appeare at the same, and caused a great number of them at their comming thither to doe their homage vnto him, as to their superiour lord and gouernour: but yet diuers disobeyed his commandements, and would not come at his summoning, vpon trust of some charge of fortune by the death of his father, for that the son was much giuen (as was reported) to incline his eare to letw counsell, not without the great griefe of his people, and namelie of the lords and chiefe nobles of his realme.

Shortly

A craftie dissembling prelate.

The rising of the Dowglas to honoz.

The death of king Edward Longshanks.

The cruelty of king Edward as is noted by the Scottish writers.

Edward of Carnaruan, sonne to Edward Longshanks.

Honour to king Edward of Carnaruan

Shortlie after this, the said Edward of Carnarvan returned into England, and in the meane time John Cummin erle of Buchquhane gathered a mighty armie, both of Scots and Englishmen to resist against king Robert, that he might thereby declare his faithfull affection toward the new English king. He trusted onelie with multitude of people to cause his enemies to give place: but king Robert though he was holden with a sore sickness at that time, yet he assembled a power, and caused himselfe in a horse-litter to be caried forth with the same against his enemies, who abiding him at a freight, supposed it had bin an easie matter for them to be put to flight: but it chanced quite contrarie to their expectation, for in the end the Cummin with his whole armie was discomfited, and a great number of king Roberts admerfaries slaine or taken. This victorie was gotten at a village called Enuerour, ten miles distant from Aberdeen, on the Ascension daie, wherewith king Robert was so much refreshed in contentation of mind, that he was suddenlie therupon restored to his former health, having at that time also taken the castell of Aberdeen, which he utterlie destroyed, and caused to be levelled with the ground, to the end his enemies might have no more refuge thereby.

John Cummin
discomfited by
king Robert
at Enuerour
1308.
Fr. Thun.

Donald of the
Ales discom-
fited by Ed-
ward Bruce.

Argile sub-
dued by king
Robert.
This was in
1309, as Iohn
Ma. saith.

Edward
conquered into
Scotland,
Anno 1310 as
should seeme
by Io. Maior.

A sore dearth.

1311.
Castles reco-
uered by king
Robert.

King Robert
travellith
England.

1312. Io. Ma.
The towne of
Perth reco-
uered, other-
wise called
St. Johns
towne.

Castles won.

In the same yere Donald of the Ales came with a great armie of Englishmen and Scots against R. Robert, and was on the feast day of the apostles Peter and Paule discomfited by Edward Bruce the kings brother, at the water of Weir. At this battell was a right valiant knight named Rowland, slaine of the English part, with a great number of other about him, and Donald himselfe was taken prisoner. Thus king Robert through favour of prosperous fortune, obtaining the victorie in sundrie conflicts, came with an armie into Argile, and not onelie subdued the countrie to his obedience, but also toke Alexander lord of Argile out of a strong castell in that countrie, and banished him with all his friends into England, where shortly after he deceased. In the yere next following, king Edward came with an armie into Scotland, where joining with an other armie of Scots that were assembled readie to aid him, he passed through the countrie unto Kanfret, and at length without achieving anie notable enterpryse worthie the mentioning, he returned againe into England.

In the same yere, through continuall warres, there rose such dearth & scarcitie of things in Scotland, that neither coine nor other vittels could be had for monie: for the ground in manner generallie through the countrie late untilld, and beasts with all kind of cattell were driven awaie, as booties taken by the enemies. By reason wherof the famine so increased on each side, that the people were constrained to eat horses, and other lothsome flesh & meats, thereby to susteine their lives. In the yere following which was after the incarnation 1311, king Robert chased the Englishmen out of all parts of Scotland, winning manie castles out of their hands, diverse of the which he rased and consumed with fire. After this entering at sundrie times into England with his fierce armie, he brought from thence innumerable booties of cattell and other riches, afflicting the Englishmen with like slaughter and calamities, as the Scots had suffered in the yeres before, by the outrageous force and puissance of king Edward. On the eight day of Januarie next ensuing, King Robert won by fine force the strong towne of Perth, slaing and hanging all the people both English and Scottish, which were found in the same. He threw also the walles of that towne to the ground, and filled the ditch with the rampire. The same yere the castles of Dunfreis, Airc, Lanarke, with manie other

strengths and castles were rendered unto him, and cast to the ground.

The castell of Rokesburgh was taken by sir James Dohglasse on Feastings euen, in the yere 1313, when they of the garison were overcome with immoderate surfetting by meats and drinks cruelly taken, according as on that day the accustomed vse is. In that yere also Thomas Randall, afterwards created earle of Surrey, won the castell of Edinburgh. In which yere also, Bruce won the Ile of Man; Iohn Maior lib. 5. cap. 1. And the same yere Edward Bruce besieged the castell of Strimling: but the strength of the house was such, that by nature of the high crag whereon it stood, and what by fortification of mans hand beside, all his trauell and inforcement diligentlie imploied to win it, proved vaine for the time. Within this castell as capteine thereof, was a right valiant knight named sir Philip Mowbray, a Scottish man borne, but taking part with the English men, who feared nothing the siege, for he had sufficient store of men, vittels, munition, and all manner of purueance sufficient to defend the hold for a long season: so that finally Edward Bruce, perceiuing no means whereby to achieve the enterpryse, which he had rashly taken in hand, was abashed thereof: for by force he saw well enough it could not be brought to passe, and by large offers made to the capteine, if he would render the place, and become seruant to the king his brother, he could not once moue him to give anie care thereto, inasmuch as at length he sought to trie him another way forth, which in the end toke better effect than was likelie it would haue done, considering the lacke of circumspection vsed in the bargaine making: as thus.

After long siege, and (as before is said) no good done, there was a motion made betwixt him and the capteine within for a truce, which was accorded on this wise: that if the fortress were not succoured within twelue moneths next ensuing, it should then be rendered unto king Robert, and in the meane time no force should be vsed against it. This composition was vnwiselie made, as most men iudge: for euerie man of anie wisdom might easilie coniecture, that king Edward having so long day to make his provision, would come in support of them within the castell, and that so strongly, as would be hard for the Scots to resist him. King Robert himselfe also was sore offended with his brother for his follie shewed in this behalfe: but yet he would not go about to breake the covenant accorded, for doubt to lose his brother, whose aid he might not well want.

In the meane time king Edward sent forth messengers with letters, not onelie unto all his subiects, but also unto all his confederats and allies, to haue men of warre taken by and retained to serue him in his warres against the Scots, which he intended to solow to the bitter destruction of the whole nation. There came therefore in hope of spoile, not onlie such as were appointed by commissioners of the musters, but also a great number of other that offered themselves of their owne accord to go in that iournie, namelie such as had little to liue upon at home, and trusted to amend the matter by some good fortune in the warres abroad. The countries out of the which it is reported by the Scottish writers, that such aid came to the English, were these: Holland, Zealand, Brabant, Flanders, Picardie, Bolognois, Calcoigne, Normandie, Guien, and Burdeleois. For all these at that time were either subiect to the king of England, or else in confederate league with him. There were also manie Scots that were English by deuotion, and aided king Edward at this time.

Rokesburgh
was taken
by James
Dohglasse
1313.

The castell
of Edinburgh
won.

Strimling
besieged.

Sir Philip
Mowbray.

An vnwise
composition.

King Robert
offended
with his
brother.

Edward
taketh by
soldiers.

Out of
which
countries
Edward
had
aid of men.

But

But the number of naturall Englishmen exceeded anie one nation beside, insomuch that the whole armie what of one and other, contained (as the same went) one hundred and fiftie thousand footmen, and almost as manie horsemen, beside carriage-men, costrels, women, and lackies, but the same herein belike (as often happeneth) did farre exceed the truth. For it is not to be thought (as Iohn Maior himselfe writeth) that he should get such a number together, not for that England it selfe is not able to set forth such a power: for as the same Maior saith, as manie men as are to be found in England of lawfull age, so manie able personages may be found there to passe for able souldiers. But either kings are not of abilitie to find so great a multitude with vittels and sufficient prouision, or else they will not streine them selues thereto. Nevertheless, the whole number by all likelihood was great, for many as well strangers as Englishmen, brought their wiues, their children, and whole household-menie with them, in hope after the countrie were once subdued, to haue dwelling places appointed them in the same, there to inhabit: for so had king Edward promised them. By reason whereof the disorder was such, that no warlike discipline might be obserued amongst them: for men, women, and children, were all mixt together, with such clamor and noise, through the huge number of people, and diuersitie of languages, that it was a thing right strange to behold a campe so confusedlie ordered.

King Edward himselfe most proud and insolent of such incredible number, took no heed at all to the governing of them, supposing victorie to be alreadie in his hands; insomuch that at his comming to the borders, he took aduise with his counsell to that kind of torment and death he might put king Robert, for he had no doubt of catching him at all. He also brought with him a religious man somewhat learned belike, of the order of the Carmelites, to describe the whole manner of his conquest and victorie over the Scots: so sure he thought himselfe that all things would come to passe as he could wish or desire. This Carmelite, as may appeare in Iohn Bales booke, intituled A summarie of the writers of great Britaine, was named Robert Baskon, and had the gouernance of an house in Scarburgh, of the Carmelites order, he being (as before is said) of that cote himselfe.

On the contrarie part, king Robert ordered all his doings by god & prudent aduise, and with 30000 men, right hardie and thoroughlie exercised in wars, came forth against his enemies, shewing no token of feare in the world, but boldlie pitched downe his tents in good order and warlike arae, vpon a plaine a little aboue Bannockburne. Whether he did this for the great confidence he had in the hardinesse of his people, or for that he would shew how little he doubted the puissance of his enemies, least they should haue him in contempt, it is vncertaine. Indeed there were diuerse expert warriours amongst the Englishmen, that said (when they heard how the Scots were thus assembled to fight) that the victorie would not be had, except it were dearelie bought: the wisdom and manhood of king Robert was knowne so well amongst them, that they were assured he would not leopord himselfe in such a case, but that he knew he had such fellows about him, as would sicke to their tackle.

Moreouer the Scots by appointment of their king, to the furtherance of his hardie enterprize, had cast deepe pits and ditches in the place where it was iudged the battels should ioine, and pitched sharpe stakes within the same, and after couered them ouer with greene turfes or sods, in such wise that

a few footmen might passe ouer well enough; but if anie great number should come preassing together, or that anie horsemen came there vpon, the sods would shrink and fall to the bottome of the trenches, with extreme perill of the men and horses, that were sure to fall vpon the stakes set there for that purpose; or else to be so inclosed, that they should not be able to get out of those pitts. By the place where king Robert was thus incamped, there runneth a great brooke or water called Bannockburne, so named of oten-cakes called bannocks, which were vsed to be made commonlie at the mils standing on the banks of the said water. It falleth into the fourth right famous afterwards by reason of this battell fought nere to the same.

When both the armies were approached within a mile together, king Edward sent eight hundred horsemen by a secret waie, vnto the castell of Striueling, to giue notice to sir Philip Powel the capteine, that he was come with his armie to succour him. As Robert being aduertised of their gate, & beholding them which way they took, he sent Thomas Randall with five hundred Scottish horsemen to saue the countrie from spoile, who with singular manhood incountering with those Englishmen in sight of both the armies, there ensued a cruell fight betwixt them for so small a number, continuing a long space with vncertaine victorie. In the meane time sir James Douglas, deading that his speciall friend the said Thomas Randall should be ouerset with multitude of the Englishmen, came to As Robert, and falling on his knees before him, required licence to go forth to the support of them that were thus fighting with their enemies: which because the king would not grant at the first, he rushed forth of the campe without licence, hauing in his companie a small band of men, but yet chosen out for the purpose, that if it were but by shewing himselfe, he might put the enemies in some feare.

Notwithstanding, when he was come nere to the place where they fought, and saw how the Scots had got the victorie with great murder of the Englishmen, he staid and went no further; least he should by his comming seeme to bereaue them the glozie of the victorie, which had toone it with so great prouesse & singular valliance. All those in the Scottish campe were relieved, in good hope of greater successe to follow in the whole enterprize by so hapie a beginning. The Englishmen passed little thereof, but yet for that the Scots should not ware proud, and take ouer much couraga, thereby, they determined to giue them battell the next morow. King Robert with great diligence caused his people to prepare themselves ready to receiue the enemies, though he was nothing able to match them in number, deuising which waie he might traine them into the ditches before prepared. He commanded through the armie that erie man should on the next morow receiue the sacrament of the Lords bodie, through the which they might haue the better hope of victorie against the vniust invaders of their realme and countrie.

On the other side, the Englishmen trusted that all things would prosper with them, euen as they could best deuise: for by one small daies labour they hoped to be lords of all Scotland, and to dispose of the lands and goods of their enemies, as should seeme to them good, and most for their owne anail. But king Robert all the night before the battell took little rest, hauing great care in his mind for the successe of his armie, one while reuoluing in his consideration his chance, and an other while that; yea and sometimes he fell to deuout contemplation, making his praier to God and saint Willane, whose arme as if Saint Phil was set and inclosed in a siluer case, he supposed had iane.

E. j.

bene

Bannockburne.

The fight of Ch. Randall with 500 Scottishmen in his companie against 800 Englishmen.

The Englishmen determined to giue battell. King Robert prepared to receiue the enemies by battell.

A subtil chap-
leine.

A matter deu-
ised betwixt
the king and
his chapleine,
as is to be
thought.

The exhorta-
tion of king
Robert to his
people.

beene the same time within his tent, trusting the bet-
ter fortune to follow by presence thereof. In the
meane time, as he was thus making his praiers, the
case suddenly opened, and clapped to againe. The
kings chapleine being present, astonished therewith,
went to the altar where the case stood, and finding the
arme within it, he cried to the king & other that were
present, how there was a great miracle wrought,
confessing that he brought the emptie case to the field,
and left the arme at home, least that relike should
haue bene lost in the field, if anie thing chanced to
the arme otherwise than well.

The king verie iollull of this miracle, passed the
remnant of the night in praier and thanksgiuing.
On the morow he caused all his folks to heare diuine
seruice, and to receiue the sacrament, as ouer night
he had appointed. The abbat of Inchaffrate did ce-
lebrate before the king that day, and ministered vnto
him and other of the nobles, the communion, other
priests being appointed to minister the same vnto the
residue of the armie. After this, when seruice was
ended, the king called the people to his standard, and
first declared vnto them from point to point, how ne-
cessarie it was for them to shew their wanted man-
hood, considering that such an huge multitude of peo-
ple was brought thither against them by king Ed-
ward, not of one nation or dominion, but of sundrie
languages and parties, as well subiects as allies to
the Englishmen, with full purpose of heart to extin-
guish the Scottish name and memorie, and to plant
themselves in their seates and roines, as in posses-
sions vtterlie voided of all the ancient and former in-
habitants. To increase the fierce stomachs of the
Scottishmen against the enemies, he recounted vnto
them what he heard by credible report touching the
menacing words and insolent braggs of the same e-
nemies, able to moue verie quiet minds vnto full in-
dignation. Againe, to auoid feare out of their hearts,
which they might conceiue by reason of the multitude
of their aduersaries, he rehearsed what a number of
rascals were amongst them, without anie skill of
warrelke affaires, not taken by by choller and elati-
on in appointed mulsters, but resorting without diffe-
rence together, in hope of spoile and besties, hauing
not else whereupon to liue at home in their coun-
tries.

Moreouer, if nothing else might raise their hearts
in hope of victorie, their iust cause which they came in
defense of their countrie against iniurious invaders,
was matter sufficient to aduance their manlie sto-
machs, in trust of Gods aid in that quarrell, hauing
partlie assured them thereof, by notable miracles
shewed in the night last passed. Hereto he added, that
the greater multitude there was of the enemies, the
more spoile and riches was to be got, if they attained
the victorie. Finally, the more to stirre their hearts to
do valiantlie, he required them of one thing, which he
trusted (their manhood being such) they would not
thinke hard for them to achieve, and this was, that e-
uerie of them would but dispatch one of the enemies,
which if they performed, he promised them assured
victorie. As for ten thousand, he knew to be amongst
them of such approued souldiers, and old men of war,
as he durst safelie undertake for them that they
would slea two of the enemies a peece, at the least.
Such manner of persuasions king Robert vsed to
incourage his people.

Fr. Thin.

* But Iohannes Maior, lib. 5. cap. 2. putteth speech
much different from this, in the mouth of Bruce, fur-
ther saying, that when this oration was ended, that
the king came downe the hill, on which he stood, when
he vttered these words, and bareheaded embraced
all the nobilitie in his armes, and after turning him-
selfe to the whole armie, he reached to euerie man his

hand, in signe of amitie: but I suppose he was over-
wearied before he had shaken 35000 men by the
hands. On the other part, king Edward caused the
colonels of ech nation within his campe, to exhort
their retinues to remember, that if they fought val-
iantlie for one houre or two, they should purchase in-
finite riches with the whole realme of Scotland, in
rewards of their labour: for he desired nothing for
himselfe, but the superiortie. Againe, he willed they
should haue in remembrance what irrecoverable
shame would followe (if they had departed out of
their countries in hope of gaine) to returne home
with emptie hands, and void of victorie, not without
some reproch and note of cowardise.

* Besides which (as seemeth by Iohannes Maior) Fr. Tha.
king Edward clothed in his kinglie robes, is said to Iohannes
haue vsed these speeches to the armie. If I did not be- Iohannes
hold the open victorie, I would this day (most val- for malice
iant men) make an other beginning of speech vnto to speake
you. We are in preparation & number of souldiers his pen
farre beyond these miserable Scots. Besides which, Io. Maior
we haue abundance of brasse peeces, catapultes, got that go
bowes, and other such engines of warre, which on the were not
contrarie part the Scots doe want. They are onlie inuenied
couered with leather pilches made of bucks skins, and
with clothes like vnto the wild mountaine peo-
ple, for which cause our archers, before the strength of
the maine battell shall come, will some subdue them.
Paruall not that they haue before time subdued
some of my subiects, because they did it by their accu-
stomed deceit, and not by strength of battell. And
though by chance they haue overcome (in fight) some
weake companie of equall number vnto them, yet
are they not able to resist vs; being farre more ex-
cellent in number, preparation, and order of battell.
The Scot hath a weake nation fighting on his owne
charge, not hauing anie chosen souldier. God hath in
this field inclosed that for Bruce (nourished by my
god father) to the end that he might receiue twofold
punishment for his wickednesse. His three brethren
were consumed by my father: therefore it now re-
maineth that we apprehend (alike) these other two
wicked and wauering men, to lead them to London,
there to receiue their due punishment. You had
great reuenues (noble princes) giuen to you by my
father, in that kingdom. Therefore now shew your
selues valiant persons, that you may againe recouer
the same, at this day possessed by the vntill and un-
rightfull owners. Besides which, I will further by
line geometricallie measure forth all the land of
Scotland, to be diuided vnto those that deserue the
same, according to the merits of the men. Thus
much Maior.)

But yet when they should march forward in ar-
raie of battell towards the Scots, they might scarce
be seuered from their wiues and children, which they
had there in campe with them: neuertheless, at
length by the sharpe calling vpon of their capitaine,
they were brought into order of battell, not without
much ado, by reason of the vnrulie multitude. The ar-
chers were placed in wings, mingled amongst the
horsemen on the sides of the warres and battels,
which stood inclosed in the middell of the same wings.
King Robert appointing all his battels on foot, diui-
ded the same into three parts: the fore ward he com-
mitted to Thomas Randulfe, & James Douglas,
capitaines of verie approued valiance, vnder whom
went seven thousand of the borderers, and three thou-
sand of the Irish Scots, other wise called Batrans
or Redshanks. These no lesse fierce and forward,
than the other practised and skilfull. The second ward
was gouerned by Edward the kings brother, where-
in were ten thousand men: but for that he was sus-
pected of too much rashnesse, there was ioined with
him

The exhorta-
tion of king
Edward.

Fr. Tha.
Iohannes
for malice
to speake
his pen
he left him

Io. Maior
got that go
were not
inuenied

Io. Maior
got that go
were not
inuenied

Io. Maior
got that go
were not
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Io. Maior
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were not
inuenied

him certeine ancient gentlemen of great sobrietie and circumspection, to qualifie his hasty and hot nature. The third battell, in the which were (as John Major recordeth) sixtene thousand fighting men, the king himselfe led, shewing a verie cheerefull countenance amongst them, so farre forth, that euerie one that beheld him, conceived in his mind an assured hope of victorie to succeed.

The abbat of Inchmahtraie afore said (who as before is mentioned, did celebrate that morning afore the king's came forth before the battels, with the crucifix in his hands, bearing it aloft like a standard) admonishing them ballantlie to take in hand the defence of their countrie, and the libertie of their posteritie: for (saith he) you must not euerie man fight as it were for his owne privat defense, his owne house and childen, but euerie man for all men, and all men for euerie man must fight for the libertie, life, patrimonie, childen, and tomes of all the realme: for such and so great is the dignitie of our countrie, as they which de face it, spoile it, are to be punished with perpetuall fier, and they which do preserve it, are to be recompensed with an eternall crowne of glorie. And here with all this abbat instructed them of manie things touching the love of their countrie, which nature hath so planted in all men, that for the preservation and libertie thereof, none should refuse any danger, no not the losse of life, yea though (if it were possible) that it might be manie times lost therefore. Which done, he feared not to admonish them to worship the image of Christ, which he shewed them on the crosse. Incontinentlie wherupon, the Scottish armie fell on knees before it, devoutlie commending themselves to almightie God.

The English armie beholding the Scots fall on knees, thought verelie they had yielded without stroke stricken. But when they saw them rise againe, and to come forthward, they began to be somewhat doubtfull. And hereupon rushing together, at the first joining a great number of people on either side were beaten downe & slaine. The archers which were arrayed on the vtter skirts of the English wings, sore annoyed the Scots, till finally Edward Bruce came on their backs with a thousand speares, and brake them assunder, in such wise that they did but little more hurt that day. Albeit incontinentlie herewith a battell of horsemen to the number of thirtie thousand, came rushing together all at once in shoocke, to haue bene downe and overridden the Scots; but being so in their full race galloping with most violence towards them, they tumbled into the fosses and pits before mentioned, in such wise one upon another, that the most part of them was slaine, without all recoverie. Nevertheless the Scots in maner oppressed through the huge multitude of the enemies, were nere at the point to haue bene vanquished. During which conflict saith Buch, this happened which though it be a small thing to put in writing, yet was such as oftentimes it chaneth in battell, and as brought no small benefit to the perfection of their businesse) that king Robert (who continuallie rode before the battell appointed to his gouernement, holding a mace of warre in his hand, and keeping the first order in the array) was espied of an Englishman that knew him verie well: and forthwith rode full against Bruce with his spere. But the king beating the stroke aside, came to his English aduersarie, overthrowing him by the force of his horse, in the end killed him with his mace & so left him dead. Whereupon, the common people beholding the valure of their king and capteine, did with great force by the instigation of their fierie and fierce minds (and not by the kings perswasion) fall upon their enemies in such sort, that they seemed to

haue had the victorie of the aduersie battell of their enemies: had it not bene for the English archers, which were placed in the wings of the battell; whom Bruce (sending out certeine light horsemen) did sore repulse: whereby the Scots encouraged, made their partie good; rather by hidden policie, than prepared force. For a stratagem by the Scots devised, and an error by the English thereof concurred, did far more hurt to the enemies, than the powder skirmished in the field. For that deuile in the end was the cause that the English lost the victorie, being in this sort.

The Scots which were appointed to attend the carriage, as carters, wainemen, lackies, and the women, beholding in what danger their masters, friends, & countriemen stood, put on shirts, smocks, and other white linnen aloft upon their vsual garments, and verelie binding towels and napkins to their speares, and to other such staves as they got in their hands, placed themselves as well as they could in array of battell, and so making a great moister and shew anello, came downe the hill side in the face of their enemies, with such a terrible noise and hideous clamor, that the Englishmen fighting as then with most furie against the Scots with vncertaine victorie, and beholding this new reinforcement coming downe the hill upon their faces, supposing verelie it had bene some new armie, their hearts began to faint, the more in deed, for that they saw themselves vniuersally able to susteine the violent encounter of the Scots then present. And hereupon they began to turne their backs, and fell to running away as people clearelie vanquished: on whom the Scots followed with insatiable fire, and slew them down on all sides where they might overtake them. Sir James Douglas with foure hundred chosen horsemen, was commanded by king Robert to pursue the king of England with all speed, to trie if he might overtake him.

Douglas (according to his charge) followed him in chase to Dunbar, & casting betwixt that and the borders, late in wait to haue taken him, if he had returned by land; but he being received into the castle of Dunbar by Patrike Dunbar erle of March, with sixtene earles in his companie, was by the same erle of March conueied into certeine vessels, lying there at anchor, with the which he passed along by the shore into England, to shew an example of the vnsustainable state of princes: for though this Edward was that day in the morning right proud of the great puissance and number of people which he had about him, not unlike sometime to the great armie of king Ferres yet he was constrained before the evening of the same day, to saue his life in a poore fishers boat. In this battell were slaine fiftie thousand Englishmen (as the Scottish writers affirm) amongst whom was the erle of Gloucester, with two hundred knights. On the Scottish part were slaine about foure thousand, and amongst other two valiant knights, sir William de Montrose, and sir Walter Hesse. The spoile was so great of gold, silver, and other iewels gotten in the field, that the whole number of the Scottish armie was made rich thereby: and besides this, they got little lesse monie and riches by ransoming of prisoners taken at this battell, than of spoile gotten in the fight, campe, and field. But the death of sir Giles Argentine, that died amongst other in this mortal battell, was so displeasing to king Robert, for the familiaritie which he had sometimes with him in England, that he reioiced little of all the gaine got by so famous a victorie. He caused his booke to be buried right honorable in saint Patriks church before Edinburgh. The queene king Roberts wife, who had bene kept

The English mens hearts began to faint.

The English men put to flight.

King Edward receiveth

The vnsustainable state of princelie puissance.

The number of Scots slaine.

Sir Giles Argentine slaine.

The queene
king Roberts
wife restored
to his husband

in captiuitie the space of 8 yeares, was in England
now, deliuered by exchange for one of the nobles
of England, which was taken at this battell. The rich
clothes of silke, velvet, and gold, which were found
in the English campe, were distributed to the ab-
beies and monasteries of the realme, to make there
of vestments, copes, and frontals for altars. The
Carmelite frier, of whome ye heard before, brought
further by king Edward to, describe the victorie of
the Englishmen, was taken prisoner amongst o-
ther, and commanded by king Robert to write con-
trarie the victorie of the Scots, according as he had
sane: who thereupon gathered his rustie wits toge-
ther, & made certaine rude verses beginning thus.

Verles made
by Robert
Walton the
Carmelite.

*De planctu cudo metrum cum carmine nudo,
Risum retrudo cum tali themate ludo,*

With barren verse this time I make,
Bewailing whilest such theame I take.

There be some that haue iudged, how this victorie
was attained by: the singular fauor of almightie
God, by reason of miracles which they rehearse to
happen at the same time. The night before the day
of the battell, there came to the abbete of Glasfen-
burie two men in complet armour, desiring to
lodge there all night: the abbat keeping an house of
great hospitalitie, receiued them right gladlie, and
making them good cheare, demanded what they
were, and whither they were going: who answered
that they were the seruants of God, and going to
helpe the Scots at Bannorbozne. On the morrow
the chamberlaine found them departed before anie
of the gates were opened, & the beds faire made, and
not stirred otherwise than as they left them ouer
night. The same day that the battell was foughten,
a knight clad in faire bright armour, declared to the
people at Aberdeen, how the Scots had gotten a
famous victorie against the Englishmen, and was
sene shortly after to passe ouer Pictland firth on
horsebacke. It was supposed by the people that this
was saint Magnus, sometime prince of Orkenie,
and for that cause king Robert endowed the church
of Orkenie with five poundes sterling of the cus-
tomes of Aberdeen, to furnish the same church, with
bread, wine, and wax.

Robert Flem-
ing reward-
ed for his
faithfull ser-
uice.

Some noble men for their approved manhood
shewed in this conflict, were highly rewarded at
the hands of king Robert. One Robert Fleming,
by whose means he reuenged the treason wrought a-
gainst him by John Cummin, with slaughter of the
same John, had the lands of Cumminald giuen
him, which were of the inheritance belonging to the
said Cummin. It is reported by writers, that two
knights of Babant that serued amongst the Eng-
lishmen, chanced to heare manie reprochfull words
spoken in the English campe against king Robert,
who being somewhat moued therewith, and misli-
king such dismeasured talke, wished in words that
the victorie might chance vnto him. For the which
with H. Edward informed thereof, caused them by
a trumpet to be conueied vnto the Scottish campe,
with commandement to aid king Robert to the vt-
termost of their powers, purposing to punish them
according to his mind, if he attained the victorie, as
he had no doubt but he should. Whereupon, before
the joining of the battels, he caused proclamation
to be made, that whosoever brought their heads vnto
him, should haue an hundred marks in reward.

A proclama-
tion.

The Scottish
house in An-
tuerpe built
ded.

King Robert hearing in what danger they had
run for his sake, rewarded them with great riches
of the spoile got in the field, with the which they re-
turning into Babant, built a goodlie house in An-
tuerpe, naming the same Scotland, and causing
the Scottish armes, and the picture of Bause to be
set vp in the same, appointed it for a lodging to re-

ceiue them of the Scottish nation that should reco-
me into that house, as may appeare even vnto this
day. And this was done for a memoriall, to shew
what long and hartie beneuolence these two knights
bare towarde king Robert and his people, for the
great liberalitie receiued at his hands. This glori-
ous victorie chanced to the Scots on the day of the
natiuitie of saint John Baptist, in the yeare 1314.

About this time for the varietie of fortune (in so
small a course of yeares) happened a thing not vn-
worthy the reporting. For John Spentith, which
before betrayed his deere friend Wallace to the Eng-
lish, being therefore (as of right he ought) extreme-
lie hated of the Scots, was (in recompense thereof
beside manie other rewards) benefited with the gar-
dianship of the castle of Dunbaiton: which fort (after
all the other castles before said) were recovered to the
Scots) was almost the onlie thing (except some few
others) that remained in the hands of the English:
and because this fort was by nature inerpugnable,
king Robert dealt with the capteine (by such as
were friends and of kinred vnto him) to betraye the
castle into his hands, promising great recompense
therefor. Whereunto this Spentith by no means
would agree, vnles H. Robert would giue to him the
earldome of Lennox for his reward. Whereupon
the king being greatlie in doubt what to say therein,
(though in deed he vehementlie longed for the said
castle) because he did not thinke the obtaining there-
of to be of such good vnto him, as that he would
therefore offend or lose the earle of Lennox: who had
in all his calamities bene the most certeine, and al-
most the onlie friend of the king: which doubt, when
the earle vnderstood; he forthwith came vnto him,
willing him in no wise to refuse the condition: wher-
upon the bargain was concluded betwene John
Spentith and the king, and that in such sort, as it was
most solemnely confirmed.

Now, when the king should come to receiue this
castle (according to compositions) as he was in the
wood Colchoun, a mile distant from the same, a cer-
taine carpenter called Roboland came thither secre-
tely vnto him, & desired licence that he might speake
to the king, for he would discouer a great matter
touching a treason that was deuised and prepared a-
gainst him, by the capteine of Dunbaiton. Which
pardon obtained, he opened vnto Bause, that be-
low in the wine-cellar of the castle, were a number
of Englishmen inclosed, which at dinner should either
take or kill the king (being then safe) after that he
had obtained the castle. Whereupon the king no-
thing abashed, but keeping on his former determi-
nation, & being (according to appointment) receiued
by the said John Spentith in the castle of Dunbaiton:
after that he had searched all other places, and
was courteously invited to sit downe to dinner;
answered that he would not eate, vntill he had lo-
ked into the cellar below. Whereunto for excuse,
and to defer the time, the capteine answered that the
smith was absent and caried the key alway with him.
But the king not waiting for the coming of the
smith, did incontinentlie breake open the cellar
doore, whereby all the deceit appeared. After which,
the armed men were brought forth before the king,
who being severally examined, confessed the whole
matter; and further, that there was a ship ready in
the haven to haue caried the H. prisoner into Eng-
land, if they had taken him alive. Whereupon the
rest being punished, John Spentith was onlie cast
into prison, & reserved from further paine: because
the king would not offend his friends & kinred in so
dangerous a time as that was. For this Spentith
had manie beautifull daughters married to men of
great power & riches. After which imprisonment of
this

Fr. Thom.

Buchanan.

John Spen-
tith made re-
ceiue of the
Dunbaiton castle.

Englishmen
inclosed in a
cellar to kill
king Robert
after his re-
turne into
Dunbaiton
castle.

this p^{er}nt^h was by mediation of such as greatlie fauored him, restored to the fauor of B^{us}e, vnder whome he did after serue most faithfullie.

In mediaticke after, king Robert called a parlement at Ayr, where, by consent of the thre states he was confirmed king, and the crowne intailed to the heires male of his bodie lawfullie begotten, and for want of such heires, to remaine vnto his brother Edward B^{us}e, and to the heires male of his bodie; and if he chanced to die without such heires, then should the crowne descend to M^{arg}erie the daughter of king Robert, and to the heires generall of hir bodie by lawfull succession. In which parlement it was further decreed, that if the king were in his minority, he should then be governed by Thomas Randolph, and if anie misfortune chanced vnto the said Randolph, that then the gouernement of the kings person and kingdome should be committed to James D^{ow}glas.

This M^{arg}erie was gotten by king Robert on the earle of M^{ar} his sister, his first wife, and was married by the aduise of his nobles vnto Walter great Steward of Scotland. Also king Robert, for that his first wife aforesaid was deceased, married shortly after Elizabeth the daughter of the earle of M^{ar}, on whome he got a sonne named David, and two daughters, the one named M^{arg}aret, and the other M^{ar}g^uld. The first was married to the earle of Sutherland, and bare him a sonne named John: the second departed this world in hir infancy. After the marriage solemnized betwixt his daughter M^{arg}erie, and the foresaid Walter Steward, king Robert went through all the bounds of his realme, and did not onelie confirme the ancient liberties and priuileges of the burrowes and towne in all places where he came, but also augmented the same, and granted vnto diuerse, aswell towne as baronies, sundrie new prerogatives and franchises, as may appeare by his charters made vnto them of the same, speciallie to the towne of Perth, Dundee, and Aberdeen.

In the yeare following, which was in the yeare 1315, the princes of Ireland oppressed (as they toke it) with long and insufferable tyrannie of the Englishmen, and trusting by support of Scots to recover their libertie, now after so notable an overthrow of the whole English puissance, sent ambassadors vnto king Robert, requirring that it might please him to send his brother Edward B^{us}e, to receiue the crowne and gouernement of their countrie of Ireland. This request being granted, Edward prepared to take that iourne in hand, and so with a small power of Scottishmen transporting ouer into Ireland, and joining with an armie of such as were ready to assist him there, he toke the towne of M^{ar}, and slew a great number of Englishmen which were found in the same. Then afterwards, by the generall consent of all the estates of Ireland, Edward B^{us}e was proclaimed king of that realme, and certeine of the Irish nobilitie sent ambassadors vnto the pope, to sue for a ratification of their act and proceedings, for the suertie and weale of their countrie, sith they were not able longer to susteine the greivous yoke of the English thalidome. These ambassadors, through their earnest diligence, got such fauor in their sute, that the pope sundrie times charged the Englishmen to auoid out of Ireland: howbeit, they seemed to passe little of his commandments in that behalfe, for they daile sought how to make themselves strong in that part, least they should lose the possession of that countrie, which their enemies were about to get forth of their hands.

King Robert being informed how through the reinforcement of the English armie, being daile re-

freshed with new succors, his brother was like to run in danger to be cast away, he left sir James D^{ow}glas gouernor in Scotland, with a competent number of men to defend the borders, and he himselfe with a great power of other souldiers and men of war went ouer into Ireland, to support his brother: but suffering great distresse at his first comming thither, for want of vittels & other provisions, he lost almost the one halfe of his folks through verie famine & hunger, & the residue were constrained to eate horses and other such lothsome meates, therewith to susteine their languishing liues. At length being approached within a daies iourne of his brother, in purpose to haue supported him with those people which he had left, his brother not abiding his comming, fought vntwifelic with the Englishmen at a place called Dundach, and receiuing the overthrow, was slaine himselfe with a great number of other. It is uncerteine whether he had anie knowledge of the comming of his brother king Robert, or that through desire of fame he feared least if he staid till his brother came, a great part of the praise (if they got the victorie) should remaine to him: and therefore he made such hast to fight. But howsoeuer it was, thus he was slaine on the fourteenth of October, in the yeare 1317.

Edward king of England, hearing that king Robert was passed ouer into Ireland, thought the time to serue well for his purpose, estones to invade Scotland: and hereupon comming with a great power to the borders, he purposed to haue done some great feat. But sir James D^{ow}glas the gouernor, hauing likewise gathered an armie, gaue him battell, and put both him & his people to flight. In this battell were slaine thre notable captains on the English side: as sir Edmund Lilaw a Gascoigne capitaine of Berwik, with sir James Beuill, and the third sir James D^{ow}glas slue with his owne hands. King Edward perceiuing it was not like that he should do anie good at that time against the Scots by land, thought it best to assaile them by sea, which way forth the Englishmen commonly were euer to god for the Scots. He rigged therefore a fleet of ships, and sent the same into the Forth, which burned the countrie on each side, and toke manie rich booties from the inhabitants nere to the shore.

Duncane earle of Fife, hearing of these cruelties done by the Englishmen, came forth with five hundred hardie souldiers, to defend the countrie from such inuasions: but when he perceined that the enemies were of greater number than he was able well to encounter, hauing but an handfull of men in comparison to them, he gaue somewhat backe, and in the meane time met with William Sinclair bishop of Dunkeld, hauing about thre score armed men in his compante, who blaming the earle for his faintnesse of courage, caused him to set forward againe towards the enemies, & finding them busie in spoiling & harrieng the countrie, they gaue an onset vpon them so fiercelie, that there was slaine at the first encounter to the number of five hundred of the Englishmen, and the residue chased to their booties lying at Dunbriell, which they entred in such haste, that one of the booties being pestered with ouer great number, sank with them before they could get to their ships. R. Robert euer after customablie called this W^{ill}. Sinclair his owne bishop, for the noble prouises which he shewed in this enterprise.

In the same yeare Robert Steward the sonne of Walter Steward and M^{arg}erie B^{us}e was borne, which Robert after the death of R. David le B^{us}e was preferred to the crowne. After this, Thomas Randolph earle of Murray, the second day of Aprill recovered

See more hereof in Ireland.

King Robert passed ouer into Ireland.

Edward B^{us}e is slaine in Ireland.

See more of this matter in Ireland.

R. Edward sendeth a name into Scotland.

Englishmen discomfited.

William Sinclair called R. Roberts bishop.

Robert Steward borne.

1318.

Berwikke re-
covered.

recovered the towne of Berwikke out of the Eng-
lish mens hands, which they had held for the space of
twentie yeres before. It was taken now by prac-
tise, through meanes of one Spaldein an English-
man, who for his labour had certeine lands given
him in Angus, which his posteritie inioleth to these
daies.

Fr. Thin.
Scala chron.

*Trulie it were a wonderfull processe to declare
what mischiefes came through hunger and other mis-
fortunes, by the space of 11 yeres in Roxburgher-
land; for the Scots became so proud after they had
gotten Berwikke, that they nothing esteemed the
English nation. But (amongst other things by the
Scots attempted) much about this time, Adam de
Cardonne came with 160 men, to drive awaie
the cattell pasturing by Roxham, which the people of
the towne perceiuing, ran forth and encountered
with the Scots, who had gotten the victorie of them,
had not Thomas Grey capitaine of the castell, seeing
them in some ieopardie, issued forth with 60 of his
souldiers, & slaine most part of the Scots, and their
horses. The which Grey had bene twice before besie-
ged in the castell of Roxham, once almost by the
space of a whole yere, and another time by the terme
of seven moneths, in which he behaved himselfe like
a worthy gentleman, in that his enemies got none
advantage of him, although that during the siege,
they had erected manie fortresses before the castell,
to annoie such as were within: of which forts they
made one at Upstilton, and one in the church of
Roxham, the castell whereof had bene twice rein-
forced and in danger of losse, had not the lord Berke
and Penill (being great succourers of the marches)
rescued the same. For at one time the vtter ward of
Roxham castell was taken in the time of this Grey
on saint Katharins euen, which the Scots kept not
but three daies, and their purpose in winning the
same did vtterlie faile them.)

Ri. Southwell.

The Scots
enter further
into England
thā they were
accustomed,
even vnto
Wetherbie (as
Foord, saith.)

After that the earle of Murray had recovered
Berwikke, he and the lord James Douglas in the
moneth of Maie invaded England with a puissant
armie, passing further into the countrie than the
Scots had bene accustomed to do before time, bur-
ning as they went forward the townes of Rothal-
berton and Burrobbidge; and coming to Kippon,
they spoiled the towne of all the goods found therein;
but compounding with them that kept the church a-
gainst them for a thousand marks, they forbore to
burne anie of the buildings. After they had taried
here three daies, they departed thence, and went to
Banerburgh, which towne they burnt, and beating
the woods (into the which the people were with-
drawne with their goods and cattell) they got a great
bootie, and returning homewards by Scipton in
Crauen, they first spoiled the towne, and after burnt
it, and so marching thorough the countrie, came
backe into Scotland with their spoiles and pris-
oners without anie resistance. [This castell of Ban-
erburgh was taken by John Lilleborne, which after
rendered himselfe to the king vpon certeine condi-
tions.]

Fr. Thin.

1319.
Berwikke be-
sieged.

Ri. Southwell.

William Pel-
ton archbishop
of yorke.

In the yere following, king Edward came and
laid siege vnto Berwikke but the towne was so well
defended, that he was constrained with small hono-
r to returne home, and leaue it as he found it. For in
the meane time, while king Edward lay at the siege
before Berwikke, Thomas Randall earle of Murrey,
and the lord James Douglas assembled their
forces together; but perceiuing themselves to weake
to remoue the siege by force, they passed by, and en-
tring into England, wasted and spoiled all before
them, keeping on their way vnto Burrobbidge:
whereof when the citizens of Yorke were aduertised,
with their capitaine William Pelton their arch-
bishop,

shop, and the bishop of Ely, not making them of the
countrie once priue to their purpose, but hauing in
their companie a great number of priests and men
of religion, they gaue battell to the Scots one day
in the after none, not farre from the towne of Spit-
ton vpon Swale, twelue miles distant from Yorke
northwards.

But forsomuch as the most part of the English-
men were not expert in the seates of warre, and
came not in anie orderlie arraie of battell, they
were easilie banquished & put to flight by the Scots,
who were readie to receiue them in good order, close
together in one entier squadzone, and after their ac-
customed maner, at their first joining they gaue a
great shot, wherewith the Englishmen out of
hand began to giue backe: which when the Scots
perceiued, they got them to their horses, and follo-
wed the chase most egerlie, beating downe and sea-
ling the Englishmen, neither sparing religious per-
son nor other, so that their died to the number of
four thousand Englishmen that day, and amongst
the rest was the maior of Yorke one. In the water
of Swale (as was said) there were drowned to the
number of a thousand. To be short, if might had not
come the sooner vpon, it was thought scarce there
should anie of the English part haue escaped.

When king Edward lieng as yet at the siege of
Berwikke, vnderstood what mischiefe the Scots did
within his realme, he raised his siege, in purpose to
haue encountered with his enemies: but the Scots
aduertised of his purpose, returned with all their pri-
soners and spoile by Stanemore, and so through
Gilland, and the west marches, withoreto home
into their countrie. About the feast of All saints,
when the inhabitants of the north parts had got in
their harvest, so that their barnes were now stuffed
with corne, of the which provision they were to liue
all the yere after, the Scots vnder the conduct of the
said two capitaine, the earle of Murray, and the lord
Douglas, entered into England, and burnt the
countrie of Gilland, taking away both such people
as they toke prisoners, and also all the cattell which
they might meet with, and so kept vpon their iourne
till they came to Burgh vnder Stanemore, destruc-
ting all afore them, & then returning through West-
merland, practised the like mischiefe there, in bur-
ning vp houses and corne in all places where they
came, as they had done before in Gilland. And fi-
nallie passing through Cumberland with the like ha-
uocke, at length they drew home into their owne
countrie, with no small number of prisoners, and
plentie of great riches which they had got in that
iourne. [And the souldiers going backe againe to-
ward Scotland, fought with the commons of Yel-
castell at the bydge end, for certeine displeasures
done vnto them, in which conflict sir John Perth
knight was slaine, and manie other squires belong-
ing to the constable and marshall. About which time
also, king Edward (lieng at Lesh to go vnto Eden-
burgh) was constrained to returne for lacke of vil-
tels.]

About the same time died Margerie Wyke king
Roberts daughter. Shortly after also was a truce
taken betwixt the two realmes of England & Scot-
land for a certeine time. When king Robert hauing
no trouble, neither within his realme nor without,
caused a parlement to be holden at Perth, where he
required the lords to shew their deeds and charters
whereby they held their lands. The lords after long
advisement taken herein, at length pulled out their
scrolls all at once, declaring that they had none o-
ther euidentie nor charter to shew for the tenure
of their lands. King Robert was somewhat amazed at
this sight, and toke no small indignation therewith,
but

The battell
of Spitton vpon
Swale.

The Engli-
men discom-
fited.

The way to
Yorke lieng.

The Scots
invade Eng-
land.

Burgh vnder
Stanemore.

Fr. Thin.
Scala chron.

Margerie
Wyke be-
trayed.

Perlisment
at Perth.

The rollis
and charters
whereby the
lords of Scot-
land held
their lands.

but yet he dissembled for the time, and commended them for their noble hearts and valiant stomachs: neuertheless, he purposed to be reuenged of their proud presumptions, when moze opportunitie of time serued thereto. Sundrie of the nobles perceiuing that the king bare an inward grudge towards them for this matter, deuised amongst themselves how to deliuer him into king Edwards hands, so to auoid all danger that might follow of his displeasure conceived thus against them. For the accomplishment of this their treasonable practise, they made a bond in writing, confirmed with their hands and seales betwixt them, & minded to send the same into England vnto king Edward. But king Robert hauing some inkling of this their purpose, caused diligent watch to be laid by the way for such as should passe into England from them with the said bond, inasmuch that in the end a palmer or pilgrime was apprehended which had the bond, and other writings inclosed within his pilgrims staffe.

King Robert vnderstanding by these writings all the manner of the treason, and what they were that had consented to the same, hastily sent for the whole number of them, as though there had bene some matter in hand wherein he wished to haue their aduise. They were no sooner come, but straightwaies calling them before him, he questioned with them whether they knew their owne hands and seales, and immediatlie therewith showed the writings, which were found in the palmers staffe: and because they could not denie their owne act, they were committed to ward within sundrie castels, till he had taken further aduise in the matter. Incontinentlie after, he went to Berwik, and there arrested the capitaine of the towne, named Sir William Soulis, and caused him to be conueied to Berth (committing the said William Soulis (as saith Io. Maior) with the countesse of Straberne, to perpetuall prison) where shortly after he called an assemble of all the estates of the realme. This was called the blacke parlement, kept in the yere after the incarnation of our Saviour 1320. In this parlement, at the beginning thereof, was David Abernethie, the sisters sonne of king Robert, accused as partie to the treason afore- said, though being laboured vnto by the rest of the conspirators to ioine with them therein, he refused so to do, but yet for that he did not utter the thing, but concealed it with them, he was condemned & lost his head, the people sore lamenting his mishap, for the great balancie which was knowne to be in him, hauing serued honorable manie yeres before against the Saracens, and other miscreants in the parties of beyond the seas, where he was called the flower of chivalrie.

In deed the king himselfe would gladly haue saued his life, but for that he minded to do iustice on the residue, and finding no man to make sute for him, he permitted the execution to proceed against him. On the morrow after, he caused all the residue of the traitors to be brought forth to iudgement, and sentence being giuen against them, he commanded without delaie that they should be executed. When came diuerse and sundrie persons in most humble tosse to make sute for pardon to the king for their friends and kinsmen: but he made them plaine answer, that there was none to be found that would make intercession for the sauing of his kinsmans life the day before, when he was led to execution, that had offended nothing so grievouslie, in comparison of them for whome they now made sute; and therefore he bad them be contented, for they should assuredlie haue according to that which they had deserved. And therewith were the officers commanded to make had with the execution, which was done incontinent-

lie without any further respite.

There were some that were accused to be partakers in this treason, but yet for that no evident proofes could be produced against them, they were dismissed, as Walter Spartwell, with Walter Berclaire thiriffe of Aberdene, Patrike Graim, Hameline Reidjinton, and Culface Kathie, knights; besides eight others. But yet the countesse of Straberne & William de Soulis were condemned to perpetuall prison. The earle of Buchquhanes lands, who suffered at that present, were diuided into two parts, the one being giuen to William Haie that was made constable of the realme in place of John Duncie, who likewise suffered at the same time; and the other part was giuen vnto William Reth, together with the office of the stewardship of the realme. About the same time the king of England by complaint made to the pope, purchased that a legat was sent from the see apostolike into Scotland, to admonish king Robert to cease from further disquieting the realme of England, by such cruell inuasions, as were surmised that he wrongfullie exercised against the same realme. But answer was made herevnto by the king, and other the nobles of the realme of Scotland, that all the world might well vnderstand that the whole occasion of all the trouble which had chanced betwixt the two realmes of England and Scotland, did onelie proceed of the couetous desire in the Englishmen, seeking to conquer that realme without any iust claime or title: and therefore they thought it reason first to suppress the losse stomachs of the Englishmen; and then if there were any thing worthy to be reformed on their behalves, they would be contented to stand vnto the order of the popes authoritie therein. Thus was the legat dispatched home, without other effect of his errand [sauiug (as saith Buchanan) he cursed and interdicted the Scots and Scotland.]

Shortly after, king Robert entered with an armie into England, and waisted the countrie before him, till he came to the recrosse, which standeth vpon Stanemore. Howbeit it should seeme by that which Richard Southwell writeth hereof, that king Robert was not present himselfe in person in this iournie, but that he appointed the earle of Murray to be his lieutenant, who with an armie, after the feast of the Epiphanie entered into England, and comming to Darlington, staid there for a season, whilst the lord James Douglas, and the lord Steward of Scotland went abroad to harrie and spoile the countrie on each side, the one of them passing forth towards Warthpole and Chiltland, and the other towards Richmond. The inhabitants of Richmondshire, hauing no capitaine amongst them to defend their countrie from that grievous inuasion of the enimie, gaue a great summe of monie in like manner, as at other times they had done, to haue their countrie spared from fier and spoile.

The Scots taried at this time about 15 daies within England, and in the end returned without battell. For when the knights of the north countries repaired vnto the duke of Lancaster then lieng at Pontreft, and offered to go into the field with him against the Scots, he would not once stirre his foot, by reason of the discord that was depending betwixt him and king Edward: but howsoever the matter went, king Edward sore grieved in his mind with such inuasion made by his enimies the Scots, he gaue order to leaue an armie of an hundred thousand men, that on horsebacke and on foot (as the report went) appointing them to be readie to enter into Scotland at Lanmas next: whereof king Robert being aduertised, ment to prevent him, and therupon in the oseason of the feast of saint John Baptist,

A legat sent from Rome to the Scots.

The answer made to the legat.

Fr. Thim.

King Robert with an armie in Scotland.

Ri. Southwell. 1321.

The bishop-rike of Durham burnt by the Scots.

Richmondshire reddeeth from spoile with a summe of monie.

The duke of Lancasters dissolauit.

King Robert inuadeth England.

Conspiracie of the lords against king Robert.

Bymer caught with the bond upon him.

The lord who had conspired, are committed to ward.

The blacke parlement. 1320.

Dominus Abernethie lost his head.

Hauing other men thereto, Robert de Grey, John Capel, and others, with a notable number of men.

Execution of the traitors.

The abbey of
Holme burnt.

Fourneis ab-
beie.

Leuin lands.

The towne of
Lancaster
burnt.

Breton in
Anderneis
burnt.

R. Edward
raisth an ar-
mie.

He entered
Scotland.

The abbeies
of Melrose
or Melrose
and Durburgh
burnt.

King Robert
inuaeth the
north parts of
England, ap-
proching al-
most to York.

R. Edward is
put to flight.

The earle of
Richmond is
taken.

1323.

Ri Southwell,
Riualle abbey.

Yorkewold
waisth by
Scots.

Baptist, he entered into England with an armie
thence to Carleill, and burnt a manor place that some-
time belonged to him at Kofse, and Allerdale, and
spoiled the monasterie of Holme, notwithstanding
his fathers corps was there interred.

From thence he marched forward, destroying and
spoiling the countrie of Copland, and so keeping up
on his tourne, passed Woden sands, towards the ab-
beie of Fourneis: but the abbat meeting him on the
waie, redeemed his lands from spoile, and brought
king Robert to his house, and made to him great
chere: but yet the Scots could not hold their hands
from burning and spoiling diuerse places; and march-
ing forward vnto Cartmelle beyond Leuin sands,
burnt and spoiled all the countrie about, except a pri-
oré of blacke canons which stood there. Passing from
thence they came to Lancaster, which towne they al-
so burnt, saue onelie the prioré of blacke monks,
and a house of preaching friers. Here came to them
the earle of Spurrey, and the lord James Douglas
with an other armie, whereupon marching further
southwards, they came to Breton in Anderneis,
and burnt that towne also, the house of friers in-
uolued onelie excepted.

And thus being foure score miles within Eng-
land from their owne borders, they returned home-
wards with all their prisoners, cattell, and other ba-
ties which they had got in that tourne, comming to
Carleill on the eue of saint Margaret, and lodging
about that towne the space of five daies, they waisted
and destroyed the corne, & all other things that came
within their reach. Which done, on saint James e-
uent they entered into Scotland againe, having bene
within England at this time three weekes and three
daies. Immediatlie hereupon, to wit, about the
feast of Lammas, king Edward with his armie
came to Newcastle, and desirous to be reuenged of
such injuries done to his subiects, entered into Scot-
land, and passing forth till he came to Edenburgh,
through want of vittels and other necessarie prouisi-
on, he was constrained to returne home within the
space of 15 daies. For king Robert aduertised of
his comming, had caused all the corne and cattell in
the countrie to be conueied out of the waie into cer-
taine forts, whereunto the Englishmen might not
come to get it into their hands, so to relieue them-
selves therewith. But in their returning homeward,
somewhat to reuenge their displeasures, they spoiled
and burnt the abbeies of Melrose, and Durburgh,
with diuerse other religious houses and places, not
sparing anie kind of crueltie against all those of the
inhabitants that fell into their hands.

In reuenge hereof, king Robert shortly after en-
tered with a puissant armie into England, spoiling
a waisting the countrie, till he came almost to York.
At length, hearing that king Edward was com-
ming towards him with an armie, he chose a plot of
ground betwixt the abbey of Wiland and saint Sa-
uith, there to abide battell; which king Edward re-
sisted not to give, though in the end he was put to
flight with his whole power, and chased with great
laughter both of Englishmen and Normans, which
were there in his aid. Diuerse also of the nobilitie
were taken prisoners, as John de Britaine earle of
Richmond, and Henrie Solowite, with others. This
battell was fought in the yere of our Saviour 1323,
15 daies after the feast of saint Michaell the arch-
angel. King Edward lieng the same time at the abbey
of Riualle, aduertised of this overthrow, fled and got
him into York, leaving his plate and much other
truffe behind him for want of cariage in that his sud-
den departure. Which the Scots comming thither
found, and toke a waie with them. And from thence
they passed forth into Yorkewold, spoiling and wa-

sting the countreiment vnto Beuerleie, which to me
for a summe of monie they were contented to spare,
and so then they returned homeward, entering a-
gaine into Scotland on All soules day, which is the
second of Nouember, after they had remained with
in England at that time the space of a moneth and
foure daies.

Shortly after, king Robert sent an ambassado: to
the French king [to pacifie him offended with them
for the English] and to renew the ancient bond of a-
mitie betwixt the two realmes of Scotland and
France, which was accomplished with this new con-
dition added to the former articles, that if it chanced
that succession failed touching the inheritance of the
croune of either realme, so that a doubt should rise,
who ought by right to introy the same, the claime and
title thereof should be tried and decided by the nobles
of both the realmes; and further, that they should not
onelie remove and exclude all such as went about
to wrongfullie to stirre the croune, but also to defend
and mainteine the true inherito: to the uttermost of
their powers. In confirmation of this covenant, both
the kings received the sacrament. And for further
ratifying of it, they made a prouiso, that whereas
(then) they had the popes consent hereto, neither he,
nor anie of his successors hereafter should dispense
with them for the breaking of that bond; and if they
did, euerie such dispensation should be reputed void
and of none effect.

In this yere 1323 (as Richard Southwell repo-
teth) about the Ascension day, came commissioners
from the two kings of England and Scotland, vnto
Newcastle, there to treat of some agreement of
peace. For the king of England came Amertie de
Valence earle of Penbrooke, the lord Hugh Spen-
ser the younger, and foure other persons sufficientlie
authorized. And for the king of Scots came the bi-
shop of saint Andrewes, Thomas Hanball earle of
Spurrey, and foure other persons likewise of god
calling. After much talke, in the end they agreed up-
on a truce to indure for 13 yeres, which was procla-
med in both realmes about the feast of saint Barna-
bie next ensuing. About this time also, or not long be-
fore, an Englishman descended of noble linage, cal-
led Hamton, chanced for speaking certaine words in
commendation of king Robert, to fall at variance
with one of king Edwards priue chamber, named
John Spenser; in somuch that fighting together a-
bout the same words, Hamtons hap was to dea this
Spenser, & thereupon knowing there was no waie
but death, if he should hap to be caught, he fled with
all speed into Scotland, where he was receiued of the
king in most friendlie wise, and had giuen to him
for the maintenance of his estate like a gentleman,
the lands of Cadzow [which (as saith Buchanan) he
called by the name of Hamilton.]

The posteritie of this Hamton remaineth in Scot-
land vnto this day, increased so in kinred and honor,
by reason it was in procelle of time mingled with
the kings blood, that few linages in that realme
are of like estimation. They are now called Ha-
miltons, somewhat changed from the name of their
first beginner. [Donald earle of Marre, was made
by king Edward the second gardian or capitaine of
the castell of Biffaw in England, the which he kept
vntill the comming of queene Isabell against hir
husband Edward the second, at that time he deliue-
red the same into the hands of the said queene, and re-
turned into Scotland.]

In the meane time, Edward king of England be-
ing ruled altogether by two of the Spensers, as
Hugh the father and Hugh the sonne, ran so farre in-
to the hatred of his people, as well the nobles as
common; that in the end he was deposed of all
kinglie

Fr. Thin.
Buchanan.

The bond of
amitie betwixt
Scotland and
France re-
newed with
new articles.

3 yeres.

Ri Southwell.

Hamton an
Englishman
of whom the
Hamiltons
are descended.

Fr. Thin.

The name
of Hamilton
Southwell
the king's blood.

Fr. Thin.
1323.
Scala chron.

R. Edward
deposed.

kinglie authoritie, committed to prison, and in fine secretlie murdered, as in the English historie more plainlie appereth.

His sonne Edward the third was placed in his come, and crowned the 26 day of Januarie, in the yere 1326. In the night of the same day in which he received the crowne, the Scots went to haue stolne the castell of Roxham by scaling, and they went so cunninglie about their purpose, that they were to the number of 16 of them got aloft on the walls: but the capteine of this castie Robert Haners being warned aforehand of their coming by one of his soldiers that was a Scottishman borne, suddenlie assailed them, slue nine or ten of them, and toke five prisoners alive, but fore wounded, so as this misfortune falling to them in the beginning of king Edward the third his reigne, might haue bene a forwarning of their losses to follow in the daies of his gouernement.

Whilist these things were a doing in England, king Robert though he might seeke to haue title iust enough to the crowne of Scotland, which he had possessed now not onlie by rightfull conquest, but also by lawfull interest of inheritance for a certeine number of yeres, by consent of all the estates of the realme: yet to the end to put awaie all doubts, and to conclude the succession of the Balioll from all claime, which hereafter they might pretend to the crowne of Scotland, he sent sir James Dowglas into France vnto the lord John Balioll, to require him to transpore and resigne all the challenge of right and interest which he might seeme to haue to the crowne of Scotland, as well for himselfe as his heires & successors for ever, to king Robert le Bruce, and his heires. In consideration of which resignation, he offered faire lands and rents to him to be appointed forth in Scotland.

The Balioll being now fore woone with age, and thereto blind of bodilie sight, lightlie consented vnto this motion, considering (as he said) he toke it to be the ordinance of almighty God, that king Robert should inioy the gouernement of the Scottish kingdom, as most worthy and able thereto, hauing deliuered the same, and defended it most valiantlie from the hands of most cruell enemies. He called therefore his friends and kinsmen together, in the presence of whome he wholie resigned vnto king Robert and his heires, all the right and title which he or anie other for him either had, or hereafter might haue to the crowne of Scotland, concerning anie interest or claime which might be auouched for anie cause or consideration, from the beginning of the world vnto that present day. After the returne of sir James Dowglas forth of France, with so good expedition and dispatch of that businesse wherabout he was sent, king Robert verie iofull thereof, assembled a parlement of the nobles and other estates of the realme at Cambuskenneth, where he procured a new act to be established touching the succession of the crowne, which was, that if his sonne David deceased without heires of his bodie lawfullie begotten, that then Robert Stewart begotten on Margerie Bruce his daughter, should succeed in possession of the crowne. All the lords at the same time were sworne to mainteine this ordinance.

In the meane while, king Edward the third sent vnto king Robert for peace, but forsomuch as it was perceiued to be but a coloured pretence, no conclusion thereof insud, but preparation made on either part for wars. King Robert shortly after fell sicke, by reason whereof, being not able to ride abroad, nor to trauell himselfe, he committed the administration of all things touching the common-wealth, and other the affaires of the realme vnto Thomas Randall,

earle of Murey, and to the lord James Dowglas, two capteins, for their high prowesse and noble ballancie in those daies greatlie renowned. These two hardie chieftains assembling an armie of twentie thousand men, or (as some writers haue) 25 thousand, entered with the same into Northumberland, waisting & spoiling the countrie on ech side. [And in countring with an assemble of the English at Darlington, there slue manie of them, and put the rest to flight.] Against whome came king Edward with an armie of an hundred thousand men: of the which number there were (as Froissard saith) eight thousand horsemen, and 24 thousand archers. At their coming into Northumberland, they might well perceiue by the smoke of the fiers, which the Scots made in burning of villages, houses, and towne, where the enemies were: but yet because they taried not long in a place, but passed on without stopping here or there, the Englishmen might not come nere to fight with them.

King Edward therefore was counselled to draw towards Scotland, that lieng betwixt them and home, he might haue them at some aduantage as they should returne, which was thought should be shortly, as well for lacke of vittels, as also to defend their owne borders, when they heard once that the English armie drew that waies forth. But coming to the riuer of Tyne, through abundance of raine (latelie fallen) the streame was so risen, that neither horse nor man might passe, so that the armie was constrained to incampe there for the space of thre daies, in great scarcitie of vittels, till they were faine to send vnto Newcastle (which was distant from thence 26 miles) and to Carlisle (which was about 22. miles thence) for prouision, which was sent them from those places in great plentie. In the meane time were thus certeine light horsemen sent abroad into the countrie, to vnderstand where the Scots were, and to view their doings.

[Upon proclamation before made by the king (that who so could bring him word where the Scots were harbozed, should haue a hundred pounds of pærelie reuenues in recompense for the same; Thomas Rokebeie after diligent search, brought word to the king thereof:] for those which were sent, finding where the Scots were incamped, vpon the top of a mounteine, not past five miles from the English campe, returned backe to king Edward, and declared what they had seene and learned of the enemies doings.

King Edward right iofull of the newes, causeth his armie to be diuided into thre battels, and forthwith marcheth on towards the place where his enemies laie. And coming about none daies within sight of the Scots, he perceiued at length that the place which they kept was so strong, what with the height of the ground, & thereto defended on the one side with the course of a riuer, that by no means they might be assailed without great and manifest danger. The Englishmen in the end thought it best to chuse forth a place to incampe in for that night, and so doing, sent an herald at armes vnto the Scots, requiring them to come downe vnto some euen ground where battell might be giuen; but the Scots refused so to do, alledging that sith the Englishmen were thre to one in number, it was no reason to will them to forsake their ground of aduantage which they had taken and chosen forth for their owne defense.

Thus were they incamped nere togither either in sight of other for the space of thre nights, euerie day shewing themselves in order of battell, without breaking their arraie, except certeine of the horsemen, which on either part now and then came forth and

Randall and to James Dowglas.

They invade Northumberland.

Fr. Thin. Buchanan.

1327.

King Edward the third commeth with an armie against them.

Fr. Thin.

The Scots are incamped on a hill.

The English men sent to the Scots.

The answer of the Scots.

King Edward the third crowned.

James Dowglas sent into France to the lord Balioll.

The resignation of the Balioll to king Robert.

Parliament at Cambuskenneth.

The rule of the commons.

The Scots
dislodge.

The English
armie raised.

In enterprise
exploited by
sir James
Dowglas.

The Scots
secretly re-
turne home to
their countrie.

and fell in skirmish, so that sometimes a man might haue sene good emptying of saddles betwixt them. On the fourth day in the morning, when the Englishmen beheld the hill where the Scots had lien the night before, they perceived how they were gone, and thereupon sending forth light horsemen to trie out which way they had taken, word was brought how they were but remoued to an other hill a little off, lieng fast by the same riuer, and there lay incamped more stronglie than before. Incontinentlie hereupon, king Edward raiseth his campe, and remoueth to an other hill lieng ouer against that hill where the Scots with their power were now lodged. At length, after that both the armies had lien thus a good space the one ouer against the other, James Dowglas took aduise with himselfe to exploit a right hardie enterprise.

He chose forth two hundred of perfect good horsemen, mounted vpon vertie swift and readie geldings, with the which in the night season he passed stille by the English watch, that he was not once descried by anie of them, till he was entered into their campe, where, by the noise of the moving of the horse feet, some chanced to awake that lay asleepe. But yet per the alarme were raised to anie purpose, the Scots thus led by Dowglas had perced through, euen vnto the kings tent, and cut two cozors of the same in sunder, so that the king was in no small danger to haue bene slaine, had not the Scots withdrauen the longer for doubt of being inclosed with their enimies as now raised on each side to come to his succors, but Dowglas yet returned in safetie with his number backe againe to the Scottish campe, hauing slaine (as some books report) three hundred Englishmen at this bunt. The Englishmen warned hereby, took better heed after to their watch.

These armies lay thus one against an other for the space of eightene daies, till at length the Scots priuillie in the night conueied themselves away, and returned home in most speedie wise, supposing they had done sufficientlie enough for that time. It chanced that in the euening, before the Scots went thus their waies, there was a Scot taken by the English watch, who being brought before the king, confessed that there was commandement giuen through the Scottish campe, that euerie man should be readie with his armor and weapon to follow the standard of Dowglas at a certeine houre the same night, but whether they intended to go, it was unknowne, saue onelie amongst the capitaine. Hereupon the English doubting least the Scots minded to giue them a camfado that night, placed themselves in order of battell, and so stood till the next morning readie to haue receiued them, if they had come. The Scots also made great fires within their campe, that they might see about them. In the breake of the day, there were two Scottish trumpeters taken by the English fronts, the which being brought before the king, declared that the Scottish armie was broken vp and returned, and further shewed how they were appointed thus to declare vnto him, hauing suffered themselves to be taken for the same intent. As soone as the Englishmen were aduertised that the Scots were thus departed, they hasted to the place where they had lien incamped, in hope to haue found some riches, which for hast they had left behind them: but at their comming thither, they found nothing, but 200000 paires of hieland shoes, which are made of the grene hides of beasts untanned. Also they found three hundred hides of sauage beasts set vpon stakes in stead of caldrons, therein to seeth their meat. Moreover, they had left behind them five hundred dead carcases of beasts & sheepe,

which for that they could not drue them away, they killed, to the end the Englishmen should haue no gaine by them. There were likewise found five Englishmen with their legs broken, & bound naked vnto trees, which were quicklie loosed and committed to the cure of surgeons. The enimies bring thus departed, king Edward by aduise of his counsell brake vp his campe, and returned to London, supposing it but lost labour to trauell his people anie further at that time.

In this yeare died Walter Steward, father to Robert Steward, that was after king of Scotland. And in this yeare following, or rather the same yeare, Elizabeth mother to David Bruce the prince deceased, and was buried in Dunfermling in the yeare after the birth of our Saviour 1328. In the same yeare, king Robert won the castell of Rotham, and shortly after besieged the castell of Alnwick, where were slaine William de Spoytaste knight, John Clapauen, and Malisus de Dunbar, with diuerse other of the Scottish nobilitie. In the end of the same yeare, there were ambassadoys sent from king Edward into Scotland for the conclusion of a peace, which was accorded in this wise: that Edward should renounce all his right & claime which he had or might haue to the crowne of Scotland, in declaring it free as it was in time of king Alexander the third, vnder these conditions, that Northumberland should be admitted for the marches of Scotland on the east part, and Cumberland on the west. For the which renunciation thus to be made, and for the damages done to England by the Scots, it was couenanted that king Robert should pay to king Edward thirtie thousand marks sterling. And for the more suertie and ratification of this small agreement and peace betwixt the two nations, it was concluded that Jane the sister of king Edward should be coupled in marriage with David Bruce the prince of Scotland.

All which articles were put in writing, wherevnto all the seals of the great lords within both the realms were set in most substantiall wise. The solemnization of the marriage before remembred was kept at Berwik within a while after, on the eighteenth day of Julie, in the presence of a great number of the nobilitie, both of England and Scotland. King Robert liued not past twelue moneths after this marriage, departing out of this life at Cardos the seventh day of Julie, in the yeare of our Lord 1329. In the latter end of his daies, he was grievously vexed with a leprosie, which thus finally made an end of him, in the twentieth fourth yeare of his reigne, being one of the most valliant princes knownen in anie part of the whole world in those his daies, hauing felt in his time the force of either fortune: for in the beginning of his reigne, such storms of aduersitie surrounded him on each side, that if his constant manhood had not bene the greater, it might haue brought him in despaire of all recovery: for beside sundrie discomfitures, which he receiued at the hands of the enimies, with losse of all his brethren (his brother Edward onlie excepted) the most part of all the lords of Scotland were against him, and aided his aduersaries to the uttermost of his power: yet he nothing discouraged herewith, ceased not to imploy all industrious means to deliuer his countrie from the pike of seruite bondage (which he believed would succeed by the government of the English kings) till at length (as it were in despite of all former chances) he attained the effect of his whole inuents, so much the more to his praise, as he had found the hinderance and difficultie great in bringing the same fullie to passe.

This same therefore did spread iugellie, not onelie amongst

King Edward brake
up his campe, and
returned to London,
supposing it but
lost labour to trauell
his people anie
further at that
time.

1328, as he
died the same
yeare that the
Scots were
besieged in
Rotham.
1328, as he
died the same
yeare that the
Scots were
besieged in
Rotham.
1328, as he
died the same
yeare that the
Scots were
besieged in
Rotham.

The death of
king Robert

1329.

King Robert
died in his
prosperous
and avarice
fortune.

Edwards of
Robert.

his praisse as
though the
romans.

Edwards
commanded to
be English
by king
Edward the
first.

The heralds
inverto the
emblem.

The heralds
designed.

The heralds
said.

The heralds
reuer.

Edwards
the herald
bearing
the Roberts
emblem.

amongst his owne people, but also amongst stran-
gers, inasmuch that his due praisse was not want-
ing, no not even amongst and in the midst of his
verie enemies. For (as it is said) on a time it chan-
ced that king Edward the third, sitting at a banquet
amongst his nobles, fell in talke with them of war-
like enterprises, and of such notable capteins as had
excelled in knowledge in that behalfe. At length, af-
ter much reasoning to and fro, he proponed this
question to the king of heralds, that as then stood by,
commanding him to declare which were the three
most worthe & valiant capteins that he had knowne
in all his daies. The herald admittin with himselfe of
this matter, staied a space, in which meane while all
the companie were quiet, longing to heare his an-
swere therein, both for that they knew his skill was
such as was able best to give sentence in such a mat-
ter; and againe, for that manie of them thought he
would haue numbred some of those that were there
present amongst those three. But the herald did not
onely know all the noble men within the realme of
England, but also all such strangers as had in anie
wise excelled in partiall prowesse, hauing all their
acts and valiant doings in fresh memorie, and there-
upon boldlie vttered his mind as follooweth.

The first, most worthe and valiant chieffaine (said
he) that hath liued in these our daies, was Henrie
the emperor: for he subdued three kings and three
realmes, and maintained his imperiall estate and
prosperous felicitie to his liues end. The second, was
sir Giles of Argentine, who in three sundrie battels
against the Saracens got the victorie, & slue two of
their principall capteins with his owne hands. The
third (if vnder your graces correction I may praise
the enemie) I must iudge to be Robert Bruce king
of Scotland: whom the herald had no sooner named,
but all those that were present, with scornfull laugh-
ter began to teast at the heralds presumption, for
that he durst so malapertlie in the kings presence
honor the enemie with so high praise. At length, at
the heralds request, the king commanded them to be
still. The herald then began againe thus: I beseech
your highnesse (said he) if I haue ought offended, to
take my words in good part: for I haue bene euer
of this opinion, that the truth should in euerie case
be vttered, receiued, and allowed in your presence;
namelie, where your highnesse commandeth anie
man to declare the same. This one thing therefore I
shall desire you to consider, that if a man must
needs be vanquished, it is lesse dishonor to be van-
quished of him that is knowne for a right valiant
personage, than of him that is but a coward. More-
ouer, to shew plainelie vnto your grace, how much
I esteeme the valiancie of king Robert (whome I
perceiue some here may not abide to haue numbred
with the two former most valiant capteins) if truth
might appeare, I durst be bold to preferre him with
good cause before them both: for the valiant acts at-
tribued by Henrie the emperor may be ascribed
rather to the wisdom of his counsellors, than to
his owne valiantnesse and prudence: but contrari-
lie, king Robert being confined out of his countrie,
and destitute of friends and all conuenient aid, re-
covered the realme of Scotland, by his singular
manhood, out of the hands of your noble father, and
established it with such tranquillitie, that he appea-
red more terrible to his enemies of England, than
euer they had bene afore to his subjects of Scot-
land. These or the like words vttered by the he-
rald, were well allowed of the king; and stopped the
mouths of them that toke the matter so strange-
lie at the first.

But now to retorne to the purpose, king Robert
a little before the time of his death, called together

into the chamber where he laie, the chieffest peres of
his realme, and there in presence of them all, com-
mitted vnto them the gouernment of his sonne Da-
uid, a child as then not past seuen yerres of age. He
also aduised them of sundrie things touching the rule
of the realme after his decease, which he perceiued
was at hand. And first he counselled them, that in no
wise they should at anie time make an absolute lord
ouer the Isles; because the people of the same are of
nature wildest, and some seduced and brought to
more rebellion against the king, into the which be-
ing once fallen, they are not easilie reduced to their
due obedience againe, by reason their countreies are
of such strength, that they cannot be approached but by
seas, as instructed with the same. Secondarilie, he ad-
uised them neuer to appoint anie set battell with the
Englishmen, nor to leaue the realme vpon the
chance of one field: but rather to resist and keepe
them off from indamaging their countrie, by often
skirmishing, & cutting them off at streights & places
of aduantage, to the intent that if the Scots be dis-
comfited, they may haue some power yet reserved to
make new resistance. Thirdlie, he forbade them in anie
wise to make any long peace with England; for
naturallic men war dull and slouthfull by long rest
and quietnes, so that after long peace, through lacke
of vse and exercise of armes, men are not able to
suffeine anie great paines or trauell.

Moreouer, he alledged, how the Englishmen would
continue in peace no longer than there wanted a
oportunitie and conuenient occasion for them to at-
tempt the warres: and therefore he iudged it best,
that the Scots should neuer conclude anie perpetu-
all peace with them, nor take anie truce longer than
for three or foure yerres at the most. He willed them
further, to consider one thing, that when their appea-
red least occasion of warres with England, then
they ought to be most circumspect, least peraduen-
ture their enemies should come at vnwares, and find
them vnprepared for timely resistance. Wherevnto
he desired them, that after his decease, they would
chose some one of the most worthe capteins within
the whole realme, to beare his heart vnto Ierusa-
lem, and there to see it buried within the temple, be-
fore the holie sepulchre of our Lord. For if he had
not bene for a long space hindered by vrgent busi-
nesse of warres at home, and lastlie preuented by
death, he had holued to haue passed with an armie
into the holie land, in defense of the christian faith, a-
gainst the Turkes and Saracens.

Herevpon when he was dead, the lords by one as-
sent, appointed sir James Douglas to take this
enterprise in hand, who willinglie obeyed their order,
as he that had euer during the life of king Robert,
serued most faithfullie the bodie wherein the same
heart was inclosed, & for this cause the Douglas
beare the blondie heart in their armes. The com-
mendations of which king Robert, Buchanan setteth
forth (to comprehend manie things in few words) to
be: that he was euerie way a most worthe person,
and that there were few to be found (from the for-
mer herofore daies) equall vnto him in all kinds of
vertue. For as he was in battell most valiant, so
was he in peace most temperate & iust. And though
his vndoubted good successe and perpetuall course of
victories (after that fortune was once satisfied or ra-
ther wearied with his misfortunes) were verie great,
yet he seemed to Buchanan to be farre more wor-
derfull in his aduerser fortune: whose valure of mind
was such, that it could not be broken (no not so much
as weakened) by so manie evils as happened vnto
him at one time: whose singular constancie appea-
red by the captiuitie of his wife, and the death of his
valiant brethren. And besides that, his friends were

The aduise
giuen by king
Robert vnto
his nobles be-
fore his de-
cease.

His desire to
haue his heart
borne to the
holie sepulchre

The cause
why the Dou-
glas beare
the blondie
heart.

Fr. Thin.

There is no
bodie but hath
his shadow,
no rose but
hath his
pricke.

at

at one time bered with all kind of calamities, and they which escaped death, were banished with the losse of their substance: he himselfe was not onelie spoiled of all his patrimonie, but of the kingdome also, by the mightiest king of that age Edward the first, king of England, a man most readie in counsell, and of dispatch of his affaires as well in warre as peace. Hea, so farre was this Wise oppressed at one time with all these kinds of evils, that he was dyuen into extreme povertie. In all which misfortunes he neuer doubted of the recoverie of the kingdome, neither did he sayd anie thing unbeseeming the noble mind of a king; for he offered no violent hands to himselfe, as did the late Cato and Marcus Brutus, neither with Marius did he pursue his enemies with continuall hatred. For when he had recovered his former estate, he solued with them that most occasioned his labour and trouble, that he rather remembered himselfe to be a king over them, and not an enemy unto them. To conclude, he did not so forsake himselfe towards his end (when a grieuous disease added troubles to age) but that he confirmed and established the present estate of the kingdome, and provided for the quiet of posteritie, whereby his subjects did not so much lament his death, as that they were deprived of so iust a king and goodlie father.)

Hyperbolicall commendations.

Sir James Dowglas then chosen as most worthy to passe with king Roberts heart unto the holic land, closed the same in a case of gold, embalmed with sweet spices, & right pretious ointments. And herewith hauing in his companie a number of nobles, and gentlemen, amongst whom sir William Sinclair and sir Robert Logan were chiefe, he passed forth till he came to the cite of Jerusalem, where he buried the heart aforesaid, with all reuerence and solemnitie that he might deuise. This done, he resorted with such number as he had brought thither with him, unto such other christian princes as at the same time were gathered with great puissance, from sundrie parts of christendome to war with the Turks, and there in companie with them, he did so noble service against the common enemies of our religion, that by his often victories he wan great honoz to the christian name. At length, hauing accomplished his charge in those parties, with no lesse fame and glorie than princelie magnificence, he toke the seas to haue returned home into Scotland: but by force of contrarie winds he was dyuen on the coast of Spaine, landing there vpon the borders of Granada, where at the same time he found the king of Aragon, readie to make warres against the Saracens that inhabited in those parties.

The valiancie of James Dowglas shewd against the Turkes.

James Dowglas commeth on land in Spaine.

James Dowglas slaine by the Saracens in Spaine.

How often James Dowglas had got the victory.

1330.

But now to proceed in order with the historie, we shall note, that after the decease of king Robert, his sonne Dauid, a child scarce seven yeres of age, was proclaimed king, and afterwards crowned at Scone, the 23 day of Nouember, in the yere of our Lord 1331. During the time of his minority, earle Thomas Randall was ordeined gouernor of the realme, who for the space of foure yeres in the latter end of Roberts reigne, had the whole administration of things committed to his charge by the same king, for that by reason of sicknesse he was not able to attend the same himselfe. This earle Thomas then being elected gouernor by the generall consent of all the nobles of the realme, considered with himselfe, how necessarie it was for the people to continue in peace, till they had somewhat recovered their hindrance & losses chanced to them by the former wars. He addrest therefore certaine ambassadours immediately after the death of king Robert, unto the king of England, to require a new confirmation of the peace betwixt both the realmes for a season. These ambassadours found the king of England easie enough to be intreated for the grant of their sute, so that a generall truce was taken for the space of thre yeres.

In that meane time, earle Thomas applied his whole studie for the maintenance of iustice and equitie throughe the whole realme, not omitting yet to appoint order, that men should be provided of armoz and weapon for defense of the countrie, if neede shold be required. [Wherefore when he was going to Aitone (a towne in Galloway) word was brought to him, that there was a strong assemblie of thieues in that countrie, besetting the high waies, and spoiling the passengers: wherupon sending forth a companie of his followers, he apprehended and hanged them all, not fauouring anie vnder pretext of deuotion or religion. For one of them latelie come from Rome (and safe as he supposed by the charter of the popes pardon) was also apprehended and executed by appointment of this Randall, sauing, that the pardon of the fault belonged to the pope, but the punishment thereof belonged to the king.]

Moreouer, for the better proofe of exercising iustice amongst them that coueted to liue by truth, and to haue more readie occasion to punish others that ment the contrarie, he commanded the saddles and bridles, with all other such instruments and stuffe as pertained to husbandrie, should be left abroad both day and night without the doores: and if it chanced that anie of them were stolen or taken awaie, the thirffe of the thire should either cause the same to be restored againe, or else to paie for it on his owne purse. Finally, such punishment was exercised against thieues in all places, that both theft and pilfering were quite suppressed, and the realme brought to more tranquillitie than ever it was in anie kings daies before. Anie insolent and misruled persons were tamed by his seuer chastisement and iustice. Also that vertue might be cherished within the realme, he commanded that no vagabund nor idle person should be receiued into anie towne or place, except they had some craft or science wherewith to get their liuings. By this meanes he purged the realme of Scotland of manie idle & slothfull rogues and vagabunds.

It is said, that during the time whilst such strict punishment was exercised against offenders, by the ministers of the lawes thereto by him authorized and assigned: it fortuned that a carle of the countrie, because he durst not steale other mens goods, stole his owne plow irons, that he might haue the value of them recompensed to him by the thirffe: nevertheless, such earnest diligence was vsed in the search

Dauid.

1331.
Earle Thomas Randall gouernor of Scotland.

Ambassadours sent into England.

A truce for thre yeres.

St. Thos. Buchanan.

I meane to haue iustice executed.

Domination of thieues.

A handfull of ordinance against vagrant persons.

and fellall, who had the plow irons, that finally the truth came to light, whereupon for his craftie falseness the partie guiltie was hanged, as he had well deserved. The gouernour himselfe, for that he saw how hard it was to reduce them that had bene brought up in slothfull loitering, vnto honest exercise, held euer about him a gard of warlike persons, that he might the more easilie oppresse all stubborne offenders, which would not submit themselves to his commandements. Those that appeared before him, upon summons giuen, had fauourable iustice, tempered with much mercie ministred vnto them.

Others that refused to obeie, were pursued with his gard, and hanged euer as they were taken: as it happened on a time at Haddington, where threescore euill and naughtie disposed persons being gathered together, robbed and spoiled the people on each side: and for that they regarded not, but rather misused a pursuant, whom he sent vnto them, they were all taken incontinentlie by his foresaid gard, which followed the said pursuant at the heeles, and without respect hanged them vp on gibbets to giue example to others. Thorough such rigorous iustice, no rebellion was heard of within the realme of Scotland manie yerres after, so that such tranquillitie folowed, that not onelie theues and loitering lubbers were daunted, but the realme also aduanced in wealth and riches, to the great terror of all the foes and enemies thereof. King Edward aduertised of this great felicitie chanced to the Scots by this meanes, began to enuie the same, and imagined with himselfe, that if earle Thomas, the author of the same felicitie were dispatched out of the way, it should not onelie impeach the proceeding of so great wealth to the Scots, but also make for the suertie of the realme of England: for the singular manhood and high prowess of this earle was by him and other his nobles sore suspected.

He thought god therefore to attempt the thing by sleight, which might not be done by force, that afterwards the realme of Scotland might be the more infiebled, and as it were made open to receiue displeasure at his hands. For king Dauid was yong, and manie of his nobles bare small god will either towards him, or his house, for the slaughter of their fathers and friends in the blacke parlement. Whereupon he deuised, which way he might best destroye earle Thomas, the onlie confounder of all his imagined hope, as to attaine anie luckie enterpryse against the Scots. At length he deuised to dispatch him by poison: and after he had long debated by whome he might worke that feat: finally he found none so fit for his purpose, as a monke of the order and facultie of those, that wandering from place to place, can with dissembling visage say that thing with mouth, which they neuer thought in heart: for oftentimes men of that order, put no difference betwixt shame and honestie, cloking their execrable wickednesse vnder the feined shadow of their hypocriticall coules.

This monke, fullie instructed in that wherabout he was sent, came into Scotland, and feining himselfe to be a physician, got credit within a while amongst the people, to be a man of most excellent knowledge, for he had a companion with him, that being made priuie to the matter, set forth his cunning and practise to the bittermost, declaring what notable and most desperat cures he had taken in hand, and made the patients perfectlie whole of the same, where all other had quite giuen them ouer: namely he bruted it abroad, that for healing of the stone and grauell, his like was not to be found in all christendome, as euidentlie had appeared by cures which he had shewed vpon sundrie noble men, both

in England and France. This he spake, for that it was knowne, how the lord gouernour was sore bereaued with that disease, hoping by this meanes to haue him in cure, that he might thereby the more easilie worke his diuclish enterpryse.

And euen according to his desire it came to passe: for being taken for such a man as he was named to be, he was sent for to the gouernour, and comming before him, he handeled the matter so with wordes, that the gouernour was contented he should take him in hand, which he did with such wicked intention, that perswading him to keepe such diet as he prescribed, and herewith to take such sirrups & other things as he would giue him, at length he most traitorously poisoned him in deed. The venem was of such mixture, as would not flea him out of hand, but by little and little wasse his entrails, that the monke might haue leasure to escape home into England, per it were perceiued what he had done. He therefore after he had ministred his wicked poison, found meanes to conueie himselfe out of the waile, and returned most speedilie into England, informing king Edward how he had delt. The gouernour, feeling himselfe tormented with the disease, and worke in his stomach and wombe, and hearing that the monke was gone, and minded not to returne to him againe, he began to doubt the matter, and shortly after learned by physicians that he was poisoned, and that the venem had taken such hold within his bowels, that it was not possible to remoue it.

In the meane time was king Edward come with an armie to the borders, purposing to inuade Scotland, for that he thought how the gouernour was either dead, or at the verie point of death, and therefore he was in hope, that comming in time of the trouble vpon his death into Scotland, he should find occasion to attaine some enterpryse, highlie to his aduantage. But the gouernour aduertised hereof, raised a power, and though he were not able either to ride or go, yet he caused himselfe to be caried forth in an horset litter. King Edward hearing that the gouernour was comming towards him with an armie, & that himselfe in person quite contrarie to his expectation, he sent an herald vnto him for meane of communication of some peace, as was outwardlie pretended, though nothing else was ment but that he should expie how all things in the Scottish campe stood. The gouernour hearing of this heralds comming, arrayed himselfe in his best apparell, that it might appere he was rather recovered of his infirmities, than otherwise weak and feeble thorough his disease, and then causing the herald to be brought before him, where he was set in a chaire, to heare what his message was, which consisteth in certaine demands not greatlie agreeable to reason, the gouernour with bold countenance answered, that he trusted within short time to make it knowne, what right the Englishmen had to moue such vnreasonable request, and thus dispatching the herald, he gaue him all such gorgeous and rich apparell as he ware at the same time when he thus talked with him.

King Edward at the returne of the herald, not perceiuing otherwise by his report, but that the gouernour was in health, he returned immediatlie with his armie into England, and licencing euery man to depart to his home, laid hands on the monke, and as one that had dissembled with his prince (for so he took it) caused him to be burnt for his vntrust. Thus was the wretched righteouslie recompensed, as he had most iustlie deserved. In the meane time, the gouernour returning homewards, though force of the venem still increasing, deceased at Dunfermling, and was buried at Dunfermling, in the yere of our redemption 1331. He left behind him two sonnes,

A. J.

Thomas

Fr. Thin.
Buchanan.

1331.

Thomas and John, worthie such a father, they bring persons of great valure, and friends to their native countrie.]

Two gou-
ernours chosen
to rule Scot-
land.

Twynam Lo-
rison.

Edward Ba-
lioll.

Scottish lords
banished into
England.

Twynam Lo-
rison sent in-
to Edward
Balioll.

Edward Ba-
lioll cometh
into England

The promise
of the Balioll
to Edward
Ba. Edward
doth agree to
aid the Bali-
oll.
The English
writers speake
but of two
thousand, or
2500, at the
most.
Ri. Southwell.

Fr. Thin.

After his decesse, by common consent of the three estates of the realme in counsell assembled, Watrike earle of March, and David earle of Mar were chosen gouernours, the first (that is to say, the earle of March) had the charge of that part of the realme which lieth on the south side of the Forth, and the other (that is to say, the earle of Mar) was appointed to gouerne all that on the north side. Shortly after rose great trouble in Scotland by meanes of Edward Balioll, the son of John Balioll before remembred, as thus: It chanced there was one Twynam Loxton, a gentleman borne, but spotted with vile conditions, as adulterie, and diuerse other, for the which being put vnder censures of the church by the official of Glasgow he toke at length the same official as he was going towards the towne of Aire, and held him in captiuitie, till he had paid two hundred pounds for his deliuerance. But this iniurie remained not long unpunished: for sir James Douglas, before his passage to the hoke land, would not suffer him to rest, till he had constrained him to flee into England for his more safegard.

At his comming into England, he met with Dauid Cumyn earle of Atholl, and manie other Scottishmen, which were banished in times past by king Robert, for that they assisted the king of England against him. These persons being diuined out of the realme, and confederat altogether in one band, remained in England long time after, euer trusting to some occasion offered, whereby they might one day returne againe into their owne native countrie. And now, hearing that earle Thomas Randall the gouernour was decessed, this Twynam Loxton in name of them all was sent ouer into France to perswade Edward Balioll to attempt the recovery of the crowne and realme of Scotland, as the rightfull heritage of his father, and descended vnto him as lawfull and rightfull heire. Though the Balioll had no regard to make anie claime at all to the crowne of Scotland before this time, yet through the pitie persuasions of the earnest messenger, declaring how easie a matter it were for him to atchieue, considering the aid which he should haue in England, both at the kings hands, and also by the Scottishmen which remained there in exile, by whose meanes he might assure himselfe of support enough within Scotland if he selfe, after he was once entered: finally he concluded to passe ouer into England, to proue what purchase he might make there.

At his comming thither, he made sute to the king, to aid him in his righteous quarell towards the attaining of the crowne of Scotland, which if he might bring to passe with prosperous successe, he promised to hold the same of him and his successors as superior lords thereof. King Edward gladly vpon that condition, condescended to his request, notwithstanding the alliance contracted with king Dauid, by the marriage of him with his sister. Herevith he appointed forth six thousand men well apparelled and armed for the warre, to passe by sea with the Balioll, and offer the confederats into Scotland, trusting that vpon their arrivall there, they should find no small number of friends to assist them. For beside the Balioll, there was the lord Henrie Beaumont, a Frenchman, who had married the earle of Buchananes daughter and heire: also the earles of Atholl & Angus [the lords Perth and Wake, Richard Talbot, Henrie Ferrers, John Mowbray] & other English lords such as were banished Scotland, when Robert le Bruce recovered it out of the Englishmens hands. These were appointed to go with the

Balioll to assist him in that enterprise: and likewise the lord Stafford, and diuerse other English capteins, wherevpon when all their prouision was once readie, with the number appointed them by king Edward, and a few others, they got them a shipboard, and sailing forth by the coast till they entered into the Forth, at length they came on land nere the towne of Kingorne, and shortly after, incountring with Alexander Seton, they slae him, and put his folkes to flight.

Balioll began to fall of this happy successe, came with his people to Perth, otherwise called St. Johns towne, whereof the earles of Mar and March being aduertised, they raised two mightie armies, and hastened toward the entimes, not as though they should haue to do with men of warre, but to chastise a number of thieves and robbers that were come out of England. Yet at length they concluded to ioine both together in Straitherne, that they might ioine to set vpon their enimies both at once. The Balioll seeing the matter brought so far forth, that no feare of death nor starting-hole by sight might auail him, boldlie came forward, and pitched downe his tents at Dunblane nere to the water of Erne, trusting that if his armie would stand to it, and fight with manlike constancie, he should weild his enimies well enough, notwithstanding their huge number. The same night came the earle of Mar with his power, and incamped with the same within sight of the English armie, but the earle of March lodged about fife miles from thence, at Whirardour.

The Scots that were with the earle of Mar, having knowledge of the small number of their enimies, made no accounts of them, so that they neither toke heed to their watch, nor to anie other order for defence of themselves, but fell to singing, dancing, reueling, and drinking, in most dissolute manner. The Balioll taking occasion hereof, determined to assault them the same night in their campe, and therevpon causing his people to make them readie to accomplish that enterprise, in the dead of the night he issued forth of his campe, and comming vnto the water of Erne, passed the same by the ford, where one Andrew Purrey of Tullibard had pight a stake of set purpose, in midst of the streame, to steir them the waie. Thus having got all his armie ouer the water, without anie noise or din, so secretlie as might be deuised, he entered the campe of his enimies, and brake through till he came to the tent of the earle of Mar, the Scots generall, before he was once descried. Here at the first was the earle himselfe slaine, lieng fast asleepe in his bed, & after with huge noise they set vpon the whole campe, murdering the Scots as then lay in slepe without anie defense. And therevpon followed so cruell slaughter, that nothing was heard but grunting and groining of people, as they lay on heapes readie to die, weltering together in their owne blood. And if it had not bene that Edward Balioll had caused eche of his men to wrap a white cloth about his arme, no man might haue knowne (by reason of the darknesse of the night) his friend from his foe.

The Englishmen were so earnestlie bent to the slaughter of Scots, that they might not be filled with the blood and murder of them, so that they slued none whom they might ouertake. There were slaine of nobles and gentlemen, to the number of three thousand, beside innumerable of the commons. A certaine number of the Scots that escaped out of the place, closed the Englishmen together, and in purpose to be reuenged on the Englishmen for the death of their fellows, returned vpon them againe, and were slaine themselves querte mothers sonne. The chiefe nobles that were slaine at this battell, were these,

Edward Balioll
slain at Perth.

Alexander Seton
slain.

The earle of
Mar slain.

The earle of
March slain.

Edmund
slain at Dun-
blane.

The mightie
force of the
Scots.

The earle of
Mar is slaine
in his bed.

See more
heretofore in
England.

The great
slaughter of
Scots.

There were
three thousand
slain.

The earle of
Mar was slaine
in the night as he
slept, & these
were the

these, the earle of Mar generall of the armie, Robert Bruce earle of Carrike, Alexander Fraiser knight, William Laie constable of Scotland, with all his linage to wholie, that had not his wife as then being great belied, bene afterwards delivered of a sonne, all his surname had bene utterlie extinguished. [Whereupon saith Buchan. Thomas Randolph, Robert Bruce, William Seintclere bishop of Dunkeld, and Doncan Spakbush despairing of good successe, swore fealtie to Balioll.] There were slaine also Robert Keith marshall of the realme, with manie of his surname, David Lindseie of Gleneske, Alexander Seiton, George Dunbar, Robert Strachan, Thomas Haliburton, and John Skrimgeour knights, with manie other overlong to rehearse. The earle of Fife & a few other were taken. This battell was fought on the thirteenth day of August, in the yeare 1332. After that Edward Balioll had achieved this victorie thus at Duplin, he went straightwaies unto Perth (otherwise called saint Johns towne) and giving assalt thereto, quickly entered it by force, without anie great resistance. The earle of Mar that lodged (as is said) the same night that the battell was fought, not past five miles off, hearing what had chanced both in the battell and to come, came with his people arrayed in god and perfect order unto Perth aforesaid, to besiege the Englishmen with Edward Balioll and other as then within it. But having lien there a certeine space, and filled the ditches in the meane time to such advantage, that it was thought if he had given the assalt, he must needs have entered, he suddenly raised from thence, and departed, to the unspeakable damage (as was thought) of the whole Scottish nation. The siege being thus raised, there came daillie great numbers of nobles and commons to the Balioll, offering him their aid and service as his loiall subiects, towards the attaining of his right to the crowne.

Whereupon, perceiving his power sufficientlie increased, and receiuing the othes of the earle of Fife, and William de Seintclere bishop of Dunkeld, he went accompanied with them and a great number of other, unto Stone, where he was crowned the 24 day of September, in the yeare last before remembred, and received there the same time the homages and fealties of a great companie of nobles & gentlemen, at that solemne feast there assembled. King David being not past nine yeares of age, to avoid all dangers in that troublesome time, as destitute of succors, by aduise of his counsell, was conueied ouer into France with quene Jane his wife, sister to Edward king of England, and was most friendlie receiued by Philip king of France the first of that name, so that they remained there with him for the space of nine yeares. And in the meane time diuers noble men that yet remained at the deuotion of king David, understanding that Edward le Balioll sojourned within the towne of Perth, otherwise called saint Johns towne, which standeth almost in the middle part of the realme, and was at that present not closed with anie wall, or rampire, they raised their powers, and besieged him within the same towne, he having as then no great companie about him.

Whereof when they of Galloway had aduertisement, because the king was their speciall lord and chiefe gouernor, they assembled together under the conduct of the lord Eustace de Spakewell, and invaded the lands of those Scottishmen that had thus besieged their lord king Edward Balioll, and by that means constrained the aduersaries to leue their siege. Whereupon earle Patrike and the new earle of Murray, with the lord Andrew de Murray, and

the lord Archembald Dologlasse, with an armie assembled in all speed, entered into Galloway, doing all the mischief they could deuise, with fire & swoord, taking & bringing away from thence a great number of cattell and other goods; but they slue no great number of people, for they found them not at home, being withdrawen out of the way for feare of this terrible inuasion. Thus did the Scots in that part of the realme spoile & harrie each others countries.

In the meane time, king Edward le Balioll fortified the towne of Perth, appointing the earle of Fife to the keeping thereof, whilst he with an armie passed into the countrie; but before he returned, his aduersaries (that is to say) the sonnes of them that had bene slaine at the battell of Duplin, Robert Keith, Alexander Lindseie, James and Simon Fraiser wan saint Johns towne in the third moneth, after they had laid siege thereto, as Hector Boetius saith. But whether that is to be intended after the first besieging thereof, or now after their last coming thither, I can not affirme; but as the same Boetius writeth, now when the towne was twone, the earle of Fife, and Andrew Murray of Lullibard, were taken, with other of their complices. The earle with his wife and children were sent to the castell of Baldumnie, there to remaine under safe keeping; but Andrew Murray for his treason aforesaid committed, was beheaded. The towne being thus twone, was deliuered to the keeping of John Lindseie. But Buchan, out of an other author, supposeth that it was not committed to the custodie of anie; but that the walls were pulled downe to the ground. The gaining of this towne put the Scots in hope of more prosperitie to succeed.

And thereupon John Randall the earle of Murray, sonne to earle Thomas late of famous memorie, and Archembald Dologlasse lord of Galloway, the brother of James Dologlasse latelie slaine (as before is mentioned) in Spaine with Simon Fraiser and others, gathered a great armie, and came with the same (and William Dologlasse lord of Liddesdale to Spawet) against the Balioll, who being aduertised thereof, met them in Annandale, where incountring together, after cruell fight & great slaughter on both parts, at length Baliolls part was put to the worst, so that he himselfe was glad to flee, having got an horse without a bridle, and rested not till he came to Roxburgh, or rather to Carleill, as Richard Southwell saith. In this battell were slaine sir Henrie Balioll, a man of great valiancie, sir John Spowzie, Walter Cumyn, and Richard Kirkbie; but Alexander Bruce earle of Carrike, and the lord of Galloway were taken prisoners, and saued by the helpe of the earle of Murray, for that they had submitted themselves to the Balioll but latelie before. Shortly after the achieving of this victorie, Andrew Murray a man of great puissance and possessions was chosen to be gouernor, as collage and associat with the earle of Mar. These two gouernors, hearing that the king of England was minded to invade Scotland with a maine armie, sent sir Alexander Seiton with manie other gentlemen unto Berwik for defense of that towne and castell; [Alexander (as saith Buchan,) being capteine of the towne, and Patrike Dunbar capteine of the castle and borders adjoining.] Shortly after, the new gouernor Andrew Murray was taken prisoner at Roxburgh, by reason that hauing put his entines to flight in a skirmish which he made with them at the bridge without the castell, he pursued ouer fastlie in the chase, and was inclosed amongst them, and so taken yet he might be rescued. [At which time also William Dologlasse lord of Liddesdale was sent to Annandale, to defend the west marches.] There was

Galloway invaded.

Saint Johns towne captured.

Saint Johns towne twone.

Fr. Thin.

The battell discomfited and put to flight in Annandale.

Andrew Murray chosen fellow gouernor with the earle of Mar.

Fr. Thin. Andrew Murray the new gouernor is taken prisoner.

Fr. Thin.

Ri. Southwell.
Crab, a pirate
taken.

William
Dowglas of
Liddesdale
taken prisoner.

Edward king
of England
purposeth to
subdue the
Scots.

The earle of
Murray is
sent into
France.

Berwikke is
besieged.

Buchanan.

Sir Alexander
Seiton
captaine of
Berwikke.

Archemald
Dowglas
chosen gouernor
in place of
Andzew
Murray.

was also taken beside the gouernor, a notable pirate named Crab, who before that time had done manie displeasures to the Englishmen both by sea and land: and now because his countreimen would not ransom him, but to his further grieffe had slaine his sonne within Berwikke, he became the king of Englands man, and did the Scots more damage afterwards, than euer he had done to the Englishmen before. The gouernor at length was ransomed for a great summe of gold.

About the same time William Dowglas of Liddesdale named for his singular manhood, the flower of chualtrie, fought with the Englishmen in Annandale, where himselfe was taken, and his people dispersed. Both these noble men thus taken prisoners, were detained in captiuitie more than a twelue moneths space, & then ransomed for a great summe of gold. This William Dowglas was sonne to sir James Dowglas, of whom so often mention is made heretofore. The realme of Scotland being thus diuided in two parts, the one assisting the Balioll, and the other continuing in their allegiance sworne and promised to king David: Edward king of England iudged the time to serue well for his purpose to make conquest on the Scots, and hereupon gathering a mightie armie both of Englishmen and strangers, as well such as were subiects to him as other, whome he retained out of Normandie, Anjou, and Flanders, he came with the same to subdue (as he outwardlie pretended) onelie such Scots as would not yeld themselves to the Balioll. The Scots perceiuing themselves thus ouerset with enemies on each side, sent John Randall earle of Murray into France vnto king David, that by his means they might purchase some aid of the french king to defend the realme from the forces of the enemies. In the meane time the king of England besieged Berwikke both by sea and land, notwithstanding such as were within it defended the towne so manfully that he got but small gaines by assaults; by reason whereof the siege continued for the space of foure moneths: during which time manie illnesses and skirmishes were made betwixt the Scots and Englishmen, whereat manie proper feats of armes were atchieued with variable fortune.

William Seiton bassard sonne to the capteine of the towne was taken prisoner, and his bassard brother, as he assailed the English ships one night ouerfiercelie, was drowned by mischance in the sea. At length, when they within the towne began to want vittells, the capteine sir Alexander Seiton sent vnto king Edward, promising that if he would grant a truce for the space of 6 daies, if no succour came in the meane time to resist his siege, the towne should be deliuered into his hands at the end of that terme; and for the assurance thereof, he was contented that his eldest sonne and heire Thomas Seiton should remaine with the said king in hostage. Whilist things passed thus at Berwikke, the nobles of Scotland by common consent chose Archemald Dowglas to be gouernor in place of Andzew Murray. This Archemald Dowglas raising a mightie armie of Scottishmen entered with the same into the borders of England, so to withstand king Edward from the siege of Berwikke to defend his owne lands from burning and spoiling. But king Edward aduertised hereof, deuised an other shift, for immediatlie sending a messenger to sir Alexander Seiton capteine of the towne, he certified him plainelie, that vntlesse he rendered the towne forthwith into his hands, both his sonnes which he had with him, the one as hostage, and the other as prisoner, should be without further delay hanged on a gibbet there in sight afore his owne face.

Sir Alexander Seiton hereto answered, that as yet the terme of the truce was not expired, & therefore desired the king either to obserue the covenants, or else to deliuer the pledges, that he might be at his aduantage: but king Edward (as saith the Scottish chronicle) immediatlie caused a paire of gallows to be raised before the towne, and both the sonnes of sir Alexander to be led thither, to suffer on the same without further respite. Sir Alexander Seiton beholding that pittifull sight, and weeing with himselfe, that he might saue the liues of those innocent creatures, if he would, was brought into great perplexitie of mind: the naturall affection and compassion which he bare towards his sonnes mouing him to haue rendered the towne on the one side, and the dutie with faith promised to his king and countrie restraining him from all such resolution on the other. But in the end, the tender regard he had to saue the liues of his sonnes, had overcome him, and caused him to haue rendered the towne into his enemies hand, had not his wife and mother to his said sonnes, exhorted him most earnestlie to the contrarie, alleging that such reproch and dishonour should rebound vnto them, and their posteritie, if through their fault the towne were traitorously deliuered into the enemies hand, that from thenceforth they should be infamed for euer: and as for the death of their sonnes, it was not to be counted a losse, for by this kind of death, they should win immortall name, & leaue to their parents the high honor and renowne of faithfull & loyal subiects. Againe they were young enough to beget and bring forth new childezen, where they should be neuer able to recouer honor once lost; if by deliuering the towne into the enemies hands, they should seeme to betraie their countrie, & falsifie their faith to their naturall prince and soveraigne.

With such & manie other the like words, this noble & worthy ladie perswaded hir husband to restraime his inward grieffe, and brought him with right sorrowfull and heauie chere vnto his chamber, that through commiseration had of his sonnes, he should commit nothing either against his honor or weale of the towne. In the meane time, his two sonnes were put to death, ending their liues (saith Hector Boetius) with most honor, for the righteous quarrell of their countrie: [at what time sir Edward remoued his campe to Haldon hill.] Archemald Dowglas the gouernor, being at that present entered into Northumberland with his armie, hearing that king Edward had thus cruellie put to death those two young gentlemen, came the third day after with all his power, and pitched downe his tents not far from sir Edwards armie, fullie resolved to giue him battell, as well to reuenge the displeasure for the death of the said gentlemen, as to deliuer the towne of Berwikke from further danger of the enemies force.

Yet were there sundrie prudent counsellors in the Scottish armie, that for diuers respects aduised him in no wise to fight with the enemies at that present, considering the huge number of practised soldiers which they had amongst them, and the want of skillfull warriors on his side, hauing few with him saue youngmen, and such as lacked experience in the wars, for that they had bene but little trained therein. Notwithstanding, he himselfe was of contrarie opinion, iudging that the good willes and desire which his people had to fight with the Englishmen, should supplie their lacke of skill: and thereupon determining to trie the chance of battell with them, commanded his armie to refresh themselves with meat, drinke, and slepe for that night, and to provide themselves readie for battell on the next morning. In the breake of the day he arrayed his people in order of battell. The vanguard was given

Sir Alexander
Seiton in
doubt what
to doe.

The maner
of death of
Alexander
Seiton.

Sir Alexander
Seiton
sonnes were
put to death.

Archemald
Dowglas
purposeth to
giue battell.

men to Hugh, lord Rosse, having with him Kenneth earle of Southerland, Simon and John Fraiser, and John Spurrey lieutenant to the earle of Spurrey, who as then was sore tormented with a grievous maladie or sickness. The second battell was committed to the governance of Alexander Lindsay, with whom were joined Alexander Gordon, Kenneth Graham, and Robert Kenneth. In the third battell was the governor himselfe, accompanied with James, John, and Alane Stewards, the sons of Walter great Steward of Scotland.

On the other part, the Englishmen were nothing slow to come forward to encounter the Scots, but at the first to take the vantage of the ground, they gaue somewhat backe, withdrawing to the side of an hill, which they having once got, boldlie turned themselves to the Scots that pursued them over the hill, in hope that the victorie had bene already theirs: but being here fiercely received by the Englishmen, and beaten downe in heaps on each side, though they enforced themselves with all their might to be revenged both for old and new injuries which they had received, and so few a small number of the enemies; yet in the end was the Scottish armie put to flight, and more slaughter made in the chase, than was afore in the battell: for one wing of the Englishmen making forwards to get before the Scots, so stopped their passage, that they were slaine miserablie on each side, as they had bene inclosed within a toile or dere-stall. There were but few in number that were taken prisoners, those on the next day were beheaded by commandement of king Edward, except a small number which were kept secret by some of the Englishmen for profit of their ranisme. There were slaine on that day of the battell, to the number of fourtene thousand men, amongst whom were these as principall: Archembauld Douglas the gouverneur, John Stewart, James Stewart, and Alane Stewart, the sonnes of Walter Stewart; the earle of Rosse, the earle of Southerland, Alexander Bruce earle of Carrike, Andrew, James, and Simon Fraiser. This battell was fought on Spagdale day, in the yeate of Grace, 1333.

That this number and therewith manie more abound by one yeare, Wil. Harison doth gather together by the *fertes, because Adam Meremouth saith, that Spagdale day fell on the monday this yeare, and that the morrow after being tuesday, Berwike was surrendered. But for so much as the same Meremouth maie be perhaps deceived, or mistaken herein: I have here thought good (as in other places) to note in the margent the yeare, according to the account of Hector Boetius, speciallie in this place, the rather because he agreeth with Richard Southwell, Robert Auesburie, and other of our English writers, concerning this yeate in which this battell was fought: but where the same Boetius saith, that it was fought on Spagdale day, R. Southwell, Robert Auesburie, Thomas Walf. and divers other affirme, that it was fought the nineteenth of Julie being saint Margarets euen. But now to proceed. The place where this battell was stricken, is called Hallidon hill.

Immediately upon this overthrow of the Scottish power, Alexander Seiton and Patrike Dunbar captains of Berwike, despairing of all support, yielded the towne to king Edward, with condition to have their lives and goods saved, and to become subiects to king Edward. Hereupon, when they had received their oths, Patrike Dunbar was commanded by king Edward, to build by againe the castell of Dunbar upon his owne costs and charges, for that he had throwen it downe, when he saw he

was not able to defend it against the English power coming toward him. B. Edward accomplishing his desire, returned backe into England, leaving behind him with the Balioll, manie great lords of England (amongst whom for chiefe was Richard Talbot) that using the advice and counsell of them he might rule the realme of Scotland as should be thought expedient. Edward Balioll hereupon went thorough all the bounds of Scotland, placing garrisons of Englishmen in most part of all the strengths and castles of the realme, for he had them all at his commandement, save of them onelie excepted, which were kept by such Scottishmen, as would not renounce their allegiance promised to king David. For Dunbretton was kept by Malcolme Fleming of Cumerald, Lochleuin by Alane of Grepont, the castell of Biddumme by Christine Bruce, and Arghubart by Robert Lauder, the pile of Loudepin, a strong thing of so small a compasse, was in the keeping of one John Thomson [who were supported with monie by Philip the French king] These captains would by no means neither yield themselves nor their fortresses to Edward Balioll, but defend them to the uttermost for the behove of their sovereign lord and master king David.

In the meane time, Philip king of France laboured to the pope, that he might by his authoritie cause the Englishmen to surceasse from further bering the Scots, by their cruell invasions made into their countrie: but when the popes ambassadors came about this matter into England, they were so little regarded, that they could not get licence to declare that message, and so were they glad to returne without doing anie thing in the matter whereabout they were sent. Shortly after was a parliament called at Perth, where Edward Balioll was confirmed king of Scotland, a great number of the nobles promising there by solemne oths, never to remoue anie rebellion against him in times to come. In the meane time rose great altercation betwixt Henrie Beaumont, and Alexander Spowbray for certeine lands in Buchquhane [which Edward the first had given John Spowbray, brother of this Alexander.] Henrie Beaumont claimed those lands by the right of his wife, that was daughter to the said Alexander, but the Spowbray claimed them as heire to his brother.

After long contention, Spowbray had the lands adjudged to him by sentence of the Balioll, by reason whereof, David Cumin earle of Atholl, and Richard Talbot, favouring the cause of Henrie Beaumont, began to practise such conspiracies against the Balioll, that to avoid further danger, he was glad to repeale the former sentence by him given on the behalfe of Alexander Spowbray, and by new sentence adjudged the lands unto Henrie Beaumont, for that (as was alledged) he had married the inheritance thereof, which sentence he was constrained to change (saith Buchanan) by this means. * Balioll (favouring Alexander) and having adjudged the matter on his side, so offended the minds of the adversaries, that they feared not openly to complaine of the iniurie. But when they perceived that they nothing profited therein by their speeches, they all departed from the court to their owne possessions of which faction Talbot, whilst he goeth into England, was taken and carried to Dunbretton: Beaumont doth strengthen Durgard a strong castell of Buchquhan, and not onelie maketh the land whereof the contention was, but also the whole countrie adjoining, to be subiect to his gouvernement. Cumin (returning to the part of David Bruce) goeth into Atholl (whereof he was earle) and sending the places of strength thereabouts, armeth himselfe to withstand all force,

A.iii.

Richard Talbot.

All the fortresses of Scotland in Baliols hands, save onelie excepted.

Fr. Thin.

The popes ambassadors not regarded.

A parliament at Perth.

Strife betwixt Spowbray & Beaumont. Fr. Thin.

1334. Fr. Thin. John Maior.

if anie be prepared against him. Balioll fearing the conspiracie of these great men, changed his iudgement, and awarded the lands (whereof the contention grew) to Beaumont, and reconciled Cummin vnto him, by the gift of many rich possessions, that then belonged to Robert Stewart, which hostile after was king of Scotland.

Thus through puillance of the parties, the truth in deciding the controuersie, might not onlie not haue place, but Balioll was also driuen to that extremitie, that he must haue one of them (with his faction) to be his enemies. For now Alexander, stroken with this iniurie (to haue the iudgement giuen before for him thus to be reuoked) for taking the Balioll, ioined him selfe with Andrew Murray gouernor of Scotland (for David Bruce) hauing a little before ransomed himselfe, with a great masse of monie out of the Englishmens hands. These things (although done at seuerall times) we haue ioined together, least by often repeating of them in other places, the course of the historie might be broken: for (vpon this) Andrew Murray besieged Beaumont in the castell of Dongard, the inheritance of his wife, where he surrendered the same, vpon condition that he might freely repaire into England: at what time also Richard Talbot (being beyond the mounteins, in the inheritance of his wife the daughter of John Cummin of Scotland (for now manie English nobles possessed great reuenues in Scotland by marriages) hearing of these newes, that Balioll was forsaken by the earle of Atholl and Beaumont, would haue gone into England, but was taken in Lownes. This yere the earle of March holding on the part of the king of England, came to him to Perthcastell vpon Tine, who returning homeward, was grievously wounded of the people of Northumberland, for couetousnes, to haue robbed him of such monie as Edward had liberallie bestowed vpon him.)

Not long after this, Edward Balioll came to Kainstrew, and there receiuing the people into his obedience, had the keyes of the castell of Rothsaie and Dunnone, brought vnto him by sir Alane Ailethrisse of Bute [at what time the king gaue to him the keeping of the castell of Rothsaie, hauing before made him thrisse.] Thus did the Balioll increase in puillance, by such confluence of people as daily submitted themselves vnto him, & he enriched them liberallie with lands and goods still as they came to him, thereby to win there good wils. He sought by all meanes possible to haue gotten Robert Stewart into his hands, as the person whome he knew to haue most right, next vnto king David to the crowne of Scotland: but through the diligent foresight of his friends, this Robert Stewart being about the age of fifteene yeres, was conueied [with bote and horse, by the helpe of William Harriot and John Gilbert] to the castell of Dunbretton, where he was iustlie receiued by Malcolme Fleming the capteine.

The Balioll being sore offended, that such castles as were kept by his enemies, were so great an impediment to his interprises, by succouring and relieuing his aduersaries to make warres against him, he got together an armie, and the next yere laid siege to the castell of Lochleuin: but perceiving that this castell might not be wone without long siege, he appointed sir John Striueling to continue the siege with a great power of men, vntill the castell were yielded. There were left also with him, Michael Harriot, David Wemmis, and Richard Spalenuill, with diuerse other. These capteins aduising the place and site of the castell, lodged themselves within the churchyard of saint Herse, beside Kainrolle, making bastiles and other defenses within the same, for their

more safegard. Within the castell were two valiant capteins to defend it, the one named Alane Wepont and James Lambie, citizens of saint Andrews.

The enemies assaied all the meanes that might be deuised to haue wone this castell, but all was in vaine. At length, they deuised a subtil sleight, whereby to compasse their intent, on this wise. They went about to dam vp the mouth of the riuer where it issueth out of the Loch, with earth, trees, & stones, that the water being so kept in, might rise to such an height, that it should ouerflow the castell, and so drowne all the people within it. And to cause the Loch to swell more speedilie, they turned the course of diuerse riuers and brookes in the countrie thereabouts, and brought them into the same Loch. It chanced at the same time, that sir John Striueling capteine of the siege, with a great part of the armie, went vnto Dunfermling for deuotion sake, to visit the shrine of saint Margaret, sometime queene of Scotland. Whereof Alane Wepont then capteine of the castell, hauing vnderstanding, about midnight prepared three botes, and taking certeine soldiers with him, rowed forth to the head of the dam or water, and there, with such engines as he had deuised for the purpose, assaied to bore through and make a hole in the banke or rampire that kept vp the water, which when they had brought to passe, they returned quicklie againe to the castell.

The water hauing once gotten an issue, within a while wate the hole so large, that entering with more violence, it finally brake downe the banke, and rushed forth with such an huge streame, that it bare downe all afore it, drowning by the badsils and tents of them that lay at siege there, and caried the same with men and all downe into the deepe sea, they were so suddenlie taken, yet they could make ante thist to escape. Alane Wepont, when the water was fallen to the old marke, issued forth of the castell, & setting vpon those that had escaped the danger of the water, due part of them, and put the remnant to flight. John Striueling hearing the mischiefe that had happened to his folks, returned to the siege, and made a bolw neuer to depart from thence, till he had taken the castell, and laine all them within it. But yet, after he had laine there a long time, and saw it was not possible to win that fortreffe, he was constrained to raise his siege, and to go his waies, after he had lost thereat no small number of his people. This siege of Lochleuin chanced in the Lent season, in the yere 1335.

In the yere following, king Edward prepared an armie both by sea and land, to enter into Scotland. He sent by sea 70 ships well and sufficientlie decked for the warres, to enter by the Forth: but by a sore tempest manie of those vessels perished betwixt Inchkeith and the Forth land. He himselfe hauing the Balioll in his companie, with fiftie thousand men, came by land vnto Glasgou, and perceiving there was little for him to do, for that no rebellion greatlie anie where appeared, he returned backe againe into England with the Balioll, and left David Cummin earle of Atholl gouernor in his roome, to subdue the residue of the rebels, and to win those strengths, which as yet were defended against him. David Cummin left thus to be gouernor in Scotland, toke vpon him the rule in name both of the king of England, and also of the Balioll, and seized into his hands all those lands in Murray and Buchquhane, which pertained to Robert Stewart, confiscating all the goods of such the inhabitants, as would not be sworn vnto him. [Who notwithstanding that he was of such great authoritie in Scotland, of credit with both kings, Edward of England, & Edward of Scotland, and of exceeding great possessions of his

1334.
Scala chron.

Scala chron.
John Maior.

Scala chron.

The castles of
Rothsaie and
Dunnone de-
liuered to the
Balioll.
Fr. Thin.

Robert Ste-
ward.

Fr. Thin.

Lochleuin
besieged.

Alane Wepont
and James
Lambie cap-
teins of the
castell.

I deuise to
drowne the
castell.

The
Dun-
fermling.

Fr.
Buck-
John.

Fr. T.

Fr. T.
Buck-
John.

Fr.
Thin.

Fr.

Fr.
Thin.

Fr.
Thin.

1335.

Edward
moneth
Scotland
both by sea
and land.

David Cum-
min earle of
Atholl gou-
ernor of the
castell in Scot-
land.

Fr. Thin.
Buchanan.

his done, would yet neuer usurpe anie superiouritie to him himselfe in this, but passed all the grants and writings in the name of Edward king of England, and of Balioll king of Scots. At what time none would publikelie professe him a subiect to David Bruce, but boies, who in their plaies & games would altoaies call their king, David Bruce.]

Incontinentlie hereupon, Robert Stewart assembled his friends by the helpe of Dungall Campbell of Lochquhrow, and suddenlie toke the castell of Dunnone, sleaing all the Englishmen and other, which were found therein. [Which Campbell (as saith John Maior) came with 400 men, and by the testimonie of Buch. was a man of great power in Argile.] The commons of Bute and Arrane, glad of this prosperous beginning, assembled together to the number of foure hundred persons, and set forthward, that they might come to support Robert Stewart in such his late begun enterprises: and being encountered by the waie by Alane Lile thiriffe of Bute, they laid so lustilie about them, that they slue the thiriffe, [with John Gilbert capteine of the castle of Bute] there in the field, & discomfited all his people [which they did after this manner. These people of Bute, (called the seruants of Batodanus) seeing such sturs to be made by Alane Lile, ran to a heape of stones not farre from them, and with great force pelting the thiriffe, they in the end killed him with stones, and put the rest to flight.] Diuerse of them taken prisoners, were brought awoie, and presented vnto Robert Stewart, who in recompense of this seruice, granted sundrie priuileges vnto the inhabitants of Bute and Arrane: as among other things, to be free from paying tribute for their coyne and graine. Such felicities succeding one another, caused manie of the Scots to ioine themselves with Robert Stewart, in hope to recouer the realme out of the English mens hands. Amongst other, Thomas Bruce earle of Carrike, and William Canther [whome John Maior calleth Carrucher, & Buchanan Carruder of Anandale] with a number of the commons came vnto him.

About the same time, the earle of Murray returned forth of France, and landed at Donbrixton, where he was most ioyfullie receiued by the said Robert Stewart. Shortly after the said Stewart, and the said earle, hauing with them a great power of their friends and allies [as Godfrie Kosse, and others] came into Clidale, Kanfrew, Aile, Cunningham and Aire, which together with Ros and Murray, they reduced to the obedience of king David. [At which time (as saith Buchanan) did Kanfrew come to his old lordes the Stewards.] The earle of Murray also, to reuenge the injuries done by the earle of Atholl, went vnto Aberdeen, and there learning where he sojourned, made thither with all speed: but the earle of Atholl vnderstanding how all the countrie toke part with his aduersaries, fled into the mounteins, where he sustained his life with heards and cotes for a time, and durst not come forth to shew his head. At length, when he saw no waie to escape, he came forth and in most humble wise submitted himselfe to the lordes that defended the part of king David. They receiuing him vpon his submission, sware him to be true vnto king David, and exhorting him to be as diligent in reconciling the people vnto king David, as he had bene afore to subdue them to the obedience of the Balioll, they suffered him to depart.

About the same time, sir William Dotwaglass of Liddesdale, and Andrew Murray, were ransomed home out of England, for a great summe of monie, after they had bene kept there by the space of thre yerres in captiuitie. At their comming to Edinburgh, they found the lordes assembled in counsell, at

the which John Randolph earle of Murray, and Robert Stewart, with generall voices were elected gouernours. Manie Scottishmen at this time revolted from the king of England, submitting themselves to king David, as Alexander Ramsay, a vertie skillfull warriour, Laurence Preston, John Herring, and John Haliburton knights, with diuerse other.

After this, John Randolph, and Robert Stewart, were sent into the north parts with a strong armie, gathered of such as were wearied by the English gouernement, whereat David Cumin (being feared with the sudden assemblie) fled for his safetie, whome they egerlie pursued, and taking him (being then beset in a narrow streit, and oppressed with penurie of all things) they compelled him to yeld (without anie more circumstances) to their faction, who then swearing fealtie to David Bruce, was permitted to depart vpon his promise: wherevnto they gaue such faith, that they left him deputie for them. At what time he did not faintlie dissemble the fauouring & defending of the part of Bruce. In the meane time, Randolph returned into Louthian, and ioined himselfe with his old friend William Dotwaglass latelie returned out of England, & now with great slaughters of his enemies egerlie reuenged the long lothsonnesse of his imprisonment: to whome also to make their partie the stronger, came Andrew Murray, which was taken at Bokesborowe. Wherefore these gouernours sufficientlie garded with the nobilitie, appointed a parlement at Perth, in the last ends of Aprill. Whither when the nobles came, there could not be anie thing performed, by reason of the secret hartburning harbored in the bosoms of William Dotwaglass, and David Cumin earle of Atholl: the cause whereof was pretended to be, in that Dotwaglass did obiect vnto Cumin, that it was by his meanes, that he was no sooner deliuered out of prison from the English: amongst which nobilitie, Stewart fauored Cumin, and almost all the other toke part with Dotwaglass. Which dissention amongst the nobilitie, was occasioned for suspect which they had of the Cumins comming to that place with so great a traine: for he brought thither such number of his friends and followers, that he was a terror to all the rest of the assemblie, to the increase of which suspicion, they further ioined a conceit they had of Cumins great and changeable wit, his aspiring mind, and certeine rumors spread abroad of the comming of the English, with whome no man did doubt, but that the earle of Atholl would ioine for his defense.)

Edward king of England vnderstanding the rebellion of the Scots, determined to assaile them both by sea and land: and so prouiding a nauie of an hundred and foure score ships, sent the same well vittelled and manned to saile into the Forth, the which being there arriued, burnt and spoiled the towne on both sides that riuer, but returning backe into England, they lost manie of their vessels by a tempest. King Edward himselfe, together with Edward the Balioll entered by land, with an armie of fiftie thousand men, leading the same to the towne of Perth, otherwise called saint Johns towne, and there lodged in campe, abiding for the comming of the earle of Atholl, who as then being solicited thereto by the king of Englands agents, was readie to turne againe incontinentlie to his side [who after accoringlie, with Godfrie of Kosse, & Alexander Hotbryde, with other, came to the king of England.]

The same time, whilst the king of England lay thus at Perth, the earle of Namure (whom the Scottish writers wronglie name the duke of Gelderland) came into England with an armie, and purposing to passe thorough Scotland vnto the place where king Edward lay in campe, to come to his aid, was discomfited

The earle of Murray and Robert Stewart elected gouernours.

Fr. Thin. Buchanan.

Hector Boet. saith it was holden at Darle.

Ye may read more of this matter in the historie of England. A nauie sent into Scotland, shipwracke.

R. Edward inuadeth the Scots by land.

Fr. Thin. Scala chron.

Not the duke of Gelderland but the earle of Namure, named Guy.

The castell of Dunnone taken.

For thiriffe of Bute slain.

Fr. Thin.

Fr. Thin. Buchanan, John Maior.

Indissemment of the same.

Fr. Thin.

The earle of Murray returned forth of France.

Fr. Thin. Countries reduced to the obedience of king David.

The earle of Atholl fled into the mounteins.

Whom submitted himselfe.

Fr. William Dotwaglass, Andrew Murray.

John Fourdon.

William Dowglasse cometh to the succour of the Scots.

David de Amand a Scottish knight.

Hyperbole.

A woman of manlike force and stature.

The earle of Murray is taken prisoner.

The earle of Atholl revolting to the Balioll is effronces established governour. The king of England returneth home taking the Balioll with him.

consisted on the Burrowe more, beside Edinburgh, by the power of the governours, and others, which were there assembled against him. There died manie on both parts in the fight (as John Fourdon writeth) for the strangers fought verie valiantlie: insomuch that if William Dowglasse, with diuerse other, had not come downe from Picland hills to the aid of the Scots, whilste they were thus fighting, the strangers that day had twome the victorie. But now discouraged with the sudden coming of this fresh aid to their aduersaries, they began to giue place, and drew towards Edinburgh: neuertheless keeping themselves in order of battell, they fought still: and at length coming to Edinburgh, they were driven by thorough the fiers street, and so by an other street, called saint Marie Wind, where one sir David de Amand, a verie valiant knight chanced to be wounded by one of the enemies, by reason whereof he was so kindled in wrathfull desire to be reuenged, that with an are which he had in his hand, he gaue his aduersarie (that had hurt him) such a blow on the shoulder, that he claue him downe together with his horse, that the are staid not till it light vpon the verie hard pauement, so as the print of that violent stroke remained to be seene a long time after in one of the stones of the same pauement.

The strangers still retiring, and manfullie defending themselves, at length got to the hill where Edinburgh castle standeth, and there sue their horses, making as it were a rampier of their carcases, so to defend themselves from the force of their enemies: but being inuironed by the Scots on ech side all that night, and hauing neither meate nor drinke there with to susteine their languishing bodies, the which beside hunger and thirst, were soe tormented with cold also, and want of conuenient lodging, they yielded themselves the next day, with condition to haue their lines saued. When the spoile of the field (where they first ioined) was gathered, amongst the dead bodies there was found a woman of an huge stature, who in the beginning of the battell slept forth before hir companie, and incountering in singular fight with an esquire of Scotland, named Richard Shaw, she ouerthrew him, and afterwards beating downe hir enemies on ech side, long it was per the might he ouerthrewne, which chanced not before she was inuironed about on ech side with hir enemies.

The earle of Hamur having yielded himselfe into the hands of the governours, was verie courteously used, the earle of Murray not onelie rendering vnto him all his goods, but also granting him licence to depart: and for his moze suertie, he went himselfe in person with him to the borders, to see him safe deliuered out of all dangers. But by an ambush that lay in wait for the earle of Murray, he was taken prisoner, and brought to king Edward. David Cumin earle of Atholl, hearing that the earle of Murray one of the governours was thus taken, supposing king Edwards part to be much advanced thereby, came straightwaies vnto Perth, and gaue his faith effronces vnto Edward Balioll, and was againe established by him governour of the realme of Scotland, as he was before. The king of England, hauing in the meane time gotten the towne of Perth, returned into England, and toke the Balioll with him, for doubt least when he had recovered the whole gouernement of the realme, he should shrinke awaie from him. The earle of Atholl hauing now regained his former authoritie, began to exercise great crueltie against all those that were enemies to the Balioll.

The nobles of the contrarie faction (as Patrike Dunbar earle of March, Andrew Murray, & William Dowglasse, with other) toke great despite there-

at, and raising an armie to restraine his insolent doings, came towards him, whereof he being aduertised (as then lieng at siege before the castle of Kilbunmie) rose and met them in the fields within the Forrest of Kilblaine, where he gaue them a fore battell, and had gone awaie with the victorie, had not John Crag capteine of Kilbunmie sallied forth of the castle with three hundred fresh men, and coming to the succour of his friends, renewed the battell in such earnest wise, that the aduersaries thereby were discomfited, earle David their chiefeine being slaine in the field, with Walter Bide, Robert Cumin, and a great number of other, both gentlemen and commons. Sir Thomas Cumin was taken prisoner, & beheaded the next day, being Iulijes day. For the battell before mentioned was fought the last day of December (as Fourdon noteth.) Who further saith, that the earle of Atholl had with him three thousand men against his aduersaries, which were not past eleven hundred.

This David earle of Atholl was verie instant & grædie of gouernment, who if he had brought all the Scots to haue taken king Edwards part, would out of doubt, haue afterward contended with king Edward, and inuaded the kingdome of Scotland by violence; he did most grieuoully oppress the guiltlesse and poore people, and wickedlie ordered all things after his own fantasie, without reason. Cumin earle of Atholl was slaine on this wise: Andrew Murray was chosen gouernour in place of the earle of Murray, taken (as before is said) by the Englishmen. This Andrew Murray in the beginning of his new office, laid siege to the castle of Conper, with a mightie power of men, but hearing that the Cumins made foule worke in the north parts of the realme, against such as fauoured not the English part, he left that siege, and went against them, with whome incountering in battell, he ouerthrew their armie, and put them all to flight.

At this bickering were slaine two of the Cumins, Robert and William, Thomas Caldar, and diuerse other valiant men, though enemies for the time vnto the gouernour. This victorie reduced all the north parts of Scotland vnto the obedience of king David. Few Englishmen after the same abode within the north bounds of Scotland, except those that were within the castle of Dungard in Buchquhane. At length this castle was wone, & all that kept it slaine, except Henrie Beaumont the capteine, who being sworne neuer to returne againe into Scotland, was licenced by the gouernour to depart into England without anie interruption. After this, the gouernour came to the castle of Lochindozis, and laid siege to it, where within was the countesse of Atholl, the wife of the late slaine earle David. This woman hauing knowledge aforesaid, that hir house should be besieged, had sent vnto the king of England and to Edward Balioll for succours.

The king of England now doubting least all the strengths in Scotland, kept by such as were his friends, would be lost without recoverie, if the same were not the sooner rescued, he raised an armie of forty thousand men, and entering therewith into Scotland, came to the castle of Lochindozis aforesaid. The Scots that lay there at siege, vpon knowledge had of his coming towards them, brake vp, and departed from thence. Here vpon, when he had restituted the hold with new men, munition, and vittels, he toke the countesse forth with him, and passed with bloudie sword thorough Murray, euen to Elghine, and returning by Mar, burnt the towne of Aberdeen. Then he went to Strueling, where he strongly repaired the castle: from whence he toke his iourne to Bothenill, and there also in winter he made the castle

The earle of Atholl is slaine.

Fourdon.

Fr. Thin. John Major. 5. cap. 14.

Andrew Murray chosen gouernour.

The Cumins put to flight.

The north parts of Scotland reduced to the obedience of king David. The castle of Dungard wone.

The castle of Lochindozis besieged.

The king of England cometh to raise the siege of Lochindozis.

The towne of Aberdeen burnt by the Englishmen. Fr. Thin. Scala chron.

the stronger, in which he placed a valiant garrison: to this fort the lord Berkeleie conueied vittells from Edinburgh, and in one night discomfited William Dowglas that lay in wait to intercept him. After which, king Edward did thortlie lose all the said castles, which he had before with so great care fortified. His naue being on the sea at the same time, entered into the Forth, and spoiling (as other had done afore time) the church of saint Colme, felt reuenge thereof thortlie after: for that ship (as they tell the tale) wherein saint Colmes goods (for so they call them) were laden, sonke to the bottome of the sea, without force of anie tempest, or other apparant occasion.

The towne of Perth newlie builded.

The king of England at his coming to Perth, forth of the north parts of Scotland, and finding the towne vntofortified, caused the same to be newlie fenced with walls and bulwarks, at the charges and onerlie expenses of these six abbeies, Aberbrothoke, Couper, Lundoris, Balmerinock, Dunfermling, & saint Andrewes. Henrie Beaumont also, who contrarie to his oth before taken, was now returned with king Edward into Scotland, was made capteine of saint Andrewes. Also Henrie Ferrar was made capteine of the castle of Lucres, William Spontacate of Striueling, William Felton of Rochelburgh, and the keeping of the towne of Perth was committed vnto one Thomas Wylhed. Whilest king Edward ordered things in Scotland after this manner, his brother (surnamed by the Scottish writers Eltham) came vnto him at Perth, who in the west parts of Scotland had exercised much crueltie, as well against the enemies of the Englishmen, as against those that were fauourers and friends vnto them, in so much that passing through Galloway, Carrick, Aile, and Cunningham, he put all to the fier and sword that came in his waies. He burned the church of saint Bute, and a thousand persons within it, which were fled thither for safegard of their liues. At his coming to Perth, he found the king his brother within the church there, who being sore offended with him for his misordered doings, verie sharpe reprimanded him for the same: and for so much as he answered him somewhat frowardlie, he plucked forth his sword, and there thrust him through the bodie, euen before the altar of saint John, wishing that all such might perish on the same wise, as put no difference betwixt friend and foe, place halloved and unhallowe, as being no reason, that the church should be anie more refuge for him, than he had made it for other.

The king of England at his coming to Perth, forth of the north parts of Scotland, and finding the towne vntofortified, caused the same to be newlie fenced with walls and bulwarks, at the charges and onerlie expenses of these six abbeies, Aberbrothoke, Couper, Lundoris, Balmerinock, Dunfermling, & saint Andrewes.

It may be, that king Edward due some other man in this sort, as the Scots here doe write: but for the earle of Cornewall that was brother to king Edward, and surnamed John of Eltham, because he was bozne at Eltham, it is nothing true that he was so made awaie, for he died of a naturall infirmite, as by our English writers it manifestedli appereth. But now to proceed with the historie, as we find it written. Such things accomplished in Scotland (as before ye haue heard) king Edward returned into England, & left the Balioll behind him with a great power of men at Perth. About the same time, Henrie Beaumont due all such Scots as he might lay hands on, that had bene at the battell of Bilsbaine, where his cosine David Cumyn was slaine. Whereupon now, after that king Edward was returned into England, Andrew Murray came forth of the mountains, into the which he was before withdraten to elchue the furie of the Englishmen; and by the assistance of sundrie of the nobles of Scotland, he toke the castle of Kinclennin, and raised it to the earth. Shortlie after he came into Spemes, and there toke the castle of Bilsbaine, and likewise raised the same.

Then passing forward, he burned Dunnoter.

On the other part, the Englishmen made no lesse spoile and destruction on each side where they came, so that the Spemes, Angus, Stermond, and Colwyke through spoile, murder, & other disgraces, chancing by continuall warre, were left in manner waste and desolat. At length, this Andrew Murray assembling a great power, with support of them of Murray, Mar, and Buchquhan, fought with his enemies at Panmure in Angus, where he obtained the victorie with huge slaughter of Englishmen, and other his aduersaries. In this battell was slaine Henrie Mountfort, who latelie before had bene sent by king Edward into Scotland to support the Balioll, beside foure thousand others, the most part gentlemen: so that this ouerthrow was verie displeasing to the king of England, hauing his side sore weakened thereby. After the gaine of this victorie, Andrew Murray passed through Fife & Angus, ouerthrowing the castle of Lucres, with all the other strengthis of Fife, the castle of Couper onelie excepted.

Andrew Murray gardian of the Scots (and sir David Bute) did much harme in the countrie of Carleill, from whence he went to besiege the castle of Edinburgh (as yet in the hands of the English) whose intent coming to the knowledge of the marchers of England, they hastened to repaire to raise the same siege of Edinburgh, and to rescue their countrienmen within the towne. By meanes whereof, the Scots remoued and came to Clerkington, and the English came to Brethytowne not farre distant; betwene whome there was a great fight, and manie slaine on both sides. But the victorie inclining (without anie great conquest) to neither partie, both armies parted: for the English went ouer Tweed, and the Scots feining that they would go into England, lodged themselves at Galushill. So that king Edward hearing of such prosperous successe chancing to his aduersaries, sent incontinentlie two capteins with two armies into Scotland, to the support of the Balioll.

William Tailbois a man of notable prowes, hauing the conduct of the one of these armies, was encountered by William Keith, and after the discomfiture of his people, being taken prisoner, was kept in captiuitie till he paid two thousand marks for his ransom. The other was led by Richard Mountfort to whom Laurence Beiston and Robert Gordon met, and giuing him battell, due the same Richard with the most part of all his companie. About the same time sir William Spontacate earle of Salisbury, together with the earle of Arundell came into Scotland with a great power of men, and besieged the castell of Dunbar, lieng at the same for the space of 22 weeks. [At which battell also was king Edward, the earle of Gloucester, the lords Persie and Beuill, being in the yeare 1337, as saith Scala chron.] Within the said castell was the countesse hir selfe, surnamed blacke Agnes of Dunbar, who shewed such manlie defense, that no gaine was to be got anie waies forth at hir hands, so that in the end they were constrained to raise their siege, and to depart without spede of their purpose. It is said, that this countesse vsed manie pleasant words in teasing and taunting at the enemies doings, thereby the more to encourage hir souldiers.

One day it chanced that the Englishmen had devised an engine called a sow, vnder the pentise or couert wherof they might approach safelie to the walls: the beholding this engine, merueille said, that vntill the Englishmen kept their sow the better, they would make hir to cast hir pigs: and so she after destroyed it. In the yeare next after this siege, there was such a dearth thorough all the bounds of Scotland,

The calamitie chancing to sundrie countreies of Scotland through continuall wars. The victorie of Andrew Murray gotten at Panmure. Henrie Mountfort slaine.

The castle of Lucres ouerthrowne. Fr. Thin. Scala chron.

Two armies sent into Scotland.

William Tailbot, or rather Tailbois is taken prisoner.

Richard Mountfort or Spontacate is slaine. The castell of Dunbar is besieged by the earles of Salisbury and Arundell. Fr. Thin.

1337. Blacke Agnes of Dunbar.

An engine called a sow.

A great dearth and al-

for a death in
Scotland.

Fr. Thin.
Scala chron.

The castell
of Couper
left void.

The castell of
Louthian in
the hands of
the English-
men.

The death of
Andrew Purrey the
gouernor.
1338.

Clutdall re-
covered out of
the English
mens hands
by William
Dowglas.

Fr. Thin.
Io. Maior. lib. 5.
cap. 5.

land, with such mortallitie of people, as a greater had not lightlie bene seene nor heard of. The cause of which mortallitie proceeded (as was thought) for that the ground lay vntilled and not occupied, by reason of the continuall warres before passed. [The marchers of England (that were left behind the lordes that went into Scotland) were discomfited at Bersefen: where Robert Spencers was taken, with manie other prisoners, beside a multitude that were slaine, by reason of certeine displeafant wordes amongst them, which caused that they brake order, diuided themselves, and fought in an inconuenient place.] All the souldiers that kept the castell of Couper, for lacke of vittells left the house void, and comming to the sea side, hired a ship to haue passed into England, but through negligence of the maister mariner, they fell vpon a sand-bed, and so were cast away. About the same time the most part of all the strengths and fortresses in Louthian were kept by Englishmen. The towne of Edenburgh was stuffed with a great number of souldiers, both Englishmen and Scots. Amongest whome there was a Scot of a right stout stomack named Robert Pendergess; he, for that it was perceiued he loued but litle the English nation, was euill intreated and vsed amongst them, in so much that on a day, hauing his head broken by the marshall named Thomas Knatoun, he ceased not to take some meane to be reuenged, till he brought his purpose to passe, so that shortly after he slue the said marshall, and after ward to auoid the danger of death due for that sad, he got away, and came to William Dowglas, whome he perswaded with all diligence to passe vnto Edenburgh, where he might find his enemies at some great aduantage, by reason of the slothfull negligence as then growne amongst them. William Dowglas following this aduertisement, came secretly on a night vnto the foresaid towne, and slue foure hundred Englishmen sleeping in slepe and drunkenesse, before they were able to make any resistance.

Not long after, Andrew Purrey the gouernor of Scotland deceased, to the great damage of the common-wealth, and was buried in Kilmarnock, in the yeare after the birth of our Sauour 1338. It came well to passe for Scotland, that about the same time the king of England entering into wars against France, was constrained to cease his pursuit of the conquest which he minded to make in Scotland, the which must needs haue come to full effect, if he had followed his former purpose and intent. But to proceed, after the deceasse of Andrew Purrey the gouernor, Robert Steward took all the charge on him for the gouernment of the realme, till king Dauid returned home out of France, and began to rule all things himselfe. Clutdall also was recovered out of the Englishmens hands, with diuers other places, about this time, by the high prowes and manlie valiance of William Dowglas and other Scottish capteins; and therefore in the reward of the good seruice shewed by the same William in conquest of that countrie, he inioied the same afterward as his rightfull inheritance. [Henrie earle of Lancaster and Derby, hearing of the valure of these two worthy capteins, William Dowglas, and Alexander Ramsay, earnestly desired to see them, and to trie their strengths in iusting. Whereupon, there was a day appointed therefore at Werbyke by all the said parties, where they met with their complices provided accordingly. At what time a certeine Englishman asked Peter Crane, if he would not refuse to iust with him, to whome he answered, that he accepted the chalenge, but willed him first to dine well, because he should that night sup in paradise. Which fell out accordingly, for in run-

ning together the Englishman was slain.] The king of England moued with high displeasure at these doings, sent a right valiant knight named sir Thomas Berkeley with a great power of men into Scotland. Against whome came William Dowglas, and Robert Steward the gouernor, and gaue him battell at Blackeborne, where the Scots were discomfited and so beaten downe, that few of them escaped, which were not either slaine or taken. Notwithstanding the two capteins saued themselves by flight.

Not long after, William Dowglas fought with his enemies at the Cragings, where hauing not past fortie men in his companie, he discomfited sir John Strueling, who had with him nere hand fure hundred Englishmen and Scots, that took his part in the king of Englands quarell. In the yeare following, the same William Dowglas won the castell of Hermitage, & slue all them that were found within it. In the yeare next after, he fought five times in one day with sir Laurence Abernethie, principall capteine vnder the Balioll, and being put to the worse at foure of those times, at the fift he vanquished his enemies, and took prisoner their capteine the said sir Laurence, who was sent to the castell of Dunbretton, there to remaine in safe keeping for a time. For these and such worthy enterprises hardlie atchieued, this Will. Dowglas was much commended, and within a few daies after the taking of the said sir Laurence Abernethie, he was sent by the gouernor the said Robert Steward into France, as ambassador to king Dauid, for the dispatch of certeine weightie matters touching the state of the realme.

In the meane time, Robert Steward the gouernor raised a mightie armie, and came with the same vnto the towne of Perth, planting a strong siege round about it; for diuiding his host into foure parts, he lodged them with their capteins in foure seuerall places. The first consisting for the most part of westerne Scots, he gouerned himselfe; the second he committed to Patrike Dunbar earle of March, the third to William earle of Ross, and the fourth, to spaurice of Howday lord of Clidestdale. These lay thus at siege of this towne for the space of ten weekes. And though sundrie times they gaue alarmes and assaults to it, yet was it so stoutly defended by Englishmen and other within, that the Scots for a long time lost more than they won. At length when they were in manner past all hope to get the towne, & readie to haue departed from it, William Dowglas arriued in the state, bringing with him out of France in five ships, both men of war, and also munition of armour, artillerie, and weapons, which serued the Scottishmen in that season greatlie to purpose.

Amongest other, there were two knights of the familie of Castelgaird, and two esquires, Giles de la Hois, and John de Wesse; also a noble pirat, named Hugh Hamble, who had the charge ouer the foresaid five ships. [While Edward the third was at the siege of Turneie, the earls of March and Somerset made a rode into Scotland, and were discomfited by Thomas Greie the elder, Robert Spencers, John Copeland, with the garrison of Roxborough, then in the hands of the English, but after wone by the Scots, on Easter day, at the herie house of the resurrection; the gouernment whereof seemed to be fatall, because all the capteins of this towne died of euill deaths, amongst whome was Alexander Ramsay the capteine herof that died with hunger, being put in prison for verie ennis that William Dowglas bare vnto him.] About the same time, one William Bullocke had taken edmones the

Sir Thomas
Berkeley.

The battell
of Blacke-
borne.

Sir John
Strueling
discomfited.

The castell of
Hermitage
wonne.

Sir Laurence
Abernethie
taken prisoner.

Sir William
Dowglas
sent into
France.

1338.
The towne
of Perth be-
sieged.

There was
also in that
armie beside
other noble
men William
Beith of Sel-
kirk.

William
Dowglas re-
turned out of
France.

John Fourdoun

Fr. Thin.
1340.
Scala chron.

the castell of Couper to the king of Englands use, but by persuation of this William Douglas, he rendered it by againe, and departed with bag and baggage. Those Scots that had serued vnder him likewise, were content to forsake the king of Englands wages, and to serue William Douglas, who led them forthwith to the siege of Perth, the which towne they beleagged. His coming was reuealed into the gouerners hands, by Thomas Glouier the capteine, in the third moneth after it was first besieged, & in the yere after our redemption 1341. Among other exploits attempted at this siege after the departing of the lord William Douglas, the Frenchman Hugh de Waple, taking vpon him on a day to assault the towne with his ships, and to giue an assault thereto, he lost the chiefest vessel he had, although afterwards when the towne was now recovered, the lord William Douglas sent the same ship to be to him againe repaired, and with great thanks and highall rewards giuen as well to him as to the other of the Frenchmen, he sent them backe into France, greatlie to their pleasure and contentation; although in their returne, as they passed out of Dumfries shire, they escaped herie hardlie from the shire. The winter after the siege of Turnie, king Edward went to Melrose, but from thence riding through part of the forest of Strike, in a tempestuous time, he came backe againe to Melrose, where Henrie earle of Lancaster iusted with William Douglas (by couenant) in the kings sight. King Edward taking a truce, departed from Melrose, half overcome with melancholie against those that first moued him to this iourne, not succeeding as they hoped and desired that it should haue done.

In the same yere (as some do write) or according vnto other in the yere following, there was such a miserable dearth, both through England and Scotland, that the people were driuen to eat the flesh of horses, dogs, cats, and such like vniuersal kinds of meates, to susteine their languishing liues withall, yea, in some that (as is said) there was a Scottish man, an vplandish fellow named Triskeloke, spared not to steale children, and to kill women, on whose flesh he fed, as if he had bene a wolfe. Perth being once deliuered (as before is said) to the gouernor, he went with his armie to Striuchling, and besieging the castell, had it rendered vnto him the eight day after his coming thither, on these conditions, that Thomas Foulke the capteine, with his wife and children might safely passe into England, without fraud or guile of anie impeachment [of which castell (as saith Buchanan) Maurice the sonne of Andrew Murray was made capteine.] Edward Balioll, by such good and prosperous successe, as did thus daile fall vnto his enemies, to auoid further danger, after oft removing from place to place, at length he was constrained to flee into England, lest he should haue fallen into his aduersaries hands.

Not long after, the castell of Edenburgh was wonne by policie on this wise. William Douglas hauing acquaintance with one Walter Towres, [whom Buchanan called William Cur a merchant] caused him to provide a ship, and to arrive there with in the Forth, feining as though he were a merchant, and to offer wines to sell vnto the garison that kept Edenburgh castell. This Towres according to instructions thus giuen him, provided him of all things necessarie for the purpose, & so coming into the Forth with his ship, came on land himselfe, and brought with him into Edenburgh two puncheons of wine, which he offered to sell vnto the steward of household to the capteine of the castell, who falling at a price with him, appointed that he should

bring them earlie in the morning by to the castell, that they might be received in. Towres hiring a cart our night, came with the puncheons by to the castell gate, earlie vpon the brake of the day in the next morning, and hauing the gates opened, entered with his cart, and being come within the gates with it, he plucked forth a wedge or pin deuised of purpose, and immediatlie therewith the cart with the puncheons fell downe, so stopping the entrie of the gates, that in no wise they might be shut or closed againe.

The Douglasse hauing in his companie William Bullocke, Walter Fraserie, and John Sandlands, right valiant knights, with diuerse other hardie and bold personages, laid in concert not far from the castell, & hauing knowledge giuen him by sound of home, or other wise, when to come forth, he hasted there vpon with all diligence vnto the gates, and finding them thus open, first shut the porters, and after into the castell, within a while had dispatched all them within, and so became maisters of that fortress, within the which for capteine they left one William Douglas, the bastard brother of the other William Douglas, by whose conduct chieflie, both this enterprise and diuers other were luckilie achieved. This was the realme of Scotland clearelie recovered out of the enemies hands the Englishmen, and all other that tooke part with the Balioll, constrained to auoid out of all the parts and bounds thereof. The castell of Edenburgh was thus recovered by the Scots in the yere last before remembred, to wit, 1341.

The same yere, or in the next ensuing, the second of June, king David with his wife queene Jane, and sundrie nobles both French and Scottish, came safely through the seas, and arrived in Innerbernie, from whence with no small triumph they were conueied vnto Perth. About the same time, Alexander Ramsay of Dalhousie, one of the most valiant capteins knowne in those daies, gathering a great power of men, entered into England, and hauing knowledge that the Englishmen were assembled, in purpose to giue him battell, laid an ambush for them, and training them within danger thereof, by such a fierce and new onset as he gaue vpon them, he put them out of order, and chased them most eagerly, killing and slaying a great number of them at his pleasure. Amongst the prisoners that were taken, the earle of Salisbury (as the Scottish historie saith) was one, and the capteine of Hokesburgh another.

Sir Alexander Ramsay, perceiving that the most part of the garison of Hokesburgh were either slaine, or taken in this last conflict, together with their capteine, came hastily thither, and giuing a right fierce assault thereto, by fine force took it. Therefore king David in recompense of his valancie thus declared in his seruice, gaue vnto him the keeping of this castell, together with the shirfwike of Euidale. Whereat William Douglasse took such displeasure, that seeking to be reuenged, he found meanes to apprehend this Alexander Ramsay within the church of Hawke, and put him in prison within the castell of Hermitage, where he remained in great miserie and lacke of food till he died. [About which time by the said kind of death (as saith Buchanan) was William Bullocke slaine, by David Berkelie. The death of which tooke did draw Scotland into manie factions, and filled it with seditions.]

King David was sore moued herewith, purposing to see such punishment done vpon William Douglasse for that rebellious attempt, as might serue for an example to all other who they went about anie the like offense. Nevertheless, the Douglasse kept him out of the way amongst the mountains

1341. H.B.

1342. Jo. Ma.

King David returned into Scotland.

Alexander Ramsay returned into England.

This Ramsay was so renowned, that euery noble man was glad to haue his sonne and kinman to serue vnder him.

The castell of Hokesburgh wonne by Alexander Ramsay.

Alexander Ramsay taken by William Douglas, & imprisoned.

Fr. Thin.

teins and other desert places, till finally Robert Stewart and other nobles purchased his pardon, so that at length he came into favor againe, and had all his lands and livings restored unto him, as well in Tuidale as elsewhere.

The earle of Salisburie exchanged for the earle of Murray.

Froilard.

1342.

A parliament at Perth.

The bounteous liberalitie of King David. This Hugh was grandfather to Hector Boetius.

King David himselfe thumberland.

Fr. Thin.

King David the second time invaded the English borders.

Five Scottish knights taken prisoners

King David the third time invaded England. Foul weather.

Calis besieged.

Embassadors sent to French king into Scotland.

Done after the earle of Salisburie was taken by sir Alexander Ramsay (as is said) he was exchanged for the earle of Murray, that had bene holden manie yeres before as prisoner in England. But it should appeare by other writers, that the earle of Salisburie was not taken at that time in the borders of Scotland (as before is supposed) but in the borders of France, where he was in the wars which king Edward the same time made against the Frenchmen, & now was exchanged for the earle of Murray. But howsoever it was, king David after the realm of Scotland was once brought into a quiet estate from the former trouble of war, he called a parliament at the towne of Perth, where he rewarded verie liberalitie all such as had either done any notable service themselves, or had lost any of their friends or parents in defense & recoverie of the realm out of his adversaries hands. Among other, Hugh Boece had in recompense of his fathers slaughter at Duplin, the inheritance & labie of the baronie of Balzid given him in marriage, which baronie is yet possessed by the heires of the said Hugh.

Shortlie after upon the breaking up of this parliament, king David raised a mightie armie, and entered with the same into Northumberland; but committing the whole charge to John Randolph erle of Murray as lieutenant generall, he would not that any of his owne banners should be spred and borne in all that voiage [although himselfe were there in person, serving secretlie, and would not be knowne in this iourne.] The most part of all Northumberland was burnt and spoiled, for they remained there a moneth before they returned, carrying awaye with them great riches, which they got abroad in all places where they came. Shortlie after, he came with a new armie into England, causing his owne standard to be carried afore him at that time, as he that toke upon him the whole governance of that enterprise himselfe. The Englishmen withdrawing all their goods into strengths, minded not to give the Scots any set batell, but to take them ever at some advantage, if they strayed abroad any where unwarlike to fetch in booties. Neither were they altogether disappointed of their hoped prey, for; Scottish knights, whose names were Stewart, Eglinton, Craggie, Boib, and Fullarton, pursuing their enemies on a time over fiercelie, were taken prisoners, and after redeemed for great summes of monie. At length, king David perceiving that he wasted but time, returned into Scotland. But not long after he went againe into England, in which iourne his people were so beaten with vehement stormes of raime and haile, that they had much ado to save themselves from perishing through the unmeasurable force of that so rigorous weather.

On the other side, the Englishmen that were gathered to resist against him, were in semblable manner nere hand destroyed with the like rage of tempest. Hereupon king David, to the end that his enterprise should not seeme altogether to want effect, overthrow sundrie strong houses on the English borders, and so returned home without other damage either done or received. About the same time did Edward king of England besiege the towne of Calis. The French king therefore devising all waies possible whereby to save that towne, and to cause his adversary to raise his siege, sent ambassadors into Scotland, to require king David, that with an armie he would enter into England, and do what da-

mage he might unto the Englishmen, to trie if by that meanes king Edward could be constrained to leave his siege, and to returne home for defense of his owne countrie and subiects. In the meane time also (as I find in the Scottish chronicles) king Edward addressed his orators into Scotland, offering unto king David, upon condition that peace might be had, to deliver into his hands not onelie the towne of Berwicke, but also Edward Balioll his old adversary, for whose cause the warre had so long continued betwixt them.

These offers being proponed in counsell, though some of the wiser sort gave advice that in no condition they ought to be refused; yet the king himselfe (for love that he had to the French king with whom he had bene brought up) and other of the nobles having young heads, upon desire to be revenged of the Englishmen by practise of warres (whereunto they were inclined) would needs consent to the French kings chargeable request, & refuse the king of Englands beneficiall offers. Whereupon an armie was leved, and solemn proclamation made, that all such as were able and fit to beare armour, should meet the king at a certaine day and place, which was to them in the same proclamation assigned. The earle of Ross therefore came with his people unto Perth, and there made his musters before the king: but in the night following he slew the lord of the Isles, with seven of his kinsmen as they were in their beds, and thereupon fled, and got him with all speed againe into Ross [whereby the armie was greatly diminished, when the friends of both parts fearing civil warres amongst the families departed home.]

King David, though he was sore displeased herewith, and desired most earnestlie to have punished that heinous act; yet because he would not hinder his iourne, he let passe the punishment thereof, till more convenient opportunitie might serve thereto. [Notwithstanding that William Dowglass of Alderdale did earnestlie persuade him, as that time to leave the iourne, and first to punish these turmoils at home, whereby all things might be quieted in his absence.] At his coming to the borders, and before he entered into England, he made manie knights, to stirre them the rather to do valiantlie; but first he created William Dowglass an earle, which William was sonne to Archibald Dowglass, slaine before at Halidon hill. There was undoubtedly a mightie power of the Scots assembled at that present; inasmuch as there was of earles, lords, knights, and gentlemen, to the number of two thousand men of armes; and of such armed men as they called hoblers, set forth by the burrowes and good townes twentie thousand; beside the archers and other footmen; so that they were at the least fortie thousand men in all, or (as some writers affirme) three score thousand.

King David with that his puissant armie, the first of October entered Northumberland, and coming to a fortress not farre off from the borders called Lidell, they laie round about that place for the space of three daies, without giving thereto any assault: but the fourth day they assailed it right fiercelie, and in the end entered by fine force, fleeing the more part of all those which they found within the house. The captaine sir Walter Selbie was taken alive, but immediatlie by king David his commandement, had his head stricken off, and was not permitted to have so much time as to make his confession, which he instantlie desired to have done, but it would not be granted. From thence the armie removed, and went unto the abbie of Auerroft, which they spoiled; and that done they departed, and passing by Salward castle, and the towne of Redpath, kept on

The king of England's offers.

The king of England's offers.

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on till they came vnto the priorie of Werham, which they sacked; but the towne was saued from fire by commandement of king David, who in this iourne appointed to preserve foure townes onelie from burning; to wit, Werham aforesaid, Corbridge, Darlington, and Durham, to the end he might in them lay up such store of vittells, as he should prouide abroad in the countrie, wherewith to susteine his armie during the time of his abiding in those parties.

From Werham, where he laie these daies, he marched to Ebbesfer, waiking and spoiling the countrie on each hand, and after turned towards the wood of Bearepaire; and coming thither, lodged himselfe in the manoir, and set his people abroad into the countrie to fetch in botties, & to burne by the townes and houses in all places where they came. The spoile, waiking, destruction, and slaughter which the Scots practised with fire and sword, was wonderfull to heare, and incredible almost to be told, they spared neither yong nor old, church nor chapell: religious houses as well as other were consumed to ashes. The abbey of Durham, and all places thereabout (as the Scottish writers affirme) were spoiled and miserable sacked, although it was said king David was admonished in a dreame, that he should in anie wise abstaine from violating the gods and lands pertaining to saint Cuthbert.

The earle of Northumberland lieutenant of the North vnder king Edward, to resist these iniuries, raised a great power of men, and joining the same with such bands of old souldiers as king Edward had lately sent ouer out of France for that purpose, first dispatched an herald at armes vnto king David, requiring him to staie from further inuading the countrie, and to returne into Scotland, till some reasonable order for a finall peace might be agreed vpon betwixt him and the king his maister: otherwise he should be sure to haue battell to the utterance within three daies after. King David concerning this message, required his folks to make them readie to receiue their enemies if they came to assaile them, and on the next morrow, he diuided his armie into three battells. In the first was Robert Stewart prince of Scotland, and Patrike Dunbar earle of March; in the second were appointed John earle of Murray, and William earle of Douglas: in the third was the king himselfe, with all the residue of the nobles. [Contrarie to the which Buchanan placeth Douglas in the first, the king in the middle, and Stewart in the third.]

In the morning earlie before the battell, the earle of Douglas departed from the armie to descrite the English host, and to vnderstand their force and order (if it were possible): but entring somewhat betwixt lie within danger of his enemies, he was chased, and that to such disadvantage, that he lost fiftie, or rather fye hundred (as some booke haue) of yong gentlemen, and such other light horsemen as he toke forth with him, escaping verie narrowlie himselfe also from being taken at the chace. In the meane season, the English host diuided likewise into three battells, approached forward, and came within sight of the Scottish armie. Whereupon David Graham with a wing of fye hundred horsemen, well appointed gaue a full charge on the skirts of the English archers, thinking to haue distressed them: but he was so sharpelie receiued and beaten with arrowes, that losing a great number of his men, he was constrained to flee backe to the maine battell, and that not without great danger of being taken in his flight by such as followed him.

These two discomfittures notwithstanding, the Scots rushed fiercelie vpon their enemies, & fought with great manhood a long season; but in the end,

Robert Stewart, and the earle of March, perceiving their people partlie to shrink backe, caused the retreat to be sounded, in hope to saue their men by withdrawing into some safer place: but this fleeing backe of the earle of March and Robert Stewart, brought the discomfitture vpon all the residue of the Scots. For that battell of Englishmen that was first matched with them, came now with such violence vpon the maine battell where king David fought, that within a short while after, the same was utterly discomfited and put to flight. In this businesse king David himselfe did in euery point plaie the part of a most balliant chieftaine, encouraging his people as well with words as notable examples to do their indouours. Neither would he stie after he saw himselfe destitute of all conuenient aid, but still continued in earnest fight, desiring nothing so much (as should appeare) as death, for that he thought nothing more displeasing than life, after the slaughter of so manie of his nobles and liege people.

At length hauing his weapons stricken out of his hands, one John Copland came vnto him, and willed him to yield; but he with one of his fists gaue this Copland such a blow on the mouth, that by force of the gantlet he strake out two of his teeth before he did yield vnto him. Which Copland is misnamed by John Maior, and not onelie called Couptaunt, but also reported by him to be a Gascoigne, whereas it is euidet by our histories, that he was named Copland, and a mere Englishman. But to our purpose. The Scots that fought in the reuerward had no better successe than the other: for that battell was also broken & put to flight, with great slaughter as well of the nobles, as other commons, besides those that were taken. There were slaine in this dolorous conflict, the earle of Murray, the earle of Strathern, the constable, the marshall, the chamberleine and chancelor of Scotland, with a great number of other nobles and commons [with Maurice Murray.] There were taken with the king fye earles, that is to say, Douglas, Fife, Sutherland, Wigton, and Grenteth [the earle of March & the Seneschall fled, but after the earle of March being taken, was with the earle of Grenteth (as faith Scala chron.) drawn and hanged at London.] And besides other great riches lost in this field, the holie crosse (as they call it) of holie rood house, was found vpon king David, who bare it about him, in trust that by vertue thereof he should be invincible: but he was spoiled both of that and all other his iewels which were found vpon him at the same time. This battell was stricken nere vnto Durham, the 17 day of October, in the yere 1346. What countries and places the Englishmen got after this victorie, ye may read in the English history.

In the yere following, the Balioll, with the earle of Northumberland made a road into Louthian, and Cliddefdale, bringing a great bottie of goods and cattell out of those countries into Galloway, in which countrie the Balioll abode a long time after. At length, the Scots recovering themselves with much paine, after the slaughter of so manie of their nobles and commons, beside the discomfort for the taking of their king, chose and appointed Robert Stewart as gouernour to haue the rule of the realme. About the same time, William Douglas the sonne of Archibald Douglas, that was brother vnto godd fr James Douglas, who (as before is said) was slaine in Spaine, returned forth of France, and by support of his friends chased the Englishmen out of Douglasdale, Linlithgow, Tweedale, Strike forest, & Tweedale. John Copland capteine of Roxburgh, to resist such enterprises, gathered a number of men,

The cause of the ouerthrow

The Scots discomfited.

King David his valiance.

King David taken by John Copland.

1346. Scala. chron. Nobles slaine in this battell. Fr. Thin. Prisoners taken.

Fr. Thin.

The Balioll taken in Galloway.

Robert Stewart gouernour of Scotland.

Countries recovered out of the Englishmens hands.

A. J.

and

John Cop-
land chased.

1349.

The second
pestilence that
was heard of
in Scotland.
Sir David
Berklie slaine

1352. I. Ma.
Sir William
Dowglasle
slaine.

1354.

1355.
Sir Eugenie
de Garente-
ris a french-
man, arrived
in Scotland.

Fortie thou-
sand crownes.

The earle of
March and
William Dow-
glasle enter in
to England
with an army.
William Ham-
fey of the Dale
house.

The English-
men intrap-
ped.
But to flight.

Prisoners ta-
ken.

Fr. Thin.
Scala chron.
1355.

and came forth against his enemies, but receiving the overthrow, he was chased into Rokesburgh againe, with losse of diuerse of his men.

In the yere next following, which was from the incarnation 1349, there came such a pestilence thorough all parts of Scotland, so vehement and contagious, that it slue nere hand the third part of all the people. This was the second time that the pestilence was knowne or heard of to haue come in Scotland. The same yere, or (as other booke haue) the yere next ensuing, one John saint Highell slue sir David Berklie knight at Aberdeen, in the night season, by procurement of sir William Dowglasle of Liddesdale, as then prisoner in England with the earle of Dowglasle, both of them being taken at Durham field. The occasion was, for that this sir David Berklie had aforetime slaine one John Dowglasle, brother to the said sir William, and father to sir James Dowglasle of Walsketh.

In the yere following, was the same sir William Dowglasle, being latelie before ransomed out of England, slaine, as he was hunting in Strike forest, by his cosine and godsonne William earle of Dowglasle, in reuenge of the slaughter of Alexander Hamfey, and other old grudges. Thus was the house of the Dowglasles diuided amongst themselves, pursuing each other manie yeres together with great unkindnesse, unnatural enmitie and slaughter. In the yere next following, which was 1355, shortly after Easter, there arrived in Scotland a noble knight named sir Eugenie de Garenteris, with a companie of Frenchmen, though few in number, yet valiant and verie skillfull warriors, which were sent thither by John king of France, that succeeded his father king Philip of Valois, latelie before deceased, and deliuered unto the gouernor and other nobles of the realme of Scotland, fortie thousand crownes of the sunne, to be imployed about the leuening of an armie against the Englishmen, that they might be constrained the sooner to withdraue their powers out of France.

This monie was receiued, though a small part thereof came to the hands of the foildiers or men of warre of Scotland; for the lords and nobles kept it safe inough to their owne vse. Yet neuertheless, the earle of March, and William Dowglasle, gather their people, and passe forth with the same to the borders, and entering into England, appoint William Hamfey of the Dalehouse, to ride before with a number of light horsemen, to the end, that if the Englishmen did assemble and come forth to strong against him, he might retire backe to the maine battell, where they lay in couert, at a place called Ribbet moze. This Hamfey doing as he was commanded, made a great forraie thorough the countrie, and hauing got together a great bottie of cattell, withdrew with the same homeward: but being sharpelie pursued by the Englishmen, in hope to recouer their goods, he fled amaine, and they following egerlie in the chase, were vpon the Scottish armie before they were aware. The Scottishmen, and those few Frenchmen that were there, set vpon the Englishmen fiercelie, and finally put them to flight, though not without some slaughter on their part: for there were slaine of Scots sir John Holieburton, and sir James Turnebull knights. These were taken prisoners of Englishmen, sir Thomas Greie, and his sonne, with John Darcas, and manie other Englishmen.

* The taking of which Greie is reported by others to haue bene after this manner. The lords Persie and Beuill, gardians of the English marches, took truce with the lord William Dowglasle, at the time that he conquered the lands which the Englishmen

had twone of the Scots. But Patrick earle of March (being in confederacie with Garenteris) would not by anie persuation consent to that league: wherevpon (with a number of others) he made a road to the castle of Roxham, ambushing themselves vpon the Scottish side of the riuer of Tweed, sending ouer a banneret with his ensigne, and 400 men to forrage & spoile the countrie, who gathering the preies, draue them in despite alongst the castle: wherevpon Thomas Greie, capteine of Roxham (sonne to Thomas Greie, that had bene thrice times by the Scots besieged in the said castle of Roxham, in the reigne of king Edward the second) seeing the commons of England thus cobbled (and deeming it his part to defend his countrie, friends, and their substance) issued forth of Roxham with few men more than fiftie of the garrison of the castle, and a few of the common people versed in matters of war; who (not knowing of the secret ambush of the band which Patrick had laied in wait behind Tweed) issued forth to follow and recouer the preie: but being so farre gone in chase of the enemie, as that he could not returne in safetie (because he was beset before and behind with the 400 on the one side, & the ambush laied by Tweed on the other side) the said Greie and his companie (finding none other remedie but to hazard the successe) forsooke their horses, and on foot (standing to the extremitie) with a wonderfull courage set vpon the Scots, whereof more were killed than of the English, but the Scots comming so close on the English (not able to resist) they began to flie, at what time Thomas Greie (as before is declared) was taken prisoner.)

The earles of March, and Dowglasle, after the obtaining of this victorie, came suddenly in the night season vnto the towne of Berwik, and raising vp ladders to the wals, toan the towne, but not without losse of diuerse Scottish gentlemen, as Thomas Maus, Andrew Scot of Ballwerie, John Gordon, William Sinclair, Thomas Persson, and Alexander Spotsbrat knights. Of English were slaine Alexander Ogill capteine of the towne, Thomas Persie brother to the earle of Northumberland, and Edward Greie, with others. Eugenie de Garenteris with his Frenchmen did verie valiantlie beare himselfe in this enterpryse, whome Robert Stewart the gouernour rewarding with great gifts, sent backe into France, commending him by letters vnto the French king, as he that had done his dutie in euerie bechalse verie throughlie. The castle of Berwik, notwithstanding that the towne was thus twone, held forth the Scots and Frenchmen, by reason whereof when an armie of Englishmen came to the succours thereof, they raced the wals, and burnt the houses of the towne, and so departed.

* The tidings whereof were brought to king Edward at the verie instant of his landing from Calis into England, for which cause he taried at his parliament appointed at London but thre daies, and with all speed came to Berwik, where he entered the castle; whereat the burgesles amazed, treated with him, and therevpon the towne of Berwik was redeclared (against the minds of the Scots) to king Edward. King Edward himselfe being come to the rescue and recouerie of Berwik, and hauing receiued the towne, and finding it so defaced, took order for the repairing thereof againe, went to Norburgh, and there receiued of the Ballioll a full resignation of all his pretended right to the crowne of Scotland. For there the 26 of Januarie, the said Ballioll hauing resigned (as before) all his title to king Edward; alledged these causes: first, in consideration that the Scots were full of rebellion; also, because he had no heire, nor anie verie nere of his linage: and for that he

Berwik
towne.

Berwik
Scala chron.
Fr. Thin.
Scala chron.

Berwik
repaired &
gaine by king
Edward.
The Ballioll
resigned his
right.
Fr. Thin.
Scala chron.

he was of R. Edwards blood of England, he knew not where to bestow it better than upon him. This Baliol is by no author (as Lelless faith) placed in the catalog of the kings, as well for that he bound himselfe (by homage) to the gouernment of England with an oth, against the gouernment & maiestie of Scotland: as for that being a tyzant, & by force invading the crowne, he continued not long in the same. In truth, I suppose he held it not verie long, and that in continuall warre. But yet for that which I can see, he was crowned king at Stone, 1332, as Lelless himselfe, Buchanan, and all other authors doe agree. Beside, he gouerned by him & his agents untill the yeere of 1342, at what time he yielded his crowne to king Edward of England; which was the full part of ten yeares, after which againe he recovered a good part of England. Therefore it seemeth strange to me, that Rosse will not allow him a place in the catalog of kings, since Buchan. maketh him the nintie fourth king, and so placeth him vnder that title, and maketh David Bruce (who was crowned before Baliol, and gouerned after Baliols departing Scotland) the 98 king, naming also Robert (who succeeded after Bruce) the hundred king in order of gouernment; in such sort, that both these writing at one time (but with diuers affections) cannot agree on the number of their kings: one receiuing, & the other reiecting him to be placed in the catalog of their kings.] After this, king Edward passing forth to Haddington, spoiled and wasted the countie by the way on each hand as he marched forward; and for displeasure that his name on the sea (after the soldiers and mariners had bene on land, and burned the church of our lady in those parts called Whitekirke) had with force of a rigorous tempest bene sore shaken, and manie of the ships lost and drowned together with men and all, he fell into such a rage, that he caused all the buildings in those parts to be burnt and spoiled, as well abbeys as all other churches and religious houses, as though he minded (say the Scottish writers) to make warre both against God and all his saints. These things chanced in the yeare 1355, after our common account, about the feast of the Purification of our lady, & by reason the Englishmen did so much hurt at that time in those parts by fire, they called it euer after The burnt Candlemas.

Shortlie after that king Edward was returned into England, William Douglas of Piddesdale recovered out of the English mens possession the lands of Galloway, & the lands of Widdale were in like maner recovered by one Kirpatrick. In the same yeere on the 20 day of October, was the battell of Poitiers fought, where Edward prince of Wales, otherwise named the Blache prince, overthrew the armie of France, and took king John prisoner, with his yongest sonne Philip, and a great number of other of the French nobilitie besides. There was at this battell with king John, the earle William Douglas, & to the number of three thousand Scots, hauing diuers knights and gentlemen to their capitains, of whom there died in the same battell Andrew Steward, Robert Gordon, Andrew Holieburton, and Andrew Claus, knights. The earle of Douglas escaped with life and vntaken, but Archembald Douglas, son to sir James Douglas slaine in Spaine, was taken prisoner; albeit his taker suffered him to depart for a small ransom, by reason that William Ramsay of Colluthie, who was also taken with him, made semblance as though the same Archembald Douglas had bene some poore slaue, causing him to pull off his boots, and to do other such drudging seruice, as fell not for the estate of a man of any estimation or honestie, to the

end it should not be knowne what he was.

Thus the king of England at one time hauing two kings vnder his captiuitie, sat crowned betwixt them at meate in the feast of Christmasse, making (as the vse is) amongst the Englishmen in that season a great banquet. And this he did (as is reported) to the intent that the maner thereof might be bytred abroad to his high praise & glorious fame. King David within certeine yeares after was conueied by the earle of Northampton vnto Berwike, where the most part of all the nobles of Scotland assembled together to consult with him touching some agreement to be had for his ransom: but because they could grow to no certeine point therein, he was brought backe againe to London, and there remained in prison as before. In the meane time, Roger Kirpatrick was slaine by James Lindseie, in a castell where the said James dwelled, and receiued the said Roger as his guest. This Lindseie fled vpon the fact committed; but yet being apprehended and brought to the gouernor Robert Steward, he suffered death for that offence.

Shortlie after, that is to wit at Michaelmasse next ensuing, after king David had bene at Berwike, there was an agreement made for his ransom, whereupon being deliuered, he returned into Scotland, in the eleuenth yeare after his taking at Durham field. It was agreed that there should be paid for his ransom one hundred thousand marks sterling, at sundrie daies of payment, as was accorded betwixt them. * After he had bene 11 yeares in England, in which place also Froissard setteth downe that he paid but 70000 marks English. And Scala Chron. faith, that at the feast of S. Michaele, David king of Scots was deliuered for 100000 marks of silver: for which, his hostages came to Berwike, being the countie of Southerland, and his sonne that was borne of the sister of king David; Thomas Senescall that was named in Scotland earle of Angus; Thomas Demurrise baron of Bothuill, and other twentie sons of noble men in Scotland.]

Truce also was taken for the space of fourtene yeares betwixt both realmes, and diuers nobles of Scotland were appointed to lie as hostages in England, till the monie were paid, as is before mentioned [of which pledges (as faith Lelless) most died in England, by means wherof, the king was deliuered of a great part of his ransom.] R. David was also bound by couenant of agreement to race certeine castels within Scotland, which seemed most noisome to the English borders: which couenant he performed. For vpon his returne into Scotland, he cast downe the castels of Dalwinton, Dunfreis, Portolone, and Durisdere. He also called a parlement, wherein he enacted sundrie things for the punishment of them that fled from him at Durham field: and first for that his cosine Robert Steward was one of them, being through means thereof a great cause of the ouerthrow, he procured that the act (by which the crowne was appointed for want of issue of his bodie lawfullie begotten, to descend vnto the said Robert Steward) was utterlie reuoked and disannulled, and John Southerland the sonne of Jane his yongest sister, appointed heire apparant in place of the said Robert. And all the lords of Scotland were sworn to obserue and keepe this ordinance.

The earle of Southerland, father to the said John, in hope that his sonne should intoe the crowne, gaue away the most part of his lands, diuiding the same amongst his friends, as to the Haies, the Sinclares, the Ogilbies, and Gordons: but he was neuertheless deceived of his hope. For shortlie after his son being one of them that was giuen in pledge to remaine in England, till the monie for the kings ransom

Two kings prisoners in England at one time.

Roger Kirpatrick slaine.

King David is deliuered.

1357.
Fr.Thin.
Scala chron.

Truce for 14 yeares.

Fr.Thin.

Castels razed.

A parlement, Robert Steward disherited of the crowne. John Southerland made heire apparant.

The death of John Southerland.

As. ij.

Some

Robert Ste-
ward againe
ordained heire
apparent.
The contri-
bution of the
cleargie.

1363.

Fr.Thin.
Buchanan.

A demand
proponed to
the lords of
Scotland.

Fr.Thin.

1357.
Their an-
swer.

1357

Quene
Janes death.
Fr.Thin.

John Maior li.
5. cap. 22.

Ouid.

King David
marrieth Mar-
garet Logie.

He repenteth
his marriage.

He banisheth
hir.

She complai-
neth to the
pope.

Sentence gi-
uen on hir
part.
She depar-
teth this
world.

some was paid, died there of the pestilence, in such sort as the most part of the other pledges likewise did. And shortly after his deceasse, Robert Ste-ward was reconciled to the kings saue, and ordeined heire apparant to the crowne in semblable manner as he was before. The cleargie of Scotland condescended to giue the tenth pennie of all their fruits & reuenues towards the payment of the kings ranfome [which the pope caused the clergie to giue.] Not long after, king David called an other coun-
cell, wherein (according to his promise made to the king of England before his deliuerance) he moued the lords and barons of Scotland in a matter where-
of he wished not to haue of them anie towardlie an-
swer, and that was this: Whether they could be contented, that after his deceasse, the crowne of Scotland should be transferred vnto the king of Englands sonne, and to his lawfull heires: [Which thing John Maior assigneth to the yeare 1363, who also saith, that it was this parlement (as he hath red) and done by the persuation of Jane the quene, for-
getting that he said before, that she died in the yeare 1357.]

The lords hearing that was proponed vnto them, answered without anie long studie, that so long as anie of them were able to beare armour or weapon, they would neuer consent thereto. King David right toisfull to heare them at this point, thought himselfe discharged, for that he was not bound to labor fur-
ther in this sute, because his promise made to the king of England touching this point, onelie was, that if the Scottish lords would agree, then he should intaile the crowne to his sonne. In the yeare next following, which was from the incarnation 1357, quene Jane the wife of k. David went into Eng-
land to see hir brother king Edward, & died there be-
fore she returned (leaving no issue behind hir) [at Hertford in the yeare of our redemption (as saith Io. Maior) 1362, and was buried (as saith Sca. chro.) in the greie friers in London beside hir mother. This woman doth the said Maior commend for a most rare person, in that she neuer forsoke hir hus-
band in his banishment into France, & in the time of his imprisonment in England; for which cause she deserueth as great praise as Penelope, although in hir life she intoyed small worldlie pleasure, hauing had hir bodie dedicated to the marriage bed. For

*Si nihil infausti durus rulsset vlyses,
Penelope felix, sed sine laude foret.*

According to which, it might haue bene said of this woman, that she might haue bene counted hap-
pie, if hir husband had neuer bene oppressed with these manie disgraces of fortune, but then she should neuer haue bene extolled with that commendation, which now to the worlds end she hath amongst the wisest.]

k. David, after hir deceasse, married a yong lu-
sie gentlewoman named Margaret Logie, daugh-
ter to sir John Logie knight, but within thre mo-
neths after he repented him, for that he had mar-
ried himselfe with one of so meane parentage, to the disparagement of his blood. Whereupon he banished both hir, and all other that had counselled him to ma-
rie hir, confining them for euer out of all the parts of his dominions. She hir selfe went vnto Augu-
non, where as then the pope with all his consistorie remained, and entering hir plaint there in the court, followed the same with such diligence, that in the end sentence was giuen on hir side (that is to say) that king David should receiue hir againe into his companie, and to accept and vse hir as his full and lawfull wife. Thus should the realme of Scotland haue run in trouble and danger of interdiction, had she not departed out of this life by the way in retur-

ning homewards. * Charles the first surnamed the
wise, being king of France (supposed by the aide of
Scots) prepared an expedition into the holie land, in
which to nie, when a gracious contention fell among
the French and English, the last were overcome by
the first through the singular manhood of the Scots.
Which benefit Charles not forgetting, erected an or-
der of an hundred archers to be about his person,
and by office to keepe watch and ward for him (in the
night) within his court gates: which (upon this ori-
ginall) is obserued with great solemnitie, euen in
this our age. k. David in the meane time repaired
sumerie places and strengths of his realme, & built a
tower in Edenburgh castell, bearing the name after
him euen vnto this day, called Dauds tower. * A-
bout this time (or rather more trulie as others haue
before this written in the yeare of Christ 1356, or
shortly after the deliuerie of David Bruce from
captiuitie as the third sort do say) William Dow-
glas being about to go on pilgrimage beyond the
seas (at such time as king John was preparing his
host against the Blache prince) went with k. John
vnto the foresaid battell, being honored by his hands
with the title of knight: but after, hauing ma-
nie of his men slaine, and being enforced to forsake
the field, he returned home into Scotland. Willi-
am Dowglas shortly after, upon the deliuerie of
David Bruce from the captiuitie of England, was
created earle of Dowglas. Much about which or
at the selfe same time, the said king of Scots ad-
uanced William Ramseie to the earldome of Fife,
by the means of the wife of the said Ramseie, whom
the king intirelie loued (as the report went.) The
right of which countie king David affirmed to be
tuskie in him (so that he might liberallie giue it) as
truelie behest in his possession by the forfeiture which
Duncan sometime countie of Fife had done in k.
Robert Bruces daies; in murdering of an elquier
called Michaele Beton, whome he miserable slue
in a riuer for extreme displeasure. Wherefore this
William Ramseie surmized that Duncan (to ob-
teine pardon for his offense) did by indenture make
Robert Bruce k. of Scots his heire in reuerfion,
if he died without issue male. Yet had this Duncan a
daughter (by his wife the countesse of Gloucester,
and daughter to the king of England) which was
entertained in England, and should haue bene sold
to Robert the seneschall of Scotland. But she (ra-
ther respecting the satisfieng of hir loue, than the ho-
nor of hir estate, rather choosing to be a kings wife,
than an earles ladie) toke to husband one William
Felton, a knight in Northumberland, which (at the
said time when William Ramseie was made earle
of Fife) challenged that earldome in the right of his
wife, daughter and heire to the said Duncan earle
of Fife. But for anie thing that I can yet see, the
said Ramseie went away with the honor thereof.]
After this appealing of certeine rebels that sought
to trouble the quiet state of the realme, he purposed
to haue gone to Jerusalem: but hauing provided
all things necessarie for such a iourne, he fell sicke
of a burning feauer, and died within the castell of
Edenburgh in the thirtie ninth yeare of his reigne,
and fortie seventh of his age, which was from the in-
carnation 1370, his bodie lieth in Holie rood house,
where it was buried in the yeare aforesaid.

* During the time that this David Bruce was
prisoner in England, he did so earnestlie set his lo-
uing affection vpon Katharine Portimer, a damsell
of London (by reason of familiar acquaintance with
hir) that he could not forbear hir companie, but (as
it seemeth) brought hir also into Scotland with him;
whereat the lords disdaining, and highlie offended
with the king therefore, procured one Richard de
Hull,

Fr.Thin.
Scala chro.

1370

The death of
king DavidScala chro.
Of this was
Dowglas
and his wife
in France,
the English
miles do all
reput.William Do-
glas made
earle.Scala chro.
William Ram-
seie made earle
of Fife.

Wall, a ballet of Scotland (in feining some matter vnto hir from the king, as being sent in message by him) to find meanes to rid hir out of life, which he did so courtlie, and handeled the matter so cunninglie, that he suddenlie murdered hir riding from Melros to Seltrie. Whereupon, the king conceiuing great dolor (not daring to seeke reuenge thereof, for doubt of the nobilitie) caused hir to be honozable buried at Petowbole, not ceassing (as farre as in him lay) after hir death, to manifest the singular loue he bare vnto hir in hir life.)

Strange winters. Sundrie maruellous things were sene in the daies of this king Dauid, within the bounds of Albion. In the 16 yere of his reigne, crows, rauens, and pies, in the winter season brought forth their brood, and ceased in the summer and springtime, contrary to their kind. All the yewes in the countrie the same yere were barren, and brought no lammes. There was such plentie of mice and rats both in houses, and abroad in the fields, that they might not be destroyed. In the 27 yere of his reigne, the riuers and other waters rose on such heighth through abundance of raine that fell in the latter end of haruest, that breaking forth of their common chanelles, with their violent streame manie houses & towne were boane downe and destroyed. About this time liued diuerse clerks, in that age counted notable, as Iohn Duns, of the order of saint Francis, Richard Middleton, and William Ocham, with others.

Great raine. Iain King Dauid being thus dead and buried, the nobles assembled at Lichquo, about the election of him that should succede in his place. The greater part of the nobilitie, and such as were of the sounder iudgement, agreed vpon Robert Steward; but William earle of Dowglas being come thither with a great power, claimed to be preferred by right of Edward Balioll, and of the Cumyn, which right he pretended to haue receiued of them both, and there ought to be no doubt (as he alleged) but that the crowne appertained by iust title vnto them, as all the world knew, and therefore sith he had both their rights, he main- tained that he was true and vndoubted inheritor to the crowne. It appeared that the said earle Dowglas purposed to blurpe the crowne by force, if he might not haue it by friendlie and quiet meanes: but neuertheless he was disappointed of his purpose, by reason that George earle of March, and John Dunbar earle of Murray, with the lord Erskine [which thre were capitaines of Dunbarton, Sterling, and Edinburgh] and others (of whose friendlie furtherance he thought himselfe assured) gaue their voices with the Steward, assisting his side to their uttermost powers. The Dowglas perceiuing hereby that he should not be able to mainteine his quarell, resigned thereupon his pretended title, which in effect was of no importance, nor worthy the discussing.

Robert. When Iwas Robert Steward conuied to Scone, and there crowned with great solemnitie, and was called Robert the second. This came to passe in the 47 yere of his age, on our ladie day in Lent, called the Annuntiation, being the yere of Christ 1370. Whereupon, that the firmer annitie & friendship might continue and be nourished betwixt this king Robert and his subiect the earle of Dowglas aforesaid, it was accorded that Eufemie eldest daughter to king Robert, should be giuen in mariage to James sonne to the earle of Dowglas aforesaid. Thus ye may perceiue how the Stewards came to the crowne, whose succession haue intioed the same to our time: queene Marie mother to Charles James that now that now reigneth, being the eight person from this Robert, that thus first attained vnto it [of whose first originall and descent you shall see before in the life of Duncan.

Elizabeth Pure king Roberts concubine. He had to wife at the time of his attaining to the crowne, Eufemie daughter to Hugh earle of Rolfe, by whom he had two sonnes, Walter and Dauid. But before he was married to hir, he kept one Elizabeth Pure in place of his wife, and had by hir thre sonnes, John, Robert, and Alexander, with diuerse daughters, of the which one was married to John Dunbar earle of Murray, and another to John Leon lord of Clames. The earle dome of Murray continued in possession of the Dunbars onelie during the life of this earle John & his sonne, in whom the succession failed touching the name of the Dunbars, in the intioeing of that earle dome: for leaving a daughter behind him that was married to the Dowglas, the same Dowglas came by that means to the said earle dome of Murray. King Robert after his coronation made sundrie earles, lords, barons, and knights. Amongst other, James Lindsay of Glenelke was made earle of Crawford. His wife queene Eufemie deceased the third yere after hir husband attained the crowne, and then incontinentlie he married Elizabeth Pure [or Poyze, daughter to sir Adam Pure knight] his old lemman, to the end the children which he had by hir might be made legitimate by vertue of the matrimonie subsequent. [Although before he had procured this Elizabeth to be giuen in matrimonie to one Gifford a noble man in Louthian, which also died (as fortune serued) when Eufemie first wife of the said Robert died, whereby they (being now both at libertie) might renew their owne old loue, and in wedlocke possesse that which before they intioed in adulterie.]

Fr. Thin. Elizabeth the Pure married to king Robert. Fr. Thin. The preferment of the kings sonnes to dignitie. Not long after, by authoritie of a parlement assembled, he made his eldest sonne John, begotten on Elizabeth Pure aforesaid, earle of Carrike: his second sonne begotten on hir, earle of Pentecith and Fife: and his third sonne Alexander, begotten likewise on the same mother, he created earle of Buchquhane, and lord of Badenoch. [Besides which he had also two daughters by hir.] His eldest sonne Walter, begotten on Eufemie his first wife, was made earle of Atholl, and lord of Wexchir: his second sonne Dauid, begotten on the same Eufemie, was made earle of Stratheme. The said Walter procured the slaughter of James the first, for that he pretended a right to the crowne, as after shall appeare. Shortly after, he called an other parlement at Perth, where it was ordeined, that after the death of king Robert, the crowne should descend vnto John his eldest sonne, and to his issue male; and for default thereof, vnto Robert his second sonne, and to his heires male; and for default of such heires, to Alexander his third sonne, and to his heires male; and in default of them, to remaine to his sonne Walter, begotten on Eufemie his wife, & to the heires male of his bodie begotten: and if such succession failed, then it should descend vnto his yongest sonne Dauid the earle of Stratheme, and to his heires general either male or female. And all the nobles of the realme were sworn to perforce this new ordinance touching the succession of the crowne, and that in most solemn maner.

Fr. Thin. The borderers, which are men eu- uer desirous of warres and trouble, to the end they may applie their market, whereby they most chieftie liue, that is to say, reise and spoile of their neighbors goods, through enuie of long peace and quietnesse, vpon a quarell piked, due certeine of the household seruants of George earle of Dunbar at the faire of Roxburgh, which as then the Englishmen held. Carle George soze offended herewith, sent an herald vnto the earle of Northumberland, warden of the English marches, requirring that such as had committed the slaughter might be deliuered to receive

Strange winters.

Great raine.

Great raine.

John Duns.

The assembly of the lords by the election of new king.

William earle of Dowglas.

Buchanan.

Fr. Thin.

The resignation of his right to the Steward.

Robert. Robert Steward is crowned king of Scotland.

1370.

The first coming of the Stewards to the crowne.

Fr. Thin.

Elizabeth Pure king Roberts concubine.

How the Dowglas came by the earle dome of Murray.

Eufemie the queene deceased.

Fr. Thin. Elizabeth the Pure married to king Robert.

The preferment of the kings sonnes to dignitie.

Fr. Thin.

In at for succession of the crowne.

The borderers desirous of warre.

Roxburgh faire.

A. liij.

ccine

1370.
Buchanan.
The truce
violated.

Roxburgh
surprised by
the earle of
March.

The English
men invade
Scotland.

The English
men discom-
fited.
Sir John
Lilborne
taken.
Fr. Thin.

Henrie Per-
tie earle of Por-
thumberland.

A policie to
aflight hopes

Tho. Auf-
grau capteine
of Berwik
taken prisoner

Fr. Thin.

A legat from
the pope.

Fr. Thin.
1375.
Buchanan.

celue according to that they had deserved: but when he could get nought but dilatorie answers, full of derision rather than imposing anie true meaning, he passed ouer his displeasure till moze opportunitie of time might serue. In the yeres following, against the next faire to be holden at Roxburgh aforesaid, the said earle of March, with his brother the earle of Murray gathered a power of men secretly together, and comming to the said towne, took it, slue all the Englishmen found within it, put their goods to the sacke, and after set the towne on fire, and so departed.

Whereupon the Englishmen shortly after enter with an armie into Scotland, burning and doing much hurt vpon the lands of sir John Gordon, for that they ioined to the earle of Marches lands. Sir John Gordon verie desirous to reuenge this iniurie, came into England with an armie, and getting together a great hostie of cattell, returned therewith homewards, but being incountered by the way at a place called Carran or Carram, by John Lilborne and other Englishmen, there was a foze fight betwixt them, the victorie for a time shewing it selfe so variable and vncertaine, that sir John Gordon was foze wounded, and the Scots were five times that day had in chafe, and as oft got the like aduantage of their enemies. In the end the Englishmen were clearelye discomfited, and their capteine sir John Lilborne, with his brother and diuerse other brought prisoners into Scotland [the manner whereof John Maior condemneth and laith the fault of breach in earle Dowglas.]

To reuenge these displeasures, Henrie Pertie earle of Northumberland entered into Scotland with seven thousand men, & comming vnto Duns, there pitched downe his tents; but the night following came the herds and other people of the countrie, hauing prepared certeine bagges made and sowed together, of drie leather like to bladders, into the which they had put small peble stones, & running vp & downe about the place where the Englishmen were incamped, made such a noise with those bags full of stones, that the Englishmens hostles breaking their halters and bydles wherewith they were tied, ran from their masters and keepers, and were scattered so abroad in the countrie, that the Scottishmen got hold of them, and so in the morning the Englishmen that had watched all night (for doubt to haue bene assailed by their enemies) perceiving themselves set on foot, returned home without anie further attempt.

In the meane time, Thomas Aufgrau capteine of Berwik, comming to the succours of the earle of Northumberland, chanced to meet with sir John Gordon vpon the way, by whom he was taken, and lead into Scotland as his prisoner. Neither had the Scots the better thus onelie on the east marches, but also on the west, where sir Jo. Johnston had sundrie skirmishes with the Englishmen, and went euer a waite with the vpper hand. [All which before, vntill the death of Eufemie the queene] Buchanan appointeth to the first two yeres of the king, before the death of the queene.] About this time, pope Gregorie the 11 sent a legat from Auisgnon to king Robert, forbidding him in any wise to meddle with the goods pertaining to the church, after the decease of anie bishop, person, or vicar. [About this time happened the death of Edward the thirde, king of England. And Charles the first king of France sent ambassadoes into Scotland, to renewe the old leage betwene the two nations, and to persuaade him to warre vpon England, to the end the warres might thereby be withdraue out of France: which was performed accordinglye.

On the 22 day of October, in the yere 1378, Dauid Steward was bozne, which afterwards was made duke of Rothsaie, and on saint Andrews day next following, towne of Berwik was taken by sir John Gordon, and sir seven other knights, but it was not long kept: for a number of Englishmen entring by a posterne of the castell, recovered the towne easilie againe out of the Scottishmens hands. After this, William earle of Dowglas came with twentie thousand men to the faire of Penntre within England, and spoiled all the goods found as then in the same faire, and so returned with great riches into Scotland: but the Scottishmen smallie reioiced at this gains, for with such cloth & other wares as they brought awaie with them from the foresaid faire, they dyed into the countrie such a violent and foze pestilence, that the third part of all the people (where it came) died thereof. This was the third time that the pestilence was knowne to haue done anie great hurt in Scotland, bring in the yere after the incarnation 1380.

The Englishmen [with the number of 1500, vnder the conduct (as saith Buchanan) of Talbot] to reuenge the displeasure done by the earle of Dowglas at Penntre, raised a great armie, and came with the same ouer Sulway, and invading the Scottish borders on that side most cruellie, spared neither fire nor sword. In the meane time, the Scots gathered to the number of five hundred men, & stood in a streit till the Englishmen should come and passe by them, and then with such huge noise and clamor they set on the Englishmen, that in giuing backe there was foure hundred of them slaine, and a great number of the residue for half drowned in the water of Sulway, and hereby was all the hostie of cattell & goods recovered againe by the Scots, and the most part of it restored to the owners. Charles the first as then French king, hearing of such prosperous adventures daillie chancing to the Scots, sent ouer his ambassadoes vnto king Robert, exhorting him to follow his god fortune, and occasion thus offered to reuenge old iniuries against the Englishmen, now that their hearts seemed to faile them through losses sustained diuerse waies of late at the Scottish mens hands. An other cause of their message was also (as the Scots do write) to renewe the old leage & band betwixt Scotland and France, which being done in solemne wise according to the manner, they returned into France, & with them went ambassadoes from king Robert vnto their master the said R. Charles, Walter Wardlaw, cardinall & bishop of Glasgou, with manie other noble men, who in like manner there renewed the same leage & bond of friendship, to the high contentation of both the princes. This was in the eleuenth yere of king Robert his reigne.

In which yere John Lion chancelloz of Scotland was slaine by James Lindesay, earle of Crawford. This John Lion grew into so high fauour with king Robert, that he gaue to him his daughter the ladie Elizabeth in marriage, with diuerse possessions and lands, called Glamis. Of him the surname of the Lions is descended: and in memorie thereof, they beare in their armes the lion & lillies, with the tress in forme and fashion as the king of Scotland beareth his, saue that their lions are placed in a blacke field. The cause why the earle of Crawford thus slue the chancelloz, was onelie vpon enuie and spite, for that after he had married the kings daughter, he attained to such estimation and authoritie, that he might do all things with the king, according to his owne will and pleasure. For this offense the earle of Crawford remained in exile certeine yeres after, and durst not returne home, till finallye through earnest sute made to

1378.
Berwik ta-
ken by Scot-

Recovered a
game out of
their hands.

1380.
The first of
Penntre.

The third
time that the
pestilence came
into Scot-
land.

1380.
Fr. Thin.

The English
men invade
the Scottish
borders.

Englishmen
slaine and
drowned.

Embassadoes
sent to the
king.

1381. Le.
Anno Reg. 11.
The renewing
of the leage
betwixt Scot-
land and
France.

The chancel-
loz of Scot-
land slaine.

Enuie & spite.

The earle of
Crawford in
exile.

to the king by the earles of Dornoglasle and Sparch, his pardon was begged, and then at length he was reconciled to the kings favour.

In the meane time, Edward king of England, the third of that name, departed this life, and Richard of Burdeaur, sonne to the blacke prince Edward, that was sonne to the said king Edward, succeeded, in the fourth yere of whose reigne, being after the birth of our Saviour 1381, John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, with other English lords, came into Scotland in ambassage [to whom were appointed James earle of Dornoglasle, and John Dunbar earle of Murray] to treat for the appeasing of the discord as then continuing betwixt the two realmes: and in the end the matter was so handled, that a truce was concluded to indure for thre yeres. As the said duke was returning homewards, he was informed of the rebellion and insurrection made by the commons of England against the nobles, having one Jacke Strain and others to their captives, whereupon doubting to passe thorough his owne countrie till things were better appeased, he returned into Scotland, and was conueyed by William earle of Dornoglasle, and Archembald Dornoglas lord of Galloway, to holie rood house beside Edinburgh, where he remained till he heard that the rebels were suppressed, and their captives slaine or taken, and put to execution.

As soone as the truce was expired, Archembald Dornoglasle lord of Galloway, displeased in his mind that the Englishmen lieng in garison within the castell of Lochmaben, did daile harrie and rob the villages and countrie townes of Galloway and Annandale, raised a great power by support of the earls James of Dornoglasle, and George of Sparch, and therewith laid a strong siege vnto the said castell of Lochmaben, & having lien there at the space of nine daies, they fought with a number of Englishmen that came out of Carleill to rescue this castell, whom having put to flight, they gaue therewith also a sharpe assault to the castell, and put them within in such feare, that sir William Fetherston then capteine thereof, and the residue consented to yeld the house vnto the Scots even the same day without more ado, vpon condition they might depart with their goods in safetie into England.

But Fourdon writing of the winning of this castell, speaketh not of anie overthow given to those that should come from Carleill, in maner as other write. For thus he saith. When Archembald Dornoglasle had got knowledge that the same castell was utterly vnprouided both of men and vittels necessarie for the defense thereof, he assembled an armie together, with the helpe of the earles of Dornoglasle and Dunbar, who ioining with him, inuironed the castell about with a strong siege, so that no succour could enter to the reliefe of them within at anie hand. Here vpon the capteine sir William Fetherston knight, sent letters vnto the lord wardens of the English marches, requiring aid, and letting them to understand in what danger he stood for lacke of men and vittels. The wardens wrote to him againe, that he should do his best for eight daies to hold out; and if no succour came within that terme, then to do as he should see cause. Here vpon sir William Fetherston requiring a truce of the Scottish lords for the space of those eight daies, within which terme if no succour came to remoue their siege, he would yeld the castell vnto them, the liues and goods of them within saued. This was granted, and the Scots ceased further to annoy them within by assaults: and when the ninth day was come, and no aid from England appeared, they receiued the castell into their possession, according to the couenant. And so the Scots hauing

thus wonne the castell of Lochmaben, raced it quite downe to the earth.

King Richard hearing that the Scots had achieved this enterpryse, appointed the baron of Graustocke with a certeine number of men to go with vittels and munition vnto Roxburgh, for doubt least if the Scots came to lay siege to that fortresse, and finding it vnprouided, they might peraduenture bring it into further danger than would lightlie be remedied. As this baron was come within a mile of Roxburgh, he was taken by the earle of Sparch, and brought to Dunbar with all his prouision. The king of England being informed also of this mishap, appointed two armies, one by sea, and another by land, to inuade the Scots; the duke of Lancaster hauing the generall charge and conduct of them both, who giuing order to them that should passe by sea what they should do, entered himselfe by land, and waisting the countreies of Sparch and Louthian, came to Edinburgh, and toke the towne. But whereas his souldiers would haue spoiled and burned it, he compounded with the inhabitants for a summe of monie, and so returned without doing anie more damage.

His nauie being as then arrived in the Forth, tarried behind, & first burning the abbie of saint Colmes Inch, a number of the souldiers with their captives landed in Fife, and spoiled diuerse townes and villages there: but in the end, Thomas and Nicholas Erskines being brethren, Alexander Lindsay, and William Cumingham of Kilmauris, set vpon them, and slue the most part of them, so that few in number escaped againe to their ships, being pursued hard to the water side. The same yere the earle of Dornoglasle recovered all the strengths of Tindale out of the Englishmens hands, which they had held euer since the battell of Durham vnto those daies. This earle of Dornoglasle, one of the most valiant personages in those his daies, within the whole realme of Scotland, died within his castell of Dornoglasle, shortly after he had achieved this enterpryse, and was buried in the abbie of Helroffe.

After his deceasse, his sonne James, or (as saith Buchanan) William succeeded in the earldome of Dornoglasle, a verie fierce and hardie knight, the which shortly after appointed by the king to haue the guiding of an armie, he passed with the same into England, and burnt the countrie so farre as Newcastell. But being countermanded home, he returned and came vnto Perth, where he found the lord John de Uian, admerall of France, and earle of Valentinois, who about the same time was arrived in Scotland with two hundred and fortie ships well and perfectlie furnished for the warres, and in them two thousand and five hundred armed men, diuerse of them being lords and barons, besides gentlemen and others. Also there was amongst them 400 haggbutters (as Belenden saith) and two hundred with croshowes: the residue bare pikes, halberts, and such like weapons. They were paid their wages for one whole yere aforesaid, and had brought vittels with them to serue them as long. They had brought also with them foure hundred paire of white cures, foure hundred halfe long swords, & fiftie thousand franks, to be giuen among the nobles of Scotland, accordinglie as king Robert should appoint and thinke expedient.

The admerall and other the nobles of France, being thus come into Scotland to make warres on the Englishmen, were highlie feasted by the king and lords of the realme, as then present with him; and when the earle of Dornoglasle was once come, by common consent of them all there assembled together in counsell, it was ordeined that an armie should be raised with all speed, that ioining with these

It is ruled.

The baron of Graustocke taken.
Anno reg 15.
1382.1. Ma.

An armie by sea and another by land, prepared against the Scots.
The duke of Lancaster commeth with an armie to Edinburgh.

The Englishmen discomfited in Fife.
The strength of Tindale recovered.

The earle of Dornoglasle deceaseth.

James earle of Dornoglasle.

The Scots inuade Northumberland.
1385.

John de Uian admerall of France.

200. Buchan. 25 barons, 800 men of armes or knights.
I. Fourdon. I doubt whether there were any haggbutts used in those daies, though guns were some what before that time.

Richard king of England.

Anno reg 15.
1381.

English ambassadors sent into Scotland.

James taken.

Rebellion in England.

Jacke Strain

The earle of Dornoglasle.
The earle of Dornoglasle.
Anno reg 14.
1381.10. Ma.

1384.

The castell of Lochmaben inuaded by the Scots.

John Fourdon.

Sir William Fetherston.

Buchanan.

The earle of
Fife.
An armie of
Scots and
Frenchmen
enter into
England.
Castels won.

Frenchmen they might passe immediatlie into England. The earle of Fife sonne to king Robert was appointed to be generall of this armie, hauing with him the earles of Dowglas, and March, Archembald Dowglas lord of Galloway, and diuerse other of the Scottis nobilitie. This armie when they were all togither, amounted to the number of fiftie thousand men, the which entring into England, toke the castels of Marke, Fould, and Cornewall. After this, by robbing and spoiling the countrie betwixt Berwick and Newcastle, they did much hurt in all parts where they came; but through continuall raine which fell as then in great abundance, they were constrained to returne into Scotland, where they pitched downe their field nere to the castell of Rochelburgh, purposing to haue assailed the winning thereof: but forsomuch as they could not agree in whose name it should be kept if it were wone, they left that enterprise. For the Frenchmen required that if they wane it, that then it might be kept by them, in the name and to the behoofe of the French king, whereunto the Scots would not agree.

The French-
men & Scots
cannot agree.

They invade
Cumberland.

Yet after this, the Frenchmen wishing to accomplish some other enterprise, went to the west borders, where joining with Archembald Dowglas lord of Galloway, they passed ouer Sulway sands; and so entering into Cumberland, did wonderfull much hurt in that countrie. At length they determined to lay siege vnto Carlisle, but being called from thence they returned into Scotland, and then (as some authors write) and not before, they laid siege to Rochelburgh, and raised from thence within eight daies after, by reason of the variance before alledged. At Allhallowentide next ensuing, the Frenchmen returned into France, hauing indured no small trauell and paines, since their first comming forth of their countrie. After they were gotten a shipboard to returne homewards, the Scots againe enter into England with an armie, remaining there for the space of two moneths (as the Scottis writers say.) And in the meane time king Richard assembled a mightie power, and invading Scotland, passed through the Shers and Louthian, putting all the towne, countries, and houses vnto utter raine, as in the English historie more plainlie may appere.

The French-
men returne
into France.

King Richard
invadeth
Scotland.

1387.

In the yeere next ensuing, Walter Marblish bishop of Glasco and cardinall, departed this life. Also within a while after that king Richard was returned backe into England, Robert Stewart earle of Fife, with James earle of Dowglas, Archembald Dowglas lord of Galloway, entred into England with an armie of thirtie thousand men, comming so secretly thorough the water of Sulway, that they came to Cokermouth in such speedie wise vpon the sudden, that the people had not leasure to conuie away their goods: so that the Scots remaining there for the space of thre daies, got a rich botie togither, and returned with the same thorough the countries of Westmerland and Northumberland safe, and without incounter againe into Scotland. Amongest certeine other things, found in rifeling and ransacking of houses in this iourne, there was a charter found of certeine lands given by king Athelstane, in this forme: I king Athelstane giues to Paullane, Odham and Rodham, als guid and als faire, als euer yai mine waire, and yarto witness Mauld my wife. By tenure of which ded it may appere, that our ancestors gaue more credit to the true meaning of a few words barelie expresse in their writings, than that there needed so long processe and circumstance as is now used with long studie of penning, nothing being thought sufficient to assure the parties of their couenanted bargaines, and concluded agreements.

The forme of
an old ded of
gift.

The true meaning of men
in old time.

An armie of
thirtie thousand
Scots
invaded England
by the
West marches.
Cokermouth
taken vpon
the sudden.

In this last iourne against the Englishmen, William Dowglas baron sonne to Archembald Dowglas lord of Galloway, wane great fame and honor for his high prowes and noble valancie. He was as well in certeine approches made vnto Carlisle, as in diuerse other skirmishes elsewhere. The king also herevpon began to fauour him in such wise, that he thought him worthy of some high advancement; and therevpon gaue him his daughter in marriage, named Giles, a ladie of such excellent beautie, as her match in those daies was not to be found: [with whom for his dowrie, he gaue the lands of Rodedale.] He begat on hir a daughter, which was after married to the earle of Dykenie. This William Dowglas (as John Fourdon noteth) was of a blackish or swart colour, not overcharged with flesh; but big of bone, a mightie personage, byright and tall, balliant, courteous, amiable, full of liberalitie, merrie, faithfull, and pleasant in companie, but herewith he was of such strength, that whomsoever he stroke either with mace, sword, or speare, downe he went where he neuer so well armed. At one time (as the same Fourdon saith) he hauing with him but eight hundred, fought against thre thousand Englishmen, of whom two hundred he slue in the field, & brought fise hundred prisoners with him into Scotland.

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In the yeere 1388, Robert earle of Fife, and Archembald Dowglas lord of Galloway, entered with a proud armie into England, and in the meane time came sundrie Irishmen by sea to the coasts of Galloway, and landing in diuerse places, fetched auaite great boties of cattell, and other goods of the inhabitants: whereof William Dowglas, sonne of the said Archembald being informed, got a conuenient power of men togither, by suppoit of his brother in law, Robert earle of Fife, and by licence of the king passed ouer with the same, shipped in certeine vessels into Ireland, where being got on land, he laid siege to the towne of Carlingford. The townesmen doubting to be taken by assault, purchased a truce for certeine daies, promising to giue a great summe of monie to haue their towne saued: but in the meane time, they assembled the number of eight hundred men, through helpe of an other towne not farre off, called Doundalke, and joining with them, they divided themselves into two parts. One part set vpon Robert Stewart of Deridreir, who hauing the conduct of the earle of Fifes men, was gone abroad into the countrie to fetch in some preie: and the other part assailed William Dowglas, that lay still afoze the towne.

Neuerthelesse, the said Robert and William received the enemies with such manhod, that they put them in both places to flight, and immediatlie after gaue assaile to the towne, and entring the same perforce, put all the goods found therein to the sacke, and then set it on fier, and burned it to ashes. This done, they toke threescore ships which they found in diuerse hamens and craks there on that coast, and fraughting fiftene of them with such spoile as they had got, they burned the residue, and then returning homewards, spoiled the Ile of Man by the way as they passed. Shortly after their returne home, the king of England sent an armie into Scotland, which did much hurt in the Shers, in burning and ouerthrowing diuerse towres and houses. King Robert being certified hereof, as then remaining in the north parts of Scotland, assembled the nobles of his realme at Aberden: and there by all their aduises it was concluded, that the whole puissance of the realme should be raised with all speed, to reuenge those iniuries done by the Englishmen. Herevpon were two armies assembled, the one, wherein were fiftene thousand men, was committed to the gouernance of the earle of

William Dowglas
lord of Galloway
was
as well
in certeine
approches
made vnto
Carlisle.

Fr. Thin.

1388.

Irishmen
fetch preies in
Galloway.
William Dowglas
invadeth
Ireland with
fise hundred
men, as John
Fourdon saith.
Carlingford
besieged.

The craftie
dealing of the
townesmen.

The Irish-
men assaile
the Scots in two
seuerall places.

The Irish-
men put to
flight.

Carlingford
wonne by as-
saile.

The Ile of
Man spoiled.

Englishmen
burne in the
Shers.

Two armies
of Scottish
men assembled
of

of Fiffe, hauing with him the earle of Menteith, Alexander Lindseie of Malcop. The other containing like number of men, was appointed to the guiding of the earles of Dowglas and March, hauing with them James Lindseie earle of Crawford, John Dunbar earle of Murray, and the lord Haie the constable of Scotland, with diuerse other of the nobilitie [both which, saith Froissard] amounted to the number of 40000 men.]

These two armies parting in sunder at Jedworth, the earle of Fiffe with his people entered into Cumberland by the west marches, and the earles of Dowglas and March with theirs, entered on the other side into Northumberland, passing thorough the countrie, spoiling and wasting the same, till as farre as Durham; and on the other part, the earle of Fiffe spared neither fier nor sword, all the way as he passed. At length both these armies met together about a ten miles from Newcastle. Here the earle of Dowglas chose forth ten thousand of the most able men that could be found amongst all the numbers, with the which he went to Newcastle, to trie if by ante meanes he might take the towne. There was gathered into Newcastle before his comming thither, the most part of all the chosen men from Forke to the borders, with the earle of Northumberland, who by reason of extreme age was not able to sturre abroad (anie thing to purpose) himselfe, but he had with him two of his owne sonnes, the one named Henrie, and the other Iase, berie forward and lustie gentlemen. This Henrie being the elder, was surnamed for his often pickking, Henrie Hotspur, as one that seldome times rested, if there were anie seruice to be done abroad.

The earle of Dowglas comming to Newcastle, incamped with his people on that side the towne towards Scotland, and viewed the towne earnestlie, which way he might best come to giue assault to win it. Henrie Perie desirous to shew some proofe of his singular manhood, wherein he greatlie trusted, required to fight with the earle of Dowglas man to man; which request the earle granting, together they ran, mounted on two great coursers with sharpe ground speares at the bitterance. The earle of Dowglas in this encounter bare himselfe so well, that in the end he droue the Perie out of his saddle. The Englishmen that stood without the gates, made to the rescue, recovered him on foot, and brought him forthwith backe into the towne. Incontinentlie hereupon, the earle of Dowglas caused the assault to be given, and filling the ditches with hate and sagots, came with ladders to the walls: but the Englishmen so well defended themselves, that the Scots were beaten backe, not without great losse and slaughter of their people.

Froissard making mention of this enterprise thus made by the Scots, varieth somewhat from the Scottish writers in this place: for he speaketh nothing that the Dowglas and the Perie should thus run together on horsebacke (as before is specified) but that in giuing assault to the towne, it chanced, that as the Englishmen defended their barriers without the gate, the Dowglas fortuned to be matched hand to hand with Henrie Perie, and there by force plucked the Peries staffe from him, and in returning holsted it vp on height, saying, he would carrie the same for his sake into Scotland: and the next day after, he raised his campe and departed homewards towards the borders, & comming to a place called Metherburne, about twelue or fourete miles from Newcastle, pitched downe his tents there, that his soldiers might take some rest, & refresh themselves after their great trauell, for they had not rested of all

the day nor night before, nor to anie purpose, since their first entering into England.

In the meane time the English power was highly increased at Newcastle, for a great number of the countrie came, and entered into the towne the same night that followed the day of the assault. Henrie Perie then perceiving his number sufficient to fight with Dowglas, set them in order of battell, & determined to issue forth upon the Scots, and to giue them an encounter: but when he understood that they were gone homewards, he followed them with all speed, for he would by no means that they should passe into Scotland without battell, trusting to recouer the dishonour which he had sustained by losing his staffe at the barriers before the gate of Newcastle. Earle Dowglas aduertised that the enemies were comming to giue him battell, exhorted his people with few words to remember their wonted manhood, that by gaining the victorie, they might win euermlasting fame and honor, with safeguard to themselves and their countrie. The Perie likewise for his part, encouraged his men, willing them to fight manfully in reuenge of their iniuries done to them and their friends by the Scots, and herewith commanding the trumpets to sound, he gaue the onset fiercelie.

Here both the armies ioining together, a right terrible encounter ensued: but because the night was at hand, before they began to ioine, through want of light to see what was to do, they were seuered in sunder for that time; but remembering that the morrow would shewlie rise, they determined so sone as the began to giue light, to renew the battell againe. As sone therefore as the morrow began to appeare, they ioined againe with more malice than before. The Englishmen fought so egerlie, that putting the Scots backe, and causing them to giue ground, they had wonne the Scottish standards, and so by all likelihood got the vpper hand, had not Patrike Hepborne with his sonne, & such other of his companie as attended him, come to the rescue, by whome the fight was begun afresh. Herewith also came the earle of Dowglas, and with a great mace in his hand laid such sore strokes round about him, that none came within his reach, but downe he went.

The said Dowglas the younger, hauing with him Robert & Simon Glendoure, was (all which notwithstanding) most grievously wounded, whom his friends (comming about to succor) found then cast vpon the ground, next vnto whome lay one named Hart most miserable wounded also. At what time a priest (which by a faithfullie assisted this Dowglas in all distresse) did (now the bodie being faint and decayed) defend the same from other hurt of the aduersarie. Dowglas lieng in this estate, his neere friends (John Lindseie, John and Walter Seintclere) came vnto him, demanding how he did. To whome he stoutlie answered (as one whome the presence of death nothing dismayed) that he was berie well; for said he, I do not now die in my bed (by sluggish destinie) but in the field, as almost all my ancestors haue done. Wherefore, this shall be the last thing that I will require of you; first to keepe my death most secret, secondlie that you suffer not my standard to be throwne downe, and lastlie that you reuenge my death; the which if I may before hand by your promise hope to be performed, I shall with more patience indure all other things. Whereupon they first seuered his bodie that it should not be knowen; then they erected his standard, crieng (as the manner is) A Dowglas a Dowglas. At which voice, there was so great a concourse of people, & such a full assault vpon the enemy, that forthwith they drane them from the place of the battell. For at the verie

The English power increased.

Henrie Perie followed the Scots.

The Dowglas exhorted his men to fight manfully.

The Perie with comfortable words encouraged his men.

The onset is given.

They were seuered by comming on of the night.

The battell is renewed.

Patrike Hepborne reueth the Scots at point to be overcome. The valiancie of the earle of Dowglas.

Fr. Thin. Buchanan.

This priest was William archdeacon of Aberdeen, as saith Io. Maior lib. 6. cap. 3. & Lesclous lib. 7. pa. 263. calleth him William Dundie archdeacon of saint Andrews, kinsman to Dowglas. This Dowglas was hurt in the shoulder in the lower part of his back, and in the thigh with several arrows, and had a deable blow on his head being vncouered. Io. Maior. lib. 6 cap. 3.

Thin.

Cumberland invaded. Northumberland invaded.

Emthousand of the choicest men with the earle of Dowglas. The assistance of the Englishmen at Newcastle.

Henrie Hotspur.

The earle of Dowglas incamped at Newcastle.

The earle of Dowglas and Henrie Perie ran together. The Perie mounted vpon his horse.

The assault given to Newcastle.

Froissard some what varieth from the Scottish writers.

Dowglas incamped at Metherburne.

name

name of Dowglas, not onlie the common people, but John earle of Murray (supposing that the same side was in distresse) prepared in all hast to succour them.]

The English men put to flight.

Finallie, the whole number of the Scottishmen bare themselves so manfullie, that the Englishmen being broken and put to flight, were slaine & bozne downe. The chase continued till the breake of the day with killing and taking, as in such cases is ever seene, though the more part in deed were taken with their lues saued after they once fell in the chase. Amongest other, Rafe Perrie and his brother Henrie, were taken by Keith, the marshall of Scotland, somewhat before the Englishmen began to turne.

Rafe and Henrie Perrie taken prisoners.

Fr.Thin.

Other persons taken.

[But Lesleus. lib. 7. pa. 263. saith that Henrie Hotspur was taken by Montgomerie, who for his ransom did build the castle of Doune, which his heirs to this day do inioy. There was also taken besides the two Perries, diuers other men of name, as Robert Ogill, Thomas Halberke, John Lilborne, William Mauchlut, Robert Heron, the baron of Hilton, John Colwell, and Patrike Louell knights.

The number of prisoners taken.

Fr. Thin.

There were slaine but five hundred Englishmen as Hector Boetius saith. The death of James earle of Dowglas.

There were taken in all of Englishmen, to the number of a thousand and fortie, and slaine what in the field and chase (as Froissard recounteth) aboue an eightene hundred. [But Buchan. saith, there were 1840 slaine, 1000 wounded, and 1004 taken.] But yet the Scottish writers themselves report a lesse number. Neither did this victorie chance to the Scots without great losse and slaughter. For amongst other, the earle of Dowglas himselfe was thise stricken through the bodie, and also wounded so mortallie on the head, that being borne to his tent a little before the end of the battell, he died of those hurts immediatlie after, to the great discomfort of all his armie, conceiuing more dolorous griefe for the losse of so worthie a chiefeaine, than for the gaine of a great victorie. His bodie was conueied unto Helros, & buried beside his father earle William in the abbey church there. And because this earle James had no heires of his bodie begotten, his cosine Archibald Dowglas lord of Galloway succeeded him in the earldome. The house of the Hepburns (of the which this Patrike Hepburne that fought so valiantlie in this battell at Otterburne did descend) arose in Scotland after this wise.

See more of this matter in England.

Archibald Dowglas succeeded James the earle of Dowglas.

It chanced in the daies of king David the third, there was an Englishman of that name taken prisoner in Scotland, who by chance being in place where the earle of March was got vpon a young gelding vnbroken, the which plaieng the vnrule side, in fetching and flinging aloft, put the earle in great danger of his life; and when all other that were present there gaue backe, and durst not step in to make anie shift to helpe the earle: this Englishman leapt to him, and boldlie catching hold on the bzible reine, held the horse fast, till the earle was safelie got beside him. In reward of which benefit, the said earle gaue vnto this Hepburne certeine lands in Alothian, whose posteritie increased afterwards in such power of lands and surname, that the same intioed not onlie the earldome of Bothwell, but was also diuided into sundrie branches, and manie knights thereof haue risen of right worthie fame and estimation. This battell of Otterburne was fought on saint Oswalds day, which is the first of August, in the yeare 1388.

The first advancement of the Hepburns.

The earles of Bothwell.

1380.

12. kal. Aug. Buchanan.

1388.

Fr. Thin. Buchan.

Amongst those that fled to the battell, was Patrick Redman gouernor of Berwick, whom James Lindseie (supposing by the beautie of his armor to be of the nobler sort) did vehementlie follow by the space of thre miles. At the last, Redman perceiving that he was not by flight able to escape (and deeming it better to hazard his life, than oitherwise

to be slaine without aduenture) alighted from his horse to fight with his enimie on foot, which Lindseie did accordingly; in the end after a long conflict betwene them, the Englishman (being as saith Buchanan inferior to the Scot in armor & weapon) did yeld himselfe to his aduersarie. By whom (after that he had giuen an oth to returne at a certeine day) he was permitted to go at libertie. Such in those daies was the humanitie amongst the bozders, and both nations towards their prisoners, which to this day doth continue betwene the inhabitants of those places. But if anie do not returne at the day appointed, this punishment is set vpon him for a perpetuall disgrace. That in the assemblies of truce daies (to demand restitution of things and injuries done by the one nation vnto the other) they vse that he which complaineth himselfe to be deceived by his prisoner (on his promise) doth carrie about a hand or gloue painted in a cloth vpon a long staffe or speare to be seene of all men; the which is accounted a singular infamie to the defencers thereof. For they which haue so broken their faith, be euer after hated of their friends and acquaintance; for which dishonestie, they will not afford them good report or intertainment. Lindseie hauing with this condition dismissed his prisoner (and perceiuing a great number of armed men) made dreadlie towards them, not knowing that they were his enimies, vntill he had ridden so nexe vnto them, that he could not withdraw himselfe out of their danger. These men were the bands of the bishop of Durham, who when he came too late to Helwcastle (to ioine with Perrie at the battell of Otterburne, because he supposed that the enimies would not ioine vntill the next day) commanded his armie to rest there, and to fall to their supper. Shortly after which, he toke his iourne towards the Scots.

But (before he was anie great way marched out of the towne) vnderstanding (by those that fled from Otterburne battell towards Helwcastle) that Perrie was ouerthrowne, and had lost the field, he returned with his friends to Helwcastle, to consult what he should do against the enimie. At which time it was declared, that the next day at the sunne rising, they should all be redie in armor to fiek the Scots. According wherevnto in the morning of the next day, the inhabitants bordering thereabouts were assembled, who (with these that the bishop had brought thither) were of all sorts gathered together, to the number of 10000 horsemen and footmen. These stirred the bishops mind, that (with all speed) he should lead them toward the Scots, and trie the successe of battell, for the Scots (saie they) wearied with the former daies fight, and most of them wounded, will not be able to abide the second battell. With which speeches they persuaded themselves of an easie conquest. Wherevpon the bishop set forward with his armie, whose coming being vnderstood by the scouts of the Scots, the erle of Murray (whom now all men did follow after the death of Dowglas) called the present nobilitie together to consult what should be done with the prisoners, whom they could not in iustice now kill (hauing receiued them vpon ransom) but it would seme a most cruell part: and to rescue them (being their enimies, and almost an equall number to themselves) it was a thing most dangerous. Wherefore it was concluded, that the prisoners should sweare, that they would not stirre whilst the Scots and English were in fight; and further, that if the Scots were overcome, and they (being now their prisoners) recovered from them, that yet they should still remaine prisoners vnto them as before, and so returne to them at a certeine day. These things thus done, they left the prisoners

Lindseie had a halberd and a Scotsman a sword with a buckler which he caried at his backe. Major. lib. 6. cap. 14. The disgrace of prisoners breaking promise.

Jo. Ma. saith if they break promise, the picture of him is tied to a horse's tale and drawn about the borders of the countie.

The bishop of Durham goeth towaerd the Scots, accompanied with Thomas Lindseie and Thomas Clifford.

The bishop of Durham goeth against the Scots.

John Major saith, that some say they tied the prisoners fast with ropes, lib. 6. ca.

in the campe, with a small gard which should execute a present reuenge vpon them, if they did at anie time come to attempt anie thing.

After this the Scots (full of the victories latelie obtained) freshly defended into the battell, defended behind with the marches, and on the left and right side with the dead bodies of the former combat: at what time it was also commended that euery one (as he did approach the enimie) should blow the horn he caried about his necke (hanging at his backe) as loud as he could. which sound being of it selfe terrible, was in the eche (by reflection of the hills) so multiplied, that it forced the enimie to suppose the Scots to be of greater number than in truth they were. But before they entred into the battell, as faith Iohn Maior George of Dunbar earle of March encouraged his soldiers with these words.

Woe haue this night (most noble Scots) sustained the thicke heat and force of the battell, we haue ouerthrowne the youth and strength of Northumberland with their two princes: for which there is no cause why we (after such honoz obtained against those valiant princes) should now feare this little prick. I trow there remaineth nothing now for vs, but that euery one of vs giue but two strokes, because the leader will flie at the third, and all the flocke will follow, since the shepe heard stroken, the shepe will be disperced: But if they shall so long contend with vs, that as God most rightlie forbid) we chance to be ouercome, then shall we most shamefully lose the glorie which we before haue honozably gained by this night's trauell. But contrarie, if we be men, and put on vs such valiant hearts (as the preservation of honoz requirith) we shall easilie teach this vntoward priest, that it had bene farre more honoz to him, rather to vs, and those commodities to them all, that he had remaneth at home, with rods to be verily bearded, and negligent scholars, than with sword to enter battell against growne and bearded soldiers.

As he being spoken, and the English now come to the point to fight with the battell, the Scots began the battell with their hornes, whereupon the English hearing that terrible noise (vnto accustomed to the noise of the multitude) remembryng that they must fight in the middle of dead carcasses of their friends and kindred latelie slaine (a spectacle to discourage most valiant hearts) and somewhat abashed at the cheerefullnesse of the Scots standing against them (which they looked not for after the last battell) the English (I say) considering these things, retired towards the place from whence they came; and suffered the Scots to retire without anie other pursuit against them. In the meane time, when Alexander Lindsay (taken as before, and as yet prisoner in Perth) chanced to be kene and knowne by Redman (his pebled prisoner) he was most courteouslie (after congratulation of amitie betwene them) suffered to depart fro Perth to Scotland.)

In the yeere following, a parliament was holden at Perth, at the which demonstration was made by king Robert, that forasmuch as he was broken by great age, and might not through feeblenesse occasioned thereof attend to his office in gouernment of the realme; it was necessarie that some gouernor should be chosen: wherefore he requirith that his second sonne Robert earle of Fife might inioy that office, considering his eldest sonne John earle of Carrike (by reason of a stripe which he had receiued on the leg by an horse of sir James Dowglatie of Walketh) was not able to trauell, but kept his bed, and might therefore waye waye abroad. The lords consented to the kings request, and so the earle of Fife was constituted gouernour of Scotland, by common con-

sent of all the lords of the realme [before which time (as faith Buchanan) they were called wardens and not gouernors.] Also the earle marshall of England was sent by king Richard to the borders, to remaine there as warden in the place of Henry Percie prisoner in Scotland. It is reported by the Scottish writers, that this earle should make stout brags, that he would fight with the Scots the next time he met with anie power of them, whether he were like in number to them or not. But when it came to passe that Robert Steward the Scottish gouernor was entered into Northumberland with an armie, he withdrew into places of safegard, and suffered the most part of the countrey to be harried and burned. In deed our English writers affirme, that the said earle, hauing with him but five hundred men of armes, was not able to accomplish anie notable exploit available against the great multitude of his enimies.

In the same yeere was a truce taken betwixt England and France, the Scots (if they would so agree) being compised therein. Hereupon there came English ambassadors forth of England, to vnderstand what the king of Scots would determine in that behalfe. By whom it was answered, that he would with god will stand to the same truce according as it was concluded. Whiles things passed thus in Scotland, Alexander Steward earle of Buchquhane burnt the cathedrall church of Murray, the lanterne and ornament of all the north part of Scotland, vpon displeasure conceiued against the bishop of the same place. Whereat his father the king took such indignation, that when his sonne the said Alexander was brought to his presence, he commanded him to be committed vnto streit prison, wherein he remained till after his fathers decesse. The realme being in this manner brought to good tranquillitie, king Robert falling into great infirmite and feeblenesse, by reason of extreme age, without any manner of other accidentall sickness, decessed at his castell of Dundonald, the 19 day of Aprill, in the yeere after our redemption 1390, being as then aboue 75 yeres of age, and hauing reigned the space of 19 yeres, his bodie was buried at Scone before the high altar.

This Robert the second, though by reason of his great age, he went not forth into the wars himselfe, yet was there neuer prince afore him that had more happy successe by the conduct of his captains which he sent forth as lieutenants vnder him, for they neuer lightlie returned home but with victorie. He was a prince of such constancie in promise, that he seldom spake the word which he performed not. Such an obseruer he was also of iustice, that whensoever he remoued from anie place, he would cause proclamation to be made, that if anie of his men or officers had taken vp anie thing vnpaid for, the partie to whom the debt was due should come in, and immediatlie he should be satisfied. He willinglie heard the complaints of the poore, and was no lesse diligent to see their wrongs redressed.

After the decesse of king Robert the second, his son John Steward earle of Carrike was admitted to the crowne, which he receiued at Scone on the Assumption of our ladie. And forsomuch as John was thought to be an vnfortunate name for kings, they changed the same, and called him Robert after his father, being now the third of that name. * But whether the same was so altered, either for the calamities which happened to the two Johns, the king of England and the king of France, or for the good successe of the two former Roberts (Wise and Steward) had in the victories and gouernment of the realme: for their vertue in peace and warres: for their vniuersall happinesse in what they attempted:

Fr.Thin.

The earle marshall of England, warden of the marches.

The gouernor of Scotland in Northumberland.

A truce taken

English ambassadors sent into Scotland. The king of Scots agreed to the truce.

The cathedrall church of Murray burnt.

The earle of Buchquhane imprisoned.

The decesse of king Robert the second.

2390.

His happy successe in warres.

The constancie of king Robert in word and promise.

His vpright iustice.

His diligence to redresse poore mens wrongs.

Robert.

John Steward earle of Carrike admitted to the crowne.

1390. Fr.Thin. Buchanan.

I will leane vncerteine, hauing no certieintie deli-
uered thereof vnto me. This Robert the third rather
lacked vices, than was beautified with anie extraor-
dinarie vertues, for which cause he being king in
name, his brother Robert was king in deed, as one
vpon whome the whole gouernement did depend.
The king Robert did marrie Annabell (the daugh-
ter of John Drummond) whome he receiued into his
bed, rather for hir singular beautie, than the hono-
r of hir parents, or for anie benefit that might grow
to the common wealth by hir or hir alliance. In the
beginning of his reigne, a truce was taken betwene
England and Scotland, for the space of thre yeres,
which shortly after was proroged to the terme of
four yeres.)

About the same time William Dowglas of
Fiddisdale was chosen by the lords of Wutzen, to
be admerall of a nauie, containing two hundred and
fortie ships, which they had rigged, and purposed
to set forth against the miscreant people of the
northeast parts. But being appealed by the lord Clif-
ford an Englishman (who was there likewise to
serve with the foresaid lords in that iournie) to fight
with him in a singular combat: before the day
came appointed for them to make triall of the
battell, the lord Clifford lay in wait for the Dow-
glas, and vpon the bidge of Danyke met with
him, and there slue him, to the great disturbance and
fay of the whole iournie. Whereouer, shortly after the
coronation of king Robert the third, tidings came
that Duncane (whom some call Dalech Steward)
sonne to Alexander Steward the kings brother a-
fore rehearsed, was entred into Angus with a great
number of men, and slue Walter Ogilvie thiriffe of
the countrie, that came forth with a power to resist
him from spoiling the people, whom he miserable af-
flicted; howbeit these his insolent doings were not
long vnpunished. For the earle of Crawford being
sent against him with an armie, caused him to dis-
perse his companie, and to flee his waies; but being
apprehended with the most part of his said com-
panie, they were punished according to their de-
merits.

At this time also the most part of the north coun-
trie of Scotland, was sore disquieted by two clans
of those Irish Scots, called Baterans, which inha-
bit the hie-land countries, the one named Clankaites
and the other Clanquhaffans. These two being at
deadlie fude, robbed and wasted the countrie with
continuall slaughter and reise. At length it was ac-
corded betwixt the parties, by the aduise of the earls
of Murray and Crawford, that thirtie persons of the
one clan, should fight before the king at Perth, a-
gainst thirtie of the other clans men, with sharpe
swords to the bitterance, without anie kind of armor
or harness, in trial and decision of the quarrell, for
the which the variance betwixt them first arose. Both
these clans right iofull of this appointment, came to
Perth with their number, where, in a place called the
Forth inch, a litle beside the towne, in presence of the
king and other iudges assigned thereto, they fought
according as it was agreed, and that with such rage
and desperate furie, that all those of Clankaites part
were slaine (one onelie excepted) who to saue his life,
after he saw all his fellows slaine, leapt into the wa-
ter of Taie, and swam ouer, and so escaped. Where
was 11 of Clanquhaffans side that escaped with
life, but not one of them vntwounded and that verie
sore. At their entring into the field or lists where they
should fight the battell, one of the clans wan-
ted one of his number, by reason that he which should
haue supplied it, was priuile stolen awaie, not wil-
ling to be partaker of so deare a bargain. But there
was a countrie-felow among the beholders, who be-

ing sozie that so notable a fight should be passed ouer,
offered himselfe for a small summe of monie to fill
vp the number, though the matter appertained no-
thing to him, nor to anie of his friends. [This man
(as faith Buchanan) seemed to be a saddle-maker,
who for halfe a frenchcrowne, and his diet during
his life (if he were victor) took the matter in hand, in
which none behaued himselfe more valiantlie than
he, on whose part the said eleuen did suruiue, him-
selfe making vp the number.] This battell was
fought thus betwene the two clans, in manner as
is before remembred, in the yere 1396.

In the third, or (as faith Buchanan) the second
yere after, a parlement was holden at Perth, wher-
in, besides diuerse constitutions and ordinances en-
acted for the aduancement of the common-wealth,
the king made his eldest sonne named Dauid (that
was then about eightene yeres of age) duke of
Rothesay, and his brother Robert (that was earle of
Fife and gouernor of the realme, as before ye haue
heard) he created duke of Albanye. These were the
first dukes that had bene heard of in Scotland, for
till those daies there was neuer anie within the
realme that bare that title of honor. [Which virgin
title (faith Buchanan of that honor) gaue neuer god
successe to the maisters]. During the time that the
peace continued betwixt the two realmes of Eng-
land and Scotland, there were sundrie iustes and
combats put in by, and exercised betwixt Scots and
Englishmen, for profe of their valiant activitie in
seats of armes, to win thereby fame and honor. But
amongst the residue, that was most notable, which
chanced betwixt Dauid earle of Crawford Scottish,
and the lord Welles English.

It was agreed betwixt these two noble men, to
run certieine courses on horsebacke, with speares
sharpe ground for life and death. The place appointed
for these iusts was London bidge, and the day the
thre, and twentieth of Aprill, being the feast of saint
George. At the place & day thus prefixed, they came
redie to furnish their enterprise, and being mounted
on their mightie couriers, they ran together right
egerlie. At the first course, though they attained,
yet kept they their saddles without anie perill of fal-
ling. The people beholding how stiffelie earle Da-
uid sat without mouing, cried that the Scottishman
was locked in his saddle, he bearing this, leapt be-
side his horse, and verie nimble mounted vp a-
gaine into the saddle, armed as he was, to the great
wonder of the beholders. This done, he took ano-
ther staffe, & so together they ran againe right fierce-
lie the second time, and yet without anie great hurt
on either part: but the third time, the lord Welles
was borne out of the saddle, and sore hurt with the
grtuous fall.

And for bicause the earle of Crawford thus day
quished his aduersarie on saint Georges day, he
founded a chanterie of seuen priests to sing in our
ladies church of Dundee, in memorie of St. George,
which they did vnto our time, not without singular
commendation of the said earle. After this, he re-
mained thre moneths in England, in sporting and
feasting amongst the nobles, before he returned into
Scotland, highlie praised of all estates for his no-
ble port and great liberalitie there shewed amongst
them. Not long after, one sir Robert Spelaine an
Englishman, came into Scotland to trie his man-
hod in singular battell, with whome sooner would
come against him: he vanquished one Archibald
Edmounston, and Hugh Wallase: but at length he
was overcome by one Hugh Traill at Perth, and
died shortly after vpon displeasure thereof
conceiued.

In the same yere, Richard king of England,
married

John Ma. lib. 6.
cap. 6.

Buchanan.

William Dow-
glas of Fiddi-
sdale chosen
admerall by
the lords of
Wutzen.

He is slaine
by the lord
Clifford.
Duncane Ste-
ward mura-
der of Angus.

Fr. Thin.

The north
parts of Scot-
land sore dis-
quieted by
two clans.

With Scots
called Bate-
rans.
A battell of
thirtie against
thirtie.

A desperate
fight.

1396.

1398.

The first
dukes that
were created
in Scotland.

Fr. Thin.

Iustes and
combats be-
twixt Scots
and English-
men.

The earle of
Crawford of
Scotland, &
the lord Wel-
les of England
iusted for life
and death.

The lord
Welles borne
out of his
saddle.

Spelaine of the
erie of Craw-
ford.
Sir Robert
Spelaine.

married Isabell daughter to the French king, and
some after went into Ireland, to subdue such Irish
rebels, as troubled the quiet state of the countrie.
But in the meane time, his lords at home rebelled
against him, and determined to depose him from the
crowne, so that upon his returne into England, he
was apprehended, put in ward, and shortly after
constrained to renounce all his right to the crowne,
and adiudged therewith to perpetuall prison: yet at
length (as the Scottish chronicle telleth) he got forth
of prison disguised in womans apparell, and came in-
to Galloway, where he fell in seruice with a Scottish
man named Maldonald. But at the last, being be-
trayed and knowen what he was, and thereupon
brought to king Robert, he was right honorablie by
him intertained: neuertheless, knowing himselfe
deposed from his roiall estate, he gave himselfe whol-
lie to contemplation, till finally he departed this
world at Sterling, and was buried in the blacke
friars there within the same towne, as the same
Scottish chronicles buttrulie do report. But to the
matter, Henrie the sonne of John of Gaunt, some-
time duke of Lancaster, after that king Richard
was deposed, was crowned king of England at
Westminster, the thirtieth day of October, in the
yere 1399.

In the yere next ensuing, that is to say, 1400,
king Robert, in consideration of a summe of monie
to him aforehand paid, contracted covenants of ma-
riage to be had and made betwixt his sonne the duke
of Rothsaie, and the earle of Marches daughter. But
Archembald earle of Dowglas, hauing indignation
that the earle of March should be preferred before
him, by support of the duke of Albanie, procured a
councell to be called, in the which he found meanes to
assure his daughter the ladie Margerie, or Marie
(as saith Buchanan) vnto the said duke of Rothsaie,
& with all speed went about to consummate the ma-
riage betwixt them, to put the matter out of all
doubt. The earle of March perceiuing this dealing,
came to the king, and required to know his pleasure,
if he minded to performe the covenants concluded,
concerning the marriage betwixt the prince and his
daughter, or not; making as it were a great com-
plaint of that which was already done to the breach
thereof, and receiuing answer nothing agreeable to
his mind, he departed in a great fume, not sticking
to say, he would be reuenged on such vntruth yer it
were long. Shortly after he fled into England, lea-
uing his castell of Dunbar well stocked of all things
necessarie for defense, in the keeping of his sisters
sonne named Robert Spaitland. But when Archem-
bald Dowglas came thither in the kings name,
and required to haue the castell rendered into his
hands, this Robert Spaitland obeyed the kings com-
mandement, and deliuered the house to the said
Dowglas.

George earle of March informed hereof, procu-
red all his friends to conuete themselves into Eng-
land, and determined with himselfe to do all the dis-
pleasure and mischief he might inuent against his
owne native countrie. King Robert sore dreeding,
least by this earles procurement some trouble might
hap to follow amongst his subjects [did first confis-
cating his goods] send an herald at armes into Eng-
land with letters vnto him, promising by the tenure
of the same, not onelie to pardon him of all offenses
committed, but also to redresse all wrongs or iniu-
ries which he had anie waies forth receiued, if he
would returne into Scotland. And forsomuch as the
earle of March refused this offer, the same herald ac-
cording to instructions giuen him at his departure
from king Robert, went immediatlie to Henrie
king of England with other letters, earnestlie desi-

ring him to cause the earle of March to depart out of
his realme, & not to receiue anie rebels out of Scot-
land into his bounds, whereby the peace might be bi-
olated, which as yet remained betwixt the two king-
domes.

King Henrie vpon reasonable allegations (as he
pretended) refused to satisfie king Roberts petitions
in this behalfe, by reason whereof the peace brake be-
twixt them and their subjects, without anie further
trading of time. For shortly after, Henrie Percie,
furnamed (as is said) Henrie Hotspur, and the earle
of March entered into Scotland, and got together a
great bootie of goods and cattell [in Lothian about
Haddington, at what time they did in vaine besiege
the castell of Hais or Hais, who being at Lintone
were come vpon by the Scots, for to haue returne of
the booties taken] Archembald earle of Dowglas
hauing assembled a powre of men, came with the
same towards the enemies, immediatlie whereupon
they fled to Berwik, and left all their bootie behind
them, which being recovered by the said earle of
Dowglas and his companie, he returned backe to
Edenburgh, where he shortly after being taken
with an hot feuer, departed out of this life, leauing
behind him an honorable memorie of his name, for
his high prowesse and noble ballancie shewed in ma-
nie and sundrie enterprises, by him luckilie atchieued
for the wealth of his countrie. He was named of his
terrible countenance and dreadfull loke, The grim
Dowglas.

After his deceasse, his second sonne that was cal-
led likewise Archembald, was made earle of Dow-
glas; for his eldest sonne William Dowglas died
in the yere before his father. Shortly after, Henrie
king of England came into Scotland with an ar-
mie, without doing anie great damage to the peo-
ple; for he required no more of them that kept anie
castles or strengthes, but onelie to put forth a banner
of his armes as he passed by. At his coming to Ha-
dington, he was lodged in the nurrie there, & shew-
ed much bounteous humanitie toward the nuns, and
all other of that house, not suffering anie manner of
thing to be done prejudiciall to the same. The like
gentlenesse he vied towards them of the Holie rood
house, at his coming to Edenburgh, wherein he
likewise lodged. It is thought, that in memorie of the
friendlie intertainment, which his father the duke
of Lancaster found in these abbeies, at the time of
his being in Scotland, when the rebellion chanced in
England, through Jacke Straw and his complices,
he shewed such fauour towards them at this present.
To be briefe, it should appere, that king Henrie
came into Scotland, as it were enforced, more thro-
ugh counsell of his nobles, than for anie hatred he
bare towards the Scots, as he well shewed in retur-
ning backe againe, without doing them anie fur-
ther iniurie.

In the yere after, or thereabout, died Walter
Traill bishop of Saint Andrewes, and the Scottish
quene Annabell Drummond, after whose deceasse
hir sonne Dauid the duke of Rothsaie, that vnder hir
gouernment had bene well and vertuouslie brought
vp, hauing now got once the reine at libertie, fell to
all kind of insolent outrage, seeking to defile wiues,
virgins, nuns, and all other kind of women, in all
places where he came. At length, his father percei-
uing his sonnes poughfull nature to rage after that
manner in vnbridled lust, beyond the bounds of all
measure, to the great reproch of them both, wrote to
his brother the duke of Albanie, requirung him to
take his sonne, the said duke of Rothsaie into his cu-
stodie, and to see him so chastised for his wanton beha-
uour, as he might learne to amend the same. Here
is to be noted, that the duke of Albanie had of long
time

sent letters
also vnto the
king of Eng-
land.

Henrie Hot-
spur and the
earle of March
enter into
Scotland.
Fr. Thyn.

The deceasse
of Archembald
earle of Dow-
glas.

Henrie king
of England
inuaith
Scotland.

Fr. Thyn.
The death of
quene Annabell
Drummond.

The insolent
outrage of the
duke of Roth-
saie.

Richard
king of
England
goeth into
Ireland.

Richard
deposed.

Richard
advised
to perpetu-
all prison.
He escape
out of
prison.

Richard
killed at
Sterling
and lieth
there.
Hence the
Scottish
king of
England is
crowned.
1399. 1. Ma.

1400.

The occasion
of the
falling
out betwixt
king Robert
and the earle
of March.

The earle of
March fleeth
into England.

The castell
of Dunbar
gotten to the
Scots.

Fr. Thyn.

King Robert
goeth vnto
the earle of
March.

The duke of
Rothesay com-
mitted to pri-
son.

The duke of
Rothesay fa-
mished to
death.

Miracles.

The displea-
sures done by
George earle
of March.
The earle of
Dowglas go-
uernour of
Louthian.

Thomas Ho-
liburton.

Patrike Hep-
borne slaine at
Pebbet.

1402.
Archembald
Dowglas in-
uaded Eng-
land.

The nobles of
Scotland in
this armie.

Henrie Hot-
spur and the
earle of
March assaile
the Scots at
Homildon.

time before, desired to see the duke of Rothesay dispatched out of the way, as the person whome he most doubted; & therefore having commission thus from the king to take him, he reioiced not a little, trusting thereby to compass his purpose without danger. And hereupon taking the duke of Rothesay betwixt Dundee & saint Andrewes, he brought him to Falkland, where he shut him vp in streng prison, and kept him without all manner of meat or drink, so to famish him to death.

It is said, that a woman vnderstanding the duke of Albanyes intention, and taking ruth of the others pitifull case, found meanes to let mace fall downe thorough a rift of the loft of that tower wherein he was inclosed, by meanes whereof his life was certeine daies susteined; but after this was once known, incontinentlie was the woman made auaile. On the same manner, an other woman through a long reed fed him with milke of hir owne breasts, and was likewise dispatched as sone as hir doings were perceived. Then after this, the duke destitute of all worldlie sustentance, thorough verie famine was constrained to eat not onelie all such filth as he could find within the tower, but also in the end he gnawed off his owne fingers, and so finally in this miserable state of martyrdome (as I may call it) ended his wretched life, and was buried in Louthian, where (as the same went) manie faire miracles were done nere to his graue, till time that James the first began to punish the murderers, for since that time such miracles ceased.

About the same time, George earle of March did manie displeasures to the Scots, making sundrie rodes into their countrie, greatlie to his profit. The earle of Dowglas that had the gouernement of Louthian in those daies, took order, that certeine captains of that countrie should euerie one of them for his turne, with a competent number for the time, make a rode into England, to reuenge such displeasures. The first that went, was Thomas Haliburton of Dirlington, who returned in safetie with a great preie taken of Englishmens goods. Next vnto him was Patrike Hepborne of the Hals the younger, appointed to go forth as capteine generall with a certeine number, who entering into England, got a great bottie togither; but the Englishmen following thereupon to recout it, encountered with him at Pebbet in the fiers, and there not onelie slue him, but also distressed his people. Besides them that were slaine with their capteine, there were also manie that were taken, as John and William Cockborne, Robert Lawder of the Bas, John and Thomas Haliburton, with manie other. Almost all the floure of Louthian (as John Maior writeth) perished in this battell, which was fought the 22 of June, in the yere

1402.

Archembald earle of Dowglasle soze displeased, and wonderfullie wroth in his mind for this overthrow, got commission to invade England with an armie of ten thousand men, and hauing the same once readie with all things necessarie for his voiage, he set forthward, and entering into England, burnt and harried the countrie, not staying till he came as farre as Newcastell. In this armie there was with the Dowglasle, Murdoch eldest sonne to duke Robert earle of Fife, Thomas erle of Murray, George earle of Angus, with manie other lords and nobles of Scotland. At the last, when they were returning homeward with a preie of infinit goods and riches, Henrie Hotspur, and George earle of March, with a great power of men met them, and assailed them so with such incessant shot of arrowes, that where the earle of Dowglas with his armie had the aduantage of an hill, called Homildon, he was constrained to

forake the same; and comming downe vpon the Englishmen, was neuertheless put to the worse, the most part of his people being either taken or slaine. It is said, that after the Scots were once put to flight, they gathered againe, and renewed the battell by the exhortation of Abham Gordon, & sir John Swinton, but that did little auaile them, for they were still beaten downe and slaine. Among other of those that were slaine, were the same sir John Swinton, and Abham Gordon; also John Leuenston of Balender, Alexander Ramsay of Dalrymple, with sundrie other gentlemen & nobles of Scotland.

Archembald earle of Dowglas, Murdoch eldest sonne to duke Robert the gouernour, George erle of Angus, Robert Crimin of Galloway, the lord Sawton, James Dowglas master of Dalkeith, and his two brethren John and William, with the most part of all the barons of Fife and Louthian, were taken prisoners. This battell was fought on the Wednesday in harvest, in the yere 1402, vpon a Tuesday. Henrie Percie berie proud of this victorie, came with the earle of March vnto the castell of Cockclaus in Leudale, and laied siege to the same, but John Greinelow capteine thereof defended it so manfullie, that they got no great aduantage; yet at length he fell to this composition with them, that if he had no rescue within the space of thre moneths (or (as Buchanan saith) sixtie daies) the castell should be then rendered into their hands. When the gouernour of Scotland was informed what agreement the capteine of Cockclaus had made, he assembled the lords in counsell to haue their aduise for the leauing of an armie against the time appointed. There were manie of this opinion, that it was better to lose the castell, than to leaue the lines of so manie men as were necessarie to furnish that enterprise for the saving of it. But the gouernour shewed, that he weied the losse of it so much, that if none of the nobles would passe with him to the rescue thereof, yet he would go himselfe to do what in him might lie to saue it. But in the meane time, such trouble rose in England, that there needed no power to be leaue for the defense of Cockclaus. For by a conspiracie practised against king Henrie, certeine of the English nobilitie were alied togither to haue destroyed him, but amongst the resouse, the Percies were as chiefe.

They fought togither at Shrewesburie a verie blouodie battell, where the king got the victorie, and slue the lord Percie, surnamed (as before ye haue heard) Henrie Hotspur. At this battell was also the earle of Dowglas, with a great companie of Scottishmen on the Percies side, for being taken prisoner at the battell of Homildon (as before is said) it was accorded betwixt him and the said Henrie Hotspur, that aiding him & other his complices against king Henrie, if it chanced the said king Henrie to be vanquished and put from the crowne, according to their intent and purpose, then should the said earle Dowglas be released of his ransome, and haue the towne of Berwik rendered vnto him in reward of his aid and assistance. He fought (as is reported) with singular manhood, and had the foreward on the Percies side. He slue that day with his owne hands, thre gentlemen armed in the kings cote armour; and finally when the battell was lost, he was taken in the chase, and saued alieue, where not one more of all his retinue of Scots escaped with life, but were all slaine out of hand. Neither was this victorie gotten by king Henrie, without great slaughter of those that were on his part, for he lost sone verie valiant knights, as Staluart, Blunt, Gasse, and Portoke, with seven hundred other soldiers and men of war

The earle of
Dowglasle
was taken
prisoner at
the battell
of Cockclaus.

Personages
taken.

Buch. 1402.

The castell
of Cockclaus
was besieged.

A composition

Fr. Thin.

A conspiracie
against king
Henrie by the
Percies and
other.

Shrewesburie
battell.

The earle of
Dowglasle
was taken
prisoner at
the battell
of Cockclaus.

He lost the
foreward
there.

He lost
prisoner.

(as

(as the Scottish writers haue) but the English authors name a farre greater number, as sixtē hundred at the least.

King Henrie (as the same Scottish writers doe record) vied the counsell & aduise of the earle of March, in the obtaining of this victorie, being fled latelie before from the rebels side to him. The earle of Douglas, in respect of his noble parentage and high valiance, was verie tenderlie cherished by king Henrie, who for that he had seen him do so valiantlie in the day of that battell, reputed him worthe of all honour. The earle of Douglas yet was verie infortunate in most of his enterprises, so farre forth, that he neuer wan battell wherein he chanced to be, and was therefore named Archembauld Linneinan; though there were no default to be found at anie time in his owne person, for he euer fought with great manhood. At the battell of Homildon he lost one of his eyes, and at this battell of Shewesburie he lost one of his stones. The old earle of Northumberland, hearing that euill successe his sonne and other his kinsmen had found in their rebellious enterpryse at Shewesburie with one of his nephues (that was his sonnes sonne) and other of his friends and kinsmen, withdrew into Scotland, where he was receiued by Henrie Marlowe bishop of saint Andrews, and lodged with him at his ease and in good suertie within his castell of saint Andrews aforesaid.

About the same time, king Robert was aduertised, that his sonne the duke of Rothsaie was pined to death in Falkland, in manner as before is expressed) which newes were so greivous vnto him, that he grew each day more and more in sorrow and melancholie. The duke of Albanie kept it so long as was possible from the kings knowledg, and bring now sent for by the king to answer him for such treasonable slaughter of his sonne, he came, and so excused the matter with a faire painted tale, as though he had bene nothing guiltie in the cause, and for further declaration of his innocencie, he promised, if it might please the king to come vnto Edinburgh, he would bring in the offenders which were culpable of the murder. The king as then remaining in Wute (where for the most part he euer sojourned) though he were not well able to trauell by reason of long sickness, yet in a chariot he came vnto Edinburgh, vpon the earnest desire he had to see his sons death punished. And at his coming thither, the duke of Albanie deliuered vnto him certeine naughtie persons, such in deed, as for their heinous acts and vngenerous conditions deserved well to die (though not for this matter) which neuertheless by vntrue suggestions and forged accusments, being brought before corrupt iudges (and such as the duke of Albanie had provided for his purpose) were condemned as guiltie of his death, whome in all their life time they neuer saw.

Though this matter was handled as finelie as was possible, and made so sound and cleare as could be desired, yet was not the king so satisfied in his mind, but that he had a great suspicion in the duke of Albanie as author of his sonnes death: but so much as the duke had all the realme vnder his obedience, partie by policie, and partie by authoritie of his office, being gouernor thereof, the king durst not attempt anie thing against him, but rather doubted, least he hauing an ambitious desire to the crowne, would compass also to haue the life of his second sonne (named James) as then prince of Scotland; and therefore by the faithfull helpe & good aduise of Walter Marlowe the bishop of saint Andrews, he provided a ship, and sent the said prince forth in the same to passe into France to king Charles the first, deliuering him also a letter written and directed vnto the king of England in his fauour, if he chanced at anywaies by anie fortune to fall into the Englishmens hands.

Henrie lord Sinclair, the second earle of Orkney, was appointed to haue the conueie of him, who hauing all his purueiance readie, toke the ship that was appointed for them at the Haulle, where it laie at anchor, and losing from thence, they sailed forward till they came to Flamburgh head, where (as some say) they were taken on the sea by Englishmen, the which hearing how the prince of Scotland should passe that waies, laie in wait for him. Others write, that his desire was to be set on land there, because he might not awaie with the aire of the sea, being brought far out of quiet in his head & stomach therewith. But how soeuer it was, the truth is, taken he was in the ninth yeare of his age, the 33 day of March, in the yeare of our incarnation 1406, and was kept in captiuitie of the Englishmen by the space of eightē yeares. At his coming to the presence of king Henrie, he deliuered to him the letter directed from his father king Robert, the tenor whereof here insueth, as in the Scottish tongue they be written.

The tenor of the said letter as it
is written in the Scottish
tongue.

Robert king of Scots to Henrie king of England greeting. Thy great magnificence, humilitie, and iustice, are right patent to vs, by gouernance of thy last armie in Scotland; howbeit like things had bene incerteine to vs afore. For though thou seemed as enemy with most awfull incursions in our realme: sit we found mair humanities and plaasures than damage (by thy cunning) to our subdittes. Speciallie to yame that receiuit thy noble fader the duke of Longcastell the tyme of his erill in Scotland. We may not ceis vaitfore, while we are on life, but aye luf and loif thee as mair noble and worthe prince, to top thy realme. For yoch realmes and nations contend among themselves for conquests of glorie & launds, sit na occasion is among vs to invade athir realmes or lieges with iniuries, bot erat to contend among our selfe, quhay fall perlew othir with mair humanite and kindnesse. As to vs we will mets all occasion of battell, quare any occures at thy pleasure. Forther, bycause we haue na lesse sollicitude in preseruing our children fra certaine deidlie enemies, than had sometime thy noble fader, we are constrained to seke support at burcouth princes hands. Howbeit, the inuasion of enemies is sa great, that small defense occures against yame without they be preserued by amitie of nobill men. For the world is sa full of peruerse malice, that na crueltie nor offense may be deuist in erd, bot the samine may be brought be motion of gold or siluer. Heirfore, because we know thy hyuelle full of monie, noble vertues, with like puissance and riches, that na prince in our daies may be compared thairto: we desire thy

B b.

James prince
of Scotland
taken by the
Englishmen.
H.B. 1404.

The earle of
Douglas in-
coment in
scottish
commen.

The earle of
Northumber-
land is into
scotland.

The death of
the duke of
Rothsaie com-
ment to the
mourning of
the king.

The duke of
Albanie recei-
ueth the king.

The king com-
ment to
Edinburgh.

The king pre-
sents the duke
of Albanie.

The king com-
ment the duke
of Albanie.

The king com-
ment the duke
of Albanie.

humanitie and support at this time.

The traitt it is not unknown to thy maiestie, how our eldest sonne Dauid is slaine miserablie in prison be our brother the duke of Albanie, quhome we chesit to be gouernour (quan we were fallen in decrepit age) to our suddittes and realme, besekand thy hienes thairfoze to be so fauorable, that this bearer James our second and allanerlie sonne may haue targe to liewe vnder thy faith, and iustice, to be some memoire of our posteritie, knawand the vnstable condition of mans life so sodanlie altered: now flourishand, and suddenly falling to vtter consumption. Forthir beliewe well, quhan kings and princes hes na other beild bot in thair awin folks, thair empire is caduke and fragill. For the mind of common people, at eur flourishand and maist inconstant than wind. Zit quen princes ar robozat be amitie of othir vncowth kings thair bethir and neighbours, na aduersitie may occurre to elect thaum fra thair dignitie rall. Forthir gif thy hienes thinke nocht expedient (as God forbeid) to obtemper to thir owr desires. Zit we request ane thing quhilk was ratifist in our last trewes and condition of peace, that the supplication made be ony of the two kings of Ingland and Scotland fall staund in manner of sauferconduct to the bearer. And thus we desire to be obseruat to this our allanerlie sonne, and the gracious God conferue the maist noble prince.

After that king Henrie had caused these letters to be opened and read, he aduised himselfe thereon with great deliberation; but in the end, he determined to state this James prince of Scotland as his lawfull prisoner, for that he was thus taken in time of warres, and that moreover, there were diuers rebels of England succored within the bounds of his fathers dominion, to the high displeasure of the said king Henrie. But such was the fauour shewed in his bringing vp, that his captiuitie turned more to his honor, profit, and commoditie, than anie other worldlie hap that might by anie means haue otherwise chanced vnto him. He had such perfect instructors to teach him, as well the vnderstanding of tonges as the sciences, that he became right expert and cunning in euerie of them. He was taught also to ride, to run at the tilt, and handle all kind of weapons conuenientlie to be used of such a personage, where vnto he was so apt and readie, that few in anie point of activitie might overmatch him. He had good knowledge in musike, and could plaie on sundrie instruments right perfectlie. To be brieve, it appeared in all his behauiour and maners, in what companie so euer he came, that his bringing vp had bene according to his nature, neither of them differing from his birth, and the qualitie of a noble and most vertuous prince.

After it was signified vnto his father king Robert, as he sat at supper, that his sonne was thus arrested in England, he made full great and dolorous mone, sore lamenting that euer he matched himselfe in marriage with a woman of so meane degree (to the disparagement of his blood) as was quene Annabell, on whome he begat his sonnes, which (as he toke it) was the onelie cause why as well foraine princes as his owne subiects had him thus in con-

tempt. He toke this matter so sore to hart, that with in three daies after the newes came vnto him, he departed this world through force of sicknesse, now increased by melancholic, which had bereed him a long time before. He died at Rothsaie in the sixteenth yere of his reigne complet, and from the incarnation 1408. His bodie was buried at Passie, with his wife quene Annabell before rehearsed. He was a man of a mightie stature, verie liberall and gentle, so that if he had not bene maimed with a horse, and thereby greivd lame, that he might trauell about the affaires of the realme himselfe, it was thought the common-wealth should haue prospered vnder his gouernement, as much as euer it did vnder anie of his predecessors.

The gouernor Robert duke of Albanie, after the deceasse of his brother king Robert, was by new election chosen, or rather confirmed in his office of gouernor, which he exercised more vprightlie, & with better iustice now after his brothers death, than before. For (as saith Buchanan) take away from him, that he was ouermuch blinded with desire to gouerne (wherevnto he cared not by anie means to aspire) there were in him manie other god parts worthy to haue such gouernement: for he was valiant in battell, wise in counsell, he did decide matters of controuersie with great equitie, he wan the nobilitie with his liberalitie, and did not sucke the commons drye by exactions. In the meane time, the castle of Jedworth (which the Englishmen had held euer since the battell of Durham) was taken by the uidalemen, and rased downe to the earth. Archibald earle of Douglas, as yet remaining captiue in England, after he had knowledge of king Roberts death, made shift to agree for his ransome, and so being set at libertie, returned with all speed now at length into Scotland.

Shortlie after, there was a counsell called, where in was a motion made for the restoring of George earle of March to his countrie, lands, and bloud. After long debating of the matter, and hard hold to and fro both with him and against him, it was in the end concluded, that he should returne into Scotland, and be receiued as a true Scottishman; but vnder this condition, that he should forgo his lands of Arnerdale, and Lochmaben, which should for euer remaine to the Douglasse, and to his heires. All his other lands and possessions, it was accorded, that he should inioy as in his former right estate. And thus was the earle of March pardoned of all passed offences committed against the crowne of Scotland, and returned home, to the great comfort of his friends. Perlie that before was fled into Scotland to the earle of March his old friend, was courteously receiued, interteined, & nourished according to his estate, by the said earle of March: during which time, he solicited his friends in England to find means for returne into his countrie. And amongst other of his friends, with whom he dealt by secret messengers; he directed letters concerning the same, to an old (and as he deemed a most faithfull) friend of his, called Rafe Roksbie, declaring vnto him that he should not want friends, both Scottish & English (through whose helpe he did not despaire to recouer his patri monie) if he might haue his aid also therein, for this Rafe was thirrist of Roxburgh. This man, after he had inticed Perlie (vnder the assurance of false hope and trust in him) to come into England, he opened the conspiracie to the king, and secretlie laid wait to intercept the said earle, by which means, (getting him into his possession) he cut off his head, and sent it to the king to London. At which time also, there was an Englishman in Scotland, which called himselfe Richard the second: but false (as I suppose

James the prince of Scotland stated as prisoner in England. His bringing vp.

In happy captiuitie. His instructors in the tonges.

His training in warlike exercises.

His knowledge in musike.

The griefe of his father King Robert.

The death of King Robert the third.

1406. Buchanan. 1408. His buriall.

His stature and qualitie.

The duke of Albanie confirmed gouernor of the realme.

Fr. Thin.

Jedworth castle taken.

The earle of Douglas released and returned into Scotland.

A motion made for the restoring of the earle of March to his countrie.

The earle of March restored to his house.

Fr. Thin.

Buchanan. 1409.

suppose, saith Buchanan; for when the elder Perſie did often and importunate require to talke with him, he could neuer be perswaded by anie mens words to come, or enter speech to, or with the said earle of Northumberland, fearing (belike) least his deceit would be understood by him, which knew his owne and true king verie well. This counterfeited king yet boasting him to be of the princelie blood, was honozed accordingly; after certeine yeares, and at length (feining himselfe to be far from all de-

10 About the same time, there rose great trouble in Scotland, by the rebellion of Donald of the Isles, who claiming by right of his wife, a title to the earldome of Ross, was defeated of the same, by the practise of the gouernor, hauing by subtil conuenance, assured the said earldome vnto his second son the earle of Buchquhane named John. The foresaid Donald, by way of supplication, besought the gouernor to do him reason; but he receiued nought, except it were stoward speech, wherewith he toke such displeasure, that raising all the power of the Isles he came into Ross, and subdued the same at his pleasure. The which to make the matter more plaine, and to deduce his title out of Lesles (which he forgetteth not to report for the honoz of his owne house) I will set the same downe in this maner. 30 Walter Lesle a noble man, after singular prowesse shewed by him (in crternall battell) vnder the Romans, returned with honoz into Scotland, where he married the daughter of William earle of Ross, (saine at the battell of Halidon) and with hir obtained the earldome of that prouince, of which wife he raised one sonne called Alexander, after earle of Ross; and one daughter giuen in marriage to Donald of the Isles. This Alexander joined himselfe in marriage with Eufemie the daughter of Robert the gouernor, and had by hir one onelie daughter and heire christened after the name of hir mother, who (after the death of hir father, being yet a tender maid and vnpacted in the course of things) was partlie by the flatteries, and partlie by the threats of the gouernor, induced to glue the earldome of Ross vnto him, by whose helpe, as it was reported, she shortly after died. Whereupon, Donald that had to wife the sister of Alexander Lesle (aunt to this Eufemie which sold hir inheritance) demanding the 40 erldome of Ross by right of inheritance (as is said) by his wife, entered Ross, and brought it to his subiection. But not being satisfied with this, he passed through Murray, Boghtuall, and other bounds thereabouts, till he came vnto Marisch, purposing to burne Aberdeen.

But Alexander Steward earle of Mar, hauing gathered a power with all diligence to resist this Donald, met with him at a village called Harlow, & incontinentlie not staing for more aid that was coming towards him, set on the enemies more rashlie than orderlie, and more fiercelie than discretelie, not passing for keeping anie accustomed rate of battell, as had bene requisite. By reason whereof, great slaughter was made on either part, the victorie in the end being so doubtfull, that both parts were saine to withdraw out of the field, and flee to the next mounteins, as glad to be seuered the one from the other. There was saine on Donalds part nine hundred men, with Macclane, and Macintosh. On the earle of Marces side, there died Alexander Ogilvie thirrie of Angus, with seven knights of name, and diuers other gentlemen, with commons, to the number of six hundred. This bat-

tell was striken on saint James euen, in the yeare 1411. Donald of the Isles, after this buckering wholie granted the victorie to his enemies, in fleeing all the night long after the battell towards Koffe, and from thence with like speed he passed ouer into the Isles.

In the yeere next following, the gouernor prepared to make a iourne into the Isles, to chastise the foresaid Donald; but he through feare of further damage, submitted himselfe, and was sworne neuer to procure anie trouble to the realme in time to come. Not long after the battell of Harlow, Patrike Dunbar, second sonne to the earle of March, with one hundred of hardie persons, came earlie one morning some what before the breake of the day to Fast 20 castell, and wan the same, taking the captiue prisoner, whose name was Thomas Holbon. At the same time was the bridge of Forburgh broken downe, and the towne burnt by William Dowglas of Dunlanerik, Gawan Dunbar another of the erle of Marches sonnes, and diuerse others. In the same yeere (or rather in the yeere before) the vniuersitie of saint Andrews was first founded, which afterwards was furnished with diuerse notable learned men brought in and placed there by James the first, to the end that by their instructions his people might increase in learning, to the further aduancement of vertue, laudable maners, and all sorts of ciuill 30 sciences. Amongst sundrie other expert men in all sciences which he brought into Scotland, there were 18 doctors of diuinitie, & 8 doctors of the canon law.

From this time by the space of ten yeeres (saith Buchanan) there was almost nothing done worthie of memorie, betwene the Scots and the English, either because the truce occasioned it (which yet I find not mentioned of anie man) either for that Henrie the fourth, king of England, being dead, and his sonne Henrie the fifth reigning in his place, and being all the time of his gouernement 40 busied in the warres of France, the English ceased to offer iniuries to the Scots: or for that the gouernor of the Scots durst not moue anie thing against the English, fearing least the k. of England would then returre home the right and true heire of Scotland, who (he was most assured should find fauour against him) in the hearts of his owne people, that would tenderlie pitie the misfortune of his imprisonment, and seeke to establish him in the kingdom. Wherefore if there were anie thing done in that meane time, they were but some few and small excursions within the realme, which more aptlie might be called robberies & spoiles, than anie right wars. For as Pennure in England was burned by Archembald Dowglas, so to (answer the same) Dunfreis in Scotland was in the like order destroyed by the English. Besides which there was a certeine exchange of prisoners of the one nation with the other: for Morbac the sonne of the gouernor (taken at Halidon) was returned into Scotland, and Perſie (who was brought out of England by his grandfather into Scotland, and left vnder the protection of the gouernor) was deliuered to the English, and after by the new king of England was restored to the title & lands of his ancestors earles of Northumberland. This man (though by the lawes of armes he was no captiue) yet the vniust detaining of James the sonne of the king of Scots stopped the mouths of the English, that they could not complaine of anie iniurie done in detaining him. The doing whereof so little 50 offended this Perſie, that while he liued, he did (with all kind of courttesie) giue witness of the humanitie shewed vnto him by the Scots. Not much different from this time, came two ambassadors into Scotland, the one from the councell of Constance (wherof

1411. Donald of the Isles slain.

1412. Donald of the Isles submitted himselfe.

Fast castell wonne. 1410. Buc. The bridge of Forburgh broken downe

1411 The first beginning of the vniuersitie of S. Andrews.

Doctors of diuinitie, and of the canon law. Fr. Thin.

Rebellion moved by Donald of the Isles.

Donald subdued Ross. Fr. Thin. 1410. lib. 7. cap. 48.

The earldome of Ross transferred from the line of Walter Ross to the Stewarts.

The earle of Mar.

The battell of Harlow.

Doubtfull victory.

The number slain.

the chiefe was the abbat of Pontineac) and the other was from Peter de Luna, who did studie reteine and defend the papasie, whereof he had once gotten possession, which Peter by the trauell and perswasion of Henrie Hardine (an English man, and a Franciscane frier) had drawne the gouernor of Scotland to follow his faction, which yet succeeded to none effect: because the vniuersall companie of the cleargie stiffelie labored against it, and did subscribe to the deposition of Peter, and to the counsell of Constance for the election of Martine the first to the papasie.

The earle of Strathernne flaine.

warres betwixt England and France. Rebellion in Wales.

Henrie the first discomfited by the welshmen the subdueth them.

The castell of warke swane.

It is againe recovered.

1419.

The deceasse of Robert duke of Albanie. Fr. Thin.

Embassadors from the French king.

In Henrie Scots sent into France.

The king of England menaceth the Scots.

Such what about the same time, John Drummond flue Patrike Graham earle of Strathernne, by traitorous meanes, and thereupon fled into Ireland: but as he was about to haue passed from thence ouer into England, the vessel wherein he sailed, was driuen on the coast of Scotland, where hee was taken, and afterwards lost his head for the said offense. Shortly after also, there rose great warres betwixt England and France, as in the histories of those realmes may more plainlie appeare. There was also a great rebellion raised in Wales, against Henrie the first king of England, which was the son of Henrie the fourth lastelie deceased. We find in the Scotch chronicles, that this Henrie the first, at his returning forth of France, after his first iourne thither (hauing in the same woone the towne of Harfleur, & discomfited the whole power of France at Agincourt) was constrained to go against the Welshmen, and encountering with the prince of Wales, was discomfited, and lost ten thousand of his men: but after this, he reinforced his power, and came againe into Wales, not ceasing till he had brought the Welshmen subiect at his pleasure: but the English writers make no mention of anie such matter.

Whilest things passed thus in England, William Haliburton wan the castell of Warke, and flue all such as he found within it, howbeit small while indured the ioy of this fortunate successe to the Scots: for sundrie Englishmen that knew all the secrets of the house, found means to enter through a gutter, that serued in manner of a sinke, to auoid all the filth of the kitchen into the riuer of Tweed, breaking downe a pane of an old wall, and so made entrie for the residue of their fellows; by reason whereof they easilie recovered the castell, and in reuenge of them that were flaine there when the Scots wan it, they likewise flue all those which were then within it, without anie respect of one another. After this, in the yere 1419, the third day of September, Robert duke of Albanie, that had bene gouernor of Scotland for the space of fiftene yeres, after the death of king Robert the third, departed out of this life, hauing borne himselfe in all his time as a right valiant and noble prince. [His doth Buchanan attribute to the yere 1420, being the fiftieth yere after the death of Robert the third.]

A little before his deceasse, there came from Charles the French king, the earle of Wandosme, and chancellor of France, both to renew the ancient league betwixt the two realmes of Scotland and France, & also to get some power of Scots to passe into France, to support the said Charles against the Englishmen, which as then soe invaded his realme. Whereupon shortly after by decre of counsell, it was ordeined, that John Steward earle of Buchanane, second sonne to duke Robert, and Archibald Douglas earle of Wigton, should passe into France with seven thousand armed men. The king of England informed hereof, to cause the Scots to keepe their men at home, menaced to invade Scotland with a puissant armie, & that in all hast. Which rumoz being spred ouer all the bounds of his realme,

caused the Scots for doubt thereof to lie all the next summer on the borders: but in the meane time, king Henrie passed into Normandie, to pursue his wars against France with all diligence.

At length, through the procurement of the duke of Burgonie, vnder certeine conditions and covenants of agreement, king Henrie toke to wife the ladie Katharine daughter to the French king. And among other articles of the same agreement, it was concluded, that after the deceasse of Charles the French king, the crowne of France should immediately descend vnto king Henrie, as lawfull inheritor vnto that realme, without all contradiction; by reason whereof, Charles the Dolphin, and sonne to the said king Charles, was clearelie excluded from all claime to the same: but this notwithstanding, the Dolphin did not onelie refuse to surrender his title, but also sought to mainteine the war against king Henrie as his aduersarie, and open enimie to the realme. In the meane while also, the earles of Buchanane and Wigton, with Alexander Lindseie brother to the earle of Crawford, and Thomas Swinton knights, accompanied with seven thousand well armed men, arrived in France, to the great reioysing of the Dolphin, as he well declared in the thankfull receiuing, and most heartie welcomming of them. Finally, the towne and castell of Chatelon in Touraine was deliuered to them, that they might haue a place at all times to resort vnto, at their owne will and pleasure.

Shortly after they were imploied in the battell of Baugé. For the duke of Clarence brother to the king of England (in whose place he was deputie and generall of the armies in France) after that he had spoiled and ouerrun the countrie of Anjou (which hitherto had remained most stedfast in the obedience of the French) was coming (as it was supposed) to the towne of Baugé, about two daies before Easter: for which cause the Scots (thinking that the duke in that holie feast would, as the manner was, cease from all violence of warre, and attend the church ceremonies appointed for those times; or else as some write, by reason of the truce which was taken for eight daies) did more negligentlie looke vnto their estate than wisdom would they shuld haue done. The which when Clarence vnderstood (either by Andrew Fregose an Italian, or by the Scotch foragers intercepted by his hoisemen) he reioysed that he had so good occasion offered worthily to performe something. Wherefore rising forthwith from dinner, he commanded his hoisemen to arme themselves, with whom he went directlie towards his enimies, at what time he was (besides the beautie of his other furniture) richlie adorned with goodlie diamonds of gold (set with manie pretious stones) and placed vpon a chaplet of iron. At whose sudden approach, those few French which were nere vnto them in a village called little Baugé (amongst whom was John de la Croix) being feared, made their defense in flight; and for safegard entered the steeple of the next church adioining, in the which they were hardlie after besieged.

Whilest these were thus inuironed, the clamor and cries which was now come to the next armie (where in the Scots were assembled) suddenly caused them with great feare to flie to their weapons. At that time the erle of Buchanane (whilest the others prepared themselves) sent thirtie archers to possesse the bridge, vnder which the next riuer had his course, and through which they might passe ouer, where (encountering with the English enimie) Hugh Abernethie came vnto them out of the next church (in which he sojourned) with a hundred of his companie halfe armed, as it often falleth out in such sudden exploits, these with

The king of England marries the daughter of the French king. The articles of agreement.

The Dolphin of France maintaineth warre against the Englishmen. Scotch soldiers arrived in France.

Chatelon in Touraine deliuered to the Scots.

Fr. Thin. Buchan, l. 1. c. 1420. Buch. 1421. N. G.

The battell of Baugé.

Nic. Gil.

with their arrowes so freetlie kept this streit, that the hostemen could not haue anie passage there, for which cause the duke of Clarence did first forsake his hoste (as the rest of the companie did after him) began the battell on foot, and with a strong assault made way for his men, beating from them the Scots, who were for the most part unarmed, and the others not verie well armed.

After this, in the meane time whilst Clarence taketh his hoste againe, and some of the rest scatteringlie do passe the byrge, the earle of Buchquhane commeth vpon them, & forthwith (desirous to make trial of his people egerlie seeking after it) there was a bitter battell committed, with like minds of hatred the one against the other: for the Scots did reioise, that they had now obtained cause, time, and place, where they might (after their first arriual in France) shew some token of their valure, and refuse those taunts which the Frenchmen laid vpon them, objecting that the greedinesse of wine & bittels had brought them ouer into that countrie. With which reproch the Frenchmen are wont to vpbraid the English, the Spaniard the French, and the African the Spaniard. But as the Scots were eger in a strange countrie to win honoꝝ, so was the English no lesse desirous of conquest, greatlie disdaineing both at home and abroad, to be so infested with that implacable nature of the Scots. In which battell none did fight moze valiantlie or egerlie than did the duke of Clarence himselfe. Against whome (so noted for the richnesse of his armoz) came John Swinton, which grauoulie wounded him in the face, and whome the earle of Buchquhane (striking on the head with his mace) quite ouerthrew to the ground. Which done, the English fled, and were grauoulie slaine, because the same continued till the night ended the quarrell; which battell was fought on Easter eue, a little after the equinoctiall spring. In this battell were slaine of the English about 20000, amongst whome were 26 of noble calling, whereof were the duke before said, the earle of Rodesdale, otherwise called the earle of Angus, & the lord Greie were part: but of the Scots and Frenchmen, there were few missing, and they of the meane sort. All which, as we haue here set it downe, is the common report of the death of the duke of Clarence. But the booke of Plucart reporteth, that the duke was slaine by Alexander Macell, a knight of Lenox, which toke from him the coronet (whereof we spake before) and sold the same to John Stewart of Derriell, for a thousand angels, which he after laied to payne to Robert Hunsone, to whom he ought due thousand angels: & this saith that booke was the most common report at those daies. The chiefe praise of which victorie remained with the Scots, euen by the testimonie of the enuious aduersaries, as the writer of this storie saith vpon his credit. At this battell also were a great companie of prisoners taken, amongst whome (as principall) were these, the earle of Huntington, & the earle of Summerset, with his brother, both of them being brethren to the ladie Jane, that was after married to king James the first, king of Scotland. For the high valiance of the Scottisshmen shewed in this battell, the Dolphin created the earle of Buchquhane high constable of France, and gaue him sundrie townes, castles, and lands, therewith the better to mainteine his estate.

* King Henrie hearing of the death of his brother the duke of Clarence, did substitute for his deperie his other brother the duke of Bedford, promising that he would shortly after come thither himselfe with an armie of foure thousand hoste, and a thousand footmen (which he performed accordingly). For with all speed he after came into France with a

mightie host, and had with him James the Scottissh king, or rather prince of Scotland, for all this while the Scots reputed him not as king, for that he was not as yet crowned: nor set at libertie out of the Englishmens hands, into the which (as before ye haue heard) he chanced to fall by his fathers life time.

The cause why king Henrie did take this James ouer with him at that present into France, was, for that he hoped by his meanes to procure all the Scottisshmen that were in seruice with the Dolphin to forsake him, and to returne home into their owne countrie: but when he had broken this matter vnto the said James, and promised, that if he could bring it to passe, he would not onelie remit his rancome, but also send him into Scotland highlie rewarded with great riches: James answered hereto, that he marvelled much, why he did not consider how he had no authoritie ouer the Scots so long as he was holden in captiuitie, and as yet had not receiued the crowne, but (saith he) if it were so that I might be set at libertie, and had receiued the crowne according to the accustomed manner, together with the othes and homages of my subiects, I could then in this matter do as should be thought to stand with reason; but in the meane time I shall desire your grace to hold me excused, and not to will me to do that which I may in no wise performe.

King Henrie maruelling at the high wisdome which appeared to be planted in the head of that yong prince, left off to trauell with him anie further in this matter. In the meane time, the warres continuing betwixt the king of England and the Dolphin of France, manie townes were besieged, wone, and sacked, and sundrie light bickerings and skirmishes chanced betwixt the parties, as occasion serued. But the Englishmen shewed themselves to beare such hatred toward the Scots, that so manie as fell into their hands neuer needed to streine their friends for their rancomes, which crueltie they put not in practice against their enemies, being of an other nation. [For king Henrie, when he had taken the towne of Meldens, hanged twentie Scots which he found therein, laieing to their charge that they had fought against their owne king.] At length, king Henrie fell into a greuous disease, which in short time made an end of his life, notwithstanding all the helpe that either by physike or other waies might be ministered vnto him. The same yere, that is to say, 1422, the French king Charles, the first of that name, deceased; after whome succeeded his sonne Charles the seventh, before named the Dolphin, as the custome there is. By the death of these kings, the wars were not altogether so earnestlie followed as before, wherevpon the earles of Buchquhane and Wigton returned into Scotland, and shortly after was an armie leuied, and siege laied both to Rocksburch, and to Berwikke, but for that they lay long abroad and did no good, returning home without gaine, this iournie in derision was called The dartie rode, or (as the Scots terme it) The dirtin rade.

But now to speake somewhat concerning the order of the common-wealth in Scotland, ye shall understand, that after the death of Robert duke of Albanie, his sonne Mordo Steward earle of Fife and Menteith was made gouernour, continuing in that office for the space of foure yeres, though (to confesse the truth) he was farre vniuersit thereto, differing much from the wisdome and manhod of his father, for in him remained sundrie vices, greatlie variable and contrarie one to another. In time of anie aduersitie, he shewed himselfe as a man despairing of all comfort or helpe: in prosperitie so list vp in carelesse insolencie, that he had no staie of himselfe, by reason whereof

The king of England taketh the prince of Scotland ouer with him into France.

The answer of James the king, or rather prince of Scotland,

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King Henrie toke it for a sufficient answer.

The cruell dealing of the Englishmen towards the Scots.

Fr. Thin. Buchan. lib. 10.

The death of Henrie king of England,

1422. The death of Charles the French king.

Rocksburgh and Berwikke besieged.

The dirtin rade.

Mordo Steward earle of Fife elected gouernour of Scotland. The repugnant vices reigning in Mordo Steward,

thereof, sometimes he suffered heinous offenders through dread of their puissant friends (a thing not to be suffered in Scotland) to escape unpunished; and at other times againe, he shewed himselfe more seuerer & cruell in executing of iustice, than the matter required.

This negligence in chastising his sonnes.

An insolent part of one of his sonnes.

The words of duke Moris do to his son.

Duke Moris traueileth for the redeeming of James the first.
Fr. Thin.
Buchan. lib. 10.

Lesleus lib. 7.
pag. 272.

The earle of Buchquhane returneth into France.

Fr. Thin.
Lesleus lib. 7.
pag. 270.

The earle of Dowglas made duke of Couraine.

Thus was he still in extremities, keeping no temperance nor laudable meane in anie of his doings. Hereto was he so negligent in chastising his sons Walter, James, & Alexander (whether through softnesse & lacke of wit, or by reason he bare such a fond & tender fatherlie loue toward them) that they hauing him in small regard, plaid manie outrageous parts, to the sore offending of a number. At length, one of them taking displeasure with his father, for that he would not giue him a falcon, the which he had long before greatlie desired, stepped to him, and plucking him beside his fist, wounding his necke from his bodie euen presentlie before his face. Whereupon the father somewhat kindled with this presumptuous deed of the sonne: Walter (said he, for so was his name) that had thus misused him) sith it is so that thou and thy brother will not be ruled by my soft and gentle gouernement, I shall bring him home per if he long, that shall chastise both you and me after another manner. And after this, he rested not to trauell still for the redeeming of James the first out of captiuitie, till at length he brought him home in deed, to the great wealth, joy, and good hay of all the Scottissh nation. For calling togither a parlement (of the nobilitie) at Perth, they consulted of receiuing home their James imprisoned in England, and at length willinglie agreed (either for fauour they bare to the lawfull heire, or being wearied with the losshomes of the present gouernement) to send an ambassage to the king of England, to demand the restitution of king James. Whereupon they dispatched into England (to execute their deuise) Henrie Lichon bishop of Aberdeen, Archembald Dowglas (the third earle of that name, and fist of that familie) the sonne of Archembald Dowglas, duke of Couraine, William Heie constable of Scotland, Richard Cornall archdeacon of Londane, and Alexander Jarraine a Drum, knight.)

In the meane time, the French king, Charles the seventh, being sore vexed with wars by the Englishmen, sent to the earle of Buchquhane his constable, requiring him to returne againe with all speed into France, and to bring so manie Scottisshmen with him, as he conuenientlie might. This earle therefore found meanes to persuade Archembald earle of Dowglas, father to the foresaid earle of Wigton, to passe with him into France, which two earles with an armie of fife thousand men, or (after some writers) ten thousand, toke the seas, and arrived with prosperous wind and weather at Rochell, and coming to the French king, were receiued of him with all joy and gladnes. With this companie also was sent ambassado, Gilbert Grenlatz bishop of Aberdeen, a man of great authoritie amongst the nobilitie of Scotland, for his singular wisdome, and such a person as with great dexterity executed the office of the chancelorship of the realme. The effect of whose message was, to comfort Charles the seventh, then king of France, and to asserthe him, that not onlie they which were now allanded in France, but also all the inhabitants of Scotland would remaine so firme in his faith & friendship, that they would spend both liues and goods in the defense of the crowne of France, as the following experience should well trie. Whereupon the earle of Dowglas was by the king for his further advancement, honozed with the title of the dukedome of Couraine. But that glorie of the Scots was soon diminished (as saith Lesleus)

by the infortunat successe which they had through the English at the battell of Verneuil. In which (besides Lesleus lib. 7. pag. 270. 1424 N. G.) all the hired or common souldiers which were also most slaine at that time) there perished of the nobilitie, the two brethren of the gouernour, the earle of Buchquhane constable of France, Archembald Dowglas duke of Couraine, with James his sonne and heire, Alexander Lindsie, Thomas Swinton, Robert Stewart, and manie other, as in the French and English histories more largelie may appere.

And here a little step out of the way, because in this place Buchanan giueth at the English (as he doth in all the parts of his booke, with most bitter talents) I will a little shew that he hath forgotten himselfe in the same: as well against vs generallie (as appereth in manie places) as against Grafton, Humfrie Lhoid, and Hall, especiallie in manie other places thereof. And therefore (readers) giue me leaue in milder sort to speake of him (being dead) than he doth of others. For although (against all humanitie) he do most bitterlie with words of heat inflame his pen against Humfrie Lhoid, departed the world manie yerres (as it appereth) before he toke the later penne in hand (after the ouerlaxing of his old fragments) as himselfe in his epistle confelleth, to write an historie: yet I will spare him in better sort. And therefore I much muse, that he a man so learned and graue, would now in his later age, when reason should most rule him, so dip his pen in gall, as forgetting himselfe, he should be of these rough conditions (contrarie to all learning, which *Emollit mores, nec sinit esse ferus*) he would call men impudent, immodest, vnlearned, liars, vnbrideled, malicious, backbiters, & will tongued; and that he can rather proue the Britains to be made of dogs and brute beasts, better than to be descended of Brutus. All which speeches are to be found in his booke: for (if there were a fault in Lhoid) as there was none, because it seemes he did not well conceiue his mind: could not be either reprehend error, or disproue men, but with such bitter talents, when they but onelie shew their opinion, dissenting in orderlie sort from others, as it is lawfull for all learned men to do: Where learned he that rhetorike, to reiect the opinion of men with dogs cloquence, and sooner to deduce that creature (formed to the image of God, and lord of all beasts) to be rather made of dogs than of men, and for one or two priuat persons to inuete against a whole state?

But Humfrie Lhoid imputeth a note of infamie to his nation (as he supposed) in disprouing Hector Boetius, who arrogantielie (beside all truth) hath transferred to his Scots, both places, persons, and deeds, which neuer belonged to them. And is this so great a fault in Lhoid, when himselfe and Lesleus bishop of Ross (secretlie misliking Boetius) haue in silence passed over a great manie imperfections in the historie of Boetius, and placed manie other things after an other sort, referring them to other times than Boetius doth? And why should he maligne Lhoid for reprehending him, whome himselfe condemneth, & of whome he saith that *In descriptione Scotia quadam parum uere prodidit, & alios in errorem induxit*; and whome for manie faults (by Boetius escaped) he further saith in the later end of his second booke, that he will not defend him in such errors, as no reason there is why he should? But if from the abundance of the hart the tong and hand do speake and write, I can not see but that by his dissemperat speeches, I must condemne him of secret grudge, not so much to the person of Lhoid, as to the whole nation, against which the chiefest part of his booke seemeth to be a stomaching inuestiue. And yet such as it is, they must of necessity follow that intreat of the historie of his nation: or else he will exclaime against them (as he doth in this place

Lesleus lib. 7.
pag. 270.
1424 N. G.

D. Buchanan
against Buchanan.

place of the battell of Ternoille) that they maliciously obscure the glorie of the Scots, following the authority of the aduersarie, and not the truth of the historie written by him, or the French nation.

And in this place of his booke, rather than he will want occasion to talunt and disgrace vs by his cholerike pen, he will seeke a knot in a rush, and make a mounteine of a molehill, in so belement inuailing against the English, that say that the Scots were not able to mainteine such titles of honor as were giuen them by the French: a simple matter to make such discourse vpon, and to step so much awrye out of the course of the storie. But thinke you Buchanan hath committed no such (nay greater) faults against vs: As trulie, and that I suppose will be well proued at another time, in another treatise vpon his booke now iustlie forbidden in England, and (as I heare) more iustlie in Scotland. And here remember I praise the gentle reader, that in one place of his booke he saith that he ment to haue obserued this course from the beginning, that he would not seeke to digresse by bypaths out of the course of the historie. And hath he so sone forgotten that in the first forehead of his booke, almost three leaues together, & also in manie other parts of the same (as well as in this place of the battell of Ternoille) he hath leapt manie miles out of the way, with bitter words to talunt Humfrie Lhoid, Grafton, Hall, & all the English histories, and by manie whole pages (in manie parts of his worke) with much spence of powder and shot, to batter the credit of the English writers. These trulie were not parts of such a person, as the place (which he had about the prince whilest he liued) required. But inough of this by me (who am not *Honorarius abiter*, and will be no seuerer censurer of other mens writings at this time (whereunto I was occasioned by Buchanans digression in this place) since the same will be more substantiallie touched by others in other works (whereunto I refer my selfe) and so returne to the order of the historie.)

The Scottish chronicles declare, that the losse of this field chaunced speciallie through enuie and discord, which reigned amongst the chieftains. For the duke of Alanson cruieng that the Scots should daile rise in honor within France, kept himselfe backe, till time the Scots were overthrowen and brought to bitter destruction. Againne, euen vpon the ioining, there rose great strife and contention betwixt the constable & the duke of Bouraine, who should haue the supreme rule of the Scottish legier, the one disdainning to giue place to the other. Thus ye may perceiue, how the Scots with losse of manie of their liues, and much bloodshed, supported the side of Charles king of France, against the Englishmen. And though there came daile newes of diuerse great overthrowes giuen by the Englishmen to such Scottishmen and other, as serued the said king Charles, yet did not the Scots therefore staie at home, but at sundrie times, and vnder sundrie captains repaired into France: as amongst other, one Robert Patillocke of Dumfries with a new power of Scots went ouer to king Charles the seventh aforesaid, helpling such proue of his singular manhood and valiance in those wars, as in recouerie of the realme of France out of the Englishmens hands, his seruice stood king Charles in notable stead. Whiche his diligence and prouesse well appeared, in reducing the parties of Gascoigne vnto the French subiection, which had remaine d a grea t number of yeeres vnder the dominion of the English kings. And here vpon was he called by the inhabitants euer after, *Le petit roy de Gascoigne*.

* But to returne to the businesse of Scotland and of the Scots, as they passed in the meane time. The

say, that the French reioicing of this conquest of Gascoigne, would not seeme to be withthankfull to the Scots therefore: for which cause they erected a statue or image of this Patillocke, in the hall of the king of France, as a perpetuall memorie of this conquest, and as a singular testimonie of their good will towards the Scots, which they placed there to remaine a monument to all posteritie. Beside which, he confirmed and increased the number of the gard of Scottish archers (which they were wont to vse in peace and warre) first instituted by Charles the king of France, ouer all which he made this Patillocke chiefe capteine, which office the Scots did then and since so well discharge, that the same continueth yet in our memorie. Besides which (a little before this) Charles the first appointed an other companie of Scottish horsemen to be in wages with him, being commonlie called the trap of the Scottishmen at armes. Of whome the chiefe gouernour was Robert Stewart (borne of the familie of the earle of Lennox) who was honored by the king with the title of the lord de Aubignie, with other lands and great possessions bestowed vpon him. All which (being of long time possessed of the Scots of the same surname, by continuall order of blood & descent, that is, by Bernard the famous capteine of warre, then by Robert, and to conclude, by John Stewart, brother of the earle of Lennox) is at this day also in possession of the worthy young gentleman (the sonne of the said John) who giueth forth a rare hope that he will not degenerat from the nobilitie of his ancestors. The ambassadoers sent as before is shewed) into England for vs. James, beheaded themselves to sagelite therein, that in the end, they brought it to good conclusion: as thus. First it was agreed, that king James should be set at libertie, and also pay for his rancome the sum of 100000 marks sterling, the one halfe to be paid in hand, and for the other halfe to leaue sufficient pledges behind him, till it were paid. Albeit some writers alledge, that leauing pledges for the payment of the one halfe, he was discharged of the other, in consideration that he toke to wife the ladie Jane, daughter to the earle of Sumneret. The said earle and the cardinall of England his brother, conueied him with his quene their niece, vnto the borders of both the realmes. And at their taking leaue each of other, there was presented vnto king James and to the quene his wife, besides a cupbord of masie plate, sundrie faire cloths of rich and costlie arras by his wiues friends, with manie other iewels and things of great price & value.

King James then departed on this wise from his wiues brethren, and other such his deere friends, as his vertue and princelie behauiour had procured him during his abode here by the space of sixteen or eightene yeares in England, entered into Scotland, and came to Edenburgh on Care sundate, or therwise called Passion Sunday in Lent, where he was received with all honor, ioy, and triumph that might be deuised. * At what time as the nobles came to giue him their dutifull welcome into his native soile and inheritance, there began to be manie complaints by them, who since the death of their last king (partlie by negligence, and partlie by the default of the gouernours) had bene molested with diuers kinds of iniuries; where vpon, Walter the son of Spordac, Malcolme Fleming, and Thomas Wolf being graueoulie accused, were (to pacifie the exclamation of the common people) committed to diuers prisons till the next parlement, which was appointed the first kalends of June following, where is more intreated of this matter, as after shall appere, Buchanan hauing thus placed it before the

Lesleus lib. 7.
pag. 271.

Lesleus lib. 7.
pag. 271.

The rancome
of R. James.

Jane daughter
to the earle
of Sumneret
set married to
king James
the first.

Gifts giuen
to R. James
by his wiues
friends.

King James
cometh to
Edenburgh.

Fr. Thin.
Buchanan,
lib. 10.

There end
the first
book.

Robert Patillocke
captaine of a power
of Scottishmen
sent into
France.

Robert Patillocke
called
the petit roy de
Gascoigne.

James.

He is crowned
at Scone
together with
his wife.1423, Buch.
1424, Lell.Andrew
Graie.The surname
of the Graies
in Scotland.King James
keepeth an au-
dit.A parliament
at Eden-
burgh.

A tax levied.

The com-
mons grudge
at payments.
Bills of com-
plaint exhibi-
ted against
the sonnes of
duke Morzdo.Walter Ste-
ward put in
prison.The oath of
James.

kings coronation.]

And after that, as soon as the solemnities of the feast of Easter was finished, he came to Perth, and thence after to Scone, where he was crowned king, and his wife queen, by duke Morzdo the governor, and Henrie bishop of saint Andrews, the one and twentieth day of May, after the incarnation 1424. There came forth of England with this James the first, diverse English gentlemen, which remaining ever after in service with him, were advanced to certain lands, possessions, and livings in Scotland. Amongest whom (as one of the chiefest) was Andrew Graie, who afterwards by the kings aid and good furtherance, got in marriage the daughter and heire of Henrie Mortimer of Foulis, named Helen, and by that means came the lordship of Foulis into the hands of the Graies, whose surname and posterity continueth yet in Scotland, invested with great lands and dignities, both in Scotland and Angus.

King James after his coronation returned from Scone to Edinburgh, where he called before him all those that bare any authority in the administration of the common-wealth, during the time of the governors duke Robert and duke Morzdo, namely the chancellor, the treasurer, the clerks of the register, the controller, the auditors, and receivers, with all other that had borne offices, or had any thing to do concerning the kings rents. At length, when he perceived by their accounts made, that the most part of all the lands, rents, and revenues pertaining unto the crowne, were wasted, bestowed, alienated, and transported by the two foresaid governors, unto their friends and favorites, contrary to all right or good consideration (the customs of burroughs and good townes onlie excepted) he was not well content herewith, though for the time he passed over his displeasure, in the wing outwardly no semblance, but as if he had liked all things well.

In the meane time, he advisedly perused all endowments, rolls, and charters pertaining to the crowne, and thence thereupon called a parliament at Edinburgh, in the which, by advice of the three estates, a generall tax was ordeined and granted, to be raised through the whole realme; as twelve pence of the pound to be paid of all lands within Scotland, both spirituall and temporall; and four pence for everie cow, ore, and horse, to be paid for the space of two yeares together. This payment was levied the first yeare without any trouble, but the second yeare there rose such murmur and grudging amongst the more commons about the payment thereof, that he remitted the residue that was behind, & took never any tax after of his subjects, untill he married his daughter with the Dolphin of France. Amongst other bills put by in this parliament, there was diverse complaints exhibited by the people, for sundry oppressions used and done by the sons of duke Morzdo, and other great peers of the realme, before the kings returne into Scotland.

Whereupon Walter Stewart, one of the sons of the said duke Morzdo, was arrested, and sent to a castell situated upon a rocke within the sea called the Balke, there to remaine in safe keeping. Also Malcolme Fleming of Cunnernald, and Thomas Lord of Kilmarnoke, were committed to ward in Dalkeith, but these two at the intercession of diverse noble men were pardoned and forgiven of all offenses for an easie fine, with condition, that they should satisfie all such persons as they had in any wise wronged. In the foresaid parliament also, James took a solemne oath, to defend as well the liberties of his realme, as of the church, during the course of his naturall life. The like oath by his example did

all the residue of the barons take at the same present time. Not long after, an other parliament was called and holden at Perth, in the which duke Morzdo, with his sonne Alexander, were arrested and committed to ward. So was also Archembald earle of Douglas, with his brother William earle of Angus, George earle of March, Adam Hepburne of Hales, and many other great barons of Scotland, everie of them being put in sundry castles and strengths, to remaine there in safe keeping. Duke Morzdo was sent to Carlarocke, and his daughter was put in Temptalloun.

In the yeare following, on the Holie rood daie, called the Invention of the crosse, James Stewart the third sonne of duke Morzdo moved with great ire, for that his father and brethren were holden in prison, came with a great powder to the towne of Dunbarton, and burnt it, after he had slain John Stewart of Dondonald, and two and thirtie other persons, which were found in the same towne: but the king kindled in great displeasure for this attempt, pursued this James so fiercely, that he was faine to flee into Ireland, where he afterwards deceased. [And Finelaw (which was sometime one of the order of the frier Dominicks) which fled with him into Ireland, & was such that the said James committed all these outrages, died there also. Besides which, there fled into Ireland the wife of Walter, his two sonnes, Andrew and Alexander, with Arthur the ballard: who (in the end) returning home, was after by James the third advanced to great honors.] In the next yeare ensuing, James called a parliament at Sterling, in the which he sitting with scepter, sword, and crowne in place of judgement, Walter Stewart with his brother Alexander were condemned, and incontinentlie were lead forth to a place before the castell, and there beheaded.

On the morrow after, duke Morzdo himselfe, and Duncan Stewart earle of Lennox were committed of high treason, and beheaded before the castell in semblable manner. [It is a constant fame (saith Buchanan) though I find it not written in any place, that the king sent the heads of the father, husband, & children, to Isabell the wife of his cosine germane, to trie whether she being a fierce woman, would (as it fustie happened) by dissemperance of griefe discover the secrets of his mind. But she (notwithstanding all which grievous and unlooked for spectacles) did not inordinatlie burst out into any bitter words, but onlie said; If the faults be true which are laid against them, the king hath done but right and justice unto them.] Thus by the attainder of duke Morzdo and his sonnes, the earldome of Fife, Perth, and Lennox came into the kings hands. The residue of the lords and barons remaining as then in prison, and adding the kings pleasure, were soe afraid, when they heard what rigorous justice had bene executed on duke Morzdo and his sonnes: notwithstanding, with this 12 moneths after they were all set at libertie, and received into the kings favor, on promise of their loiall demeanour & dutifull obedience ever after to be shewed, during their naturall lines.

The parliament being ended, John Mountgomerie, & John Cunningham were sent by the king to the castell of Bonchlesline, which was kept against him by the vintager James Stewart, whom in short time they forced to surrender the said castell. Not long after, John Stewart of Dornie (who was master of the Scottish garrison of hostemen in France, the rest of the former captives being consumed) came into Scotland with the bishop of Reims, as ambassador in the name of Charles, to re-

A parliament
holden at
Perth.
Duke Mor-
zdo with his
sonne Alexan-
der, and di-
verse other
peeres of the
realme ar-
rested.

1426.

The towne
of Dunbarton
burnt.Fr. Thin.
Buchanan,
lib. 10.A parliament
holden at
Sterling.

1426.

Walter and
Alexander the
sonnes of
duke Morzdo
beheaded.
Duke Morzdo
and Duncan
Stewart
earle of Len-
nox beheaded.
Fr. Thin.Fr. Thin.
Buchanan,
lib. 10.

now the old league betwene the two nations, and to conclude matrimonie betwene Letwes the sonne of the said Charles the seventh, and Margaret the daughter of R. James, both being yet verie young. Which thing so dispatched, in the next yeare being the 1426 he determined (having pacified all Scotland betwene the mountains of Granzeben) to subdue the further parts beyond it also. Wherefore to begin the same, he commanded the castell of Inverness (set in a convenient place in the furthest borders of Murray) to be repaired. Whither when he came two yeares after, to sit in iudgement upon wickednesses of the inhabitants, and to suppress their robberies, he called before him the chiefe of all the families of that countrie, especiallie such as being accompanied with great traines, were wont to fetch prizes from their next borders, did set tribute on the quieter sort, and did compell the common people to minister sustentance to those idle loiterers; of which captives, some had a thousand, some two thousand, & some far manie more redie at their call to obeie their commandement: with which they ceased not to keepe the god in danger unto them for feare of hurt, and made the euill (amongst whome they were assured of refuge & defense) the bolder to commit all kind of wickednesse. Which persons when the king had gotten in, and dalven to come before him, partlie by flatteries, and partlie by threats: he committed about fortie of their leaders to severall prisons: whose euill being throughlie knowen, he hanged two notable fellows amongst them, called Alexander Macroz and John Macarture; at that time also he beheaded James Campbell (for the murder of John of the Isles) a man derelict beloued of his people. The rest which remained (being of the common sort) they likewise dispersed into diuers prisons, whereof some were after executed, and some were permitted frelie to depart to their owne. The captives of the factions thus slaine (or for the most part restrained in prison) the inferiour sort durst not attempt anie thing, being destitute of leaders. Whereupon the king calling them before him, did giue them a louing admonition to embrace iustice, because there was no surer or certeine hope of safetie in anie thing, than in the innocencie of life, the which if they would determine to do, they should alwaies find him readie to honor and reward them; if not, they might learne by the examples of others what they should hope to receiue themselves.)

In the yeare next following, which was after the incarnation 1427, Alexander lord of the Isles was arrested by the king at Inverness, for that he was accused to be a succorer & maintainer of thieves & robbers in the countrie: but forsomuch as he promised in time comming to reforme his former misdeemeanors, he was pardoned and set at libertie; wherof ensued great trouble immediatlie after. For shortly after his deliuerance, he gathered a power of wicked scapethrifts, and with the same comming into Inverness, burnt the towne, and besieged the castell, enforcing with all diligence to win the same, till he was aduertised that the king was comming towards him with a great power, whereupon he fled incontinentlie to the Isles. Finallie hauing knowledge that a great number of people lay baulie in wait to take him, that they might present him to the kings hands, he came disguised in poore arate to the holie rood house, and there finding the king on Easter daie deuoutlie in the church at his prayers, he fell downe on his knees before him, and besought him of grace, for his sake that rose as that day from death unto life.

At request of the quene, the king pardoned him

of life; but he appointed William Dotalasse earle of Angus to haue the custodie of him, and that with in the castell of Temptallon, that no trouble should rise by his meanes thereafter. His mother Eufemie daughter to Walter sometime earle of Ross, was also committed to ward in saint Colmes inch; because it was knowen that she solicited hir sonne to rebell (in maner as is afore said) against the king. Not long after, Donald Balloch, brother to the said lord Alexander of the Isles, came with a great power of men into Lochquhaber. The earles of Mar and Cathnes came with such number of their people as they could raise, to defend the countrie against the invasion of those Islanders, and fought with the said Donald at Inuerlochty, where the erle of Cathnes was slaine, and the earle of Mar discomfited. Here with did Donald returne with victorie, and a great preie of goods and riches into the Isles. The king fore moued with the newes hereof, came with a great armie unto Dunstaffage, purposing with all speed to passe into the Isles. The clans and other chiefe men of the said Isles aduertised hereof, came to Dunstaffage, and submitted themselves unto the king, excusing their offence, for that (as they alledged) the said Donald had constrained them against their willes, to passe with him in the last iournie. All those clans upon this their excuse, were admitted to the kings fauour, and sworn to pursue the said Donald unto death.

Shortly hereupon, this Donald fled into Ireland, where he was slaine, and his head sent by one Odo a great lord of Ireland (in whose countrie he lurked) as a present to the king that laie as then at Sterling. There were also thre hundred of his adherents taken, and by the kings commandement hanged for their offences within thre weekes space, after his first fleeing into Ireland. This trouble being thus quieted, king James passed through all the bounds of his realme, to punish all offenders and misdeuiled persons, which in anie wise wronged and oppressed the poore people. He allowed no pardon granted afore by the gouernour, alledging the same to be expired by his death. For he thought indeed it stood neither with the pleasure of God, nor wealth of the realme, that so manie slaughters, reiffes, and oppressions, as had bene done afore in the countrie, should remaine unpunished through fault of iustice. It is said that within the first two yeeres of his reigne, there were thre thousand persons executed by death, for sundrie old crimes and offenses.

And though such extreme iustice might haue bene thought sufficient to giue example to other to reforme their naughtie vices, yet one Angus Duffe of Stratherne nothing afraid thereof, came with a companie of thieves and robbers, and took a great preie of goods out of the countrie of Murray and Cathnes: for recouerie wherof, one Angus Murray followed with a great power, and overtaking the said Angus Duffe nere to Strachnauerne, fiercelie assailed him. Who with like manhood made stout resistance by reason whereof there ensued such a cruell fight betwixt the parties, that there remained in the end but onelie twelue persons aliue, & those so wounded, that they were scarce able to returne home to their houses, and liued but a few daies after. About the same time, there was also another notable theefe named Makdonald Koffe, which grew with spoiles and robberies to great riches. This wicked oppressor thod a woman with hostile thwes, because she said she would go to the king, and reueale his wicked doings. As soone as she was thole, and recovered of hir wounds, she went unto the king, and declared the cruelties done vnto hir by that vngratulations person Makdonald. The king (who before had heard the

Donald Balloch inuadeth Lochquhaber.

The earle of Cathnes slaine Donald Balloch returneth with victorie into the Isles.

The clans of the Isles submit themselves to the king.

Donald fleeth into Ireland. His head is sent as a present to the king. Thre hundred of Donalds complies hanged.

Pardons granted by the gouernour are void.

Thre thousand offenders put to death within two yeeres space.

Angus Duffe

A cruell fight.

Makdonald Koffe a notable robber.

He thod a widow.

Fr. Thin

The historie of Scotland.

Lescus.

same of others, and had gotten Makdonald in prison, determining to see due punishment for that wicked fact comforted the silly woman, promising her shortly to behold a just reuenge thereof. Whereupon Makdonald being brought out of prison with tiuelue of his companions, the king commanded that they (by the talion law of Moses that yeldeth an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth, and by the example of Phalaris, who burnt him first in the bull that was the author thereof for others) should likewise be thod with iron ho:shoes, in that sort as they before had serued the woman, and then to be caried three daies together about the cite for a spectacle to the people, to feare to attempt such extraordinary wickedness; making proclamation that euerie one might see this new kind of punishment. After which, at length (doubting if he liued he would not cease to commit the like, or else reuenge the same) he chopped off Makdonalds head, & caused his tiuelue fellows and partakers to be hanged in the high waies.)

1430.

The queene
deliuered of
two sonnes
at one birth.

Fiftie
knights
dubbed.

Archemald
earle of Dow-
glas arrested
and put in
pailon.

Fr.Thin.

King James
deliuous to
purge his
realme of vni-
uersale persons.

Fr.Thin.
Buchan.li.10.

1430.

An ordinance
for measures.

Castels re-
pared and
munited.

In the third yere after, which was from the incarnation 1430, on the eleventh daie of October, Jane the queene of Scots was deliuered of two sonnes at one birth, Alexander and James. The first deceased in his infancie. The other succeeded after his fathers decess in the kingdome, & was named James the second. At the baptisme of these two infants, there were fiftie knights made. Amongst the which, and first of all other, was William the sonne of Archemald Douglas, that succeeded his father in the earledome of Douglas. His father the said Archemald Douglas, somewhat before this time, or (as other authors say) in the yere next ensuing, was arrested by the kings commandement, and put in ward, remaining so a long time, till at length by supplication of the queene, and other peres of the realme, the king pardoned him (with John Kenne die) of all offenses, and set both them And Alexander earle of Ross at libertie. King James in this sort did what in him lay to bring the realme of Scotland in such quiet tranquillitie, that (in purging the same of all offenders, and such as liued by reifte and robbing) passengers by the high waies might trauell without dread of anie euill disposed persons to molest them.

Having thus with diligence suppressed the robberies (practised through all parts of his realme) he sought not to looke into small offenses which were frequent done, and of lesse danger; determining to take awaie all euill customes which had continued in the realme. For custome, being an other nature doth bring to passe, that a common error (by manie ages continued) maketh a perfect law, and therefore (& because the inferior iudges would the better administer iustice, if they had persons of high authoritie that might punish their false sentences) he chose forth speciall persons of the better sort (commended for their wisdom, grauitie, and holinesse of life) and made them iustices, to whom he sent ouer all the realme giuing them full authoritie to heare and determine all quarels and lutes (if anie were brought unto them) wherof the ordinarie iudges either (for feare) durst not or (for hatred or fauor) would not, or (for strength of others) could not giue anie perfect iudgement.)

He caused also the bailiffes and prouosts of good towne, to see that iust measures were used by all manner of buiers and sellers, and none to be occupied, but such as were signed with the note & marke of the said bailiffes or prouosts. Moreover, he repaired and fortified the castels and fortresses of his realme, and stuffed them with such ordinance and munition as was thought expedient. He granted al-

so sundrie priuileges and great liberties to the vniuersitie of saint Andrews, to the high advancement thereof, and was oftentimes himselfe present at their disputations, taking great pleasure therein. Such as were knowne to be learned men, and were presented to him by the vniuersitie, he preferred to great benefices and other ecclesiasticall living, till as the same chanced to be vacant. [Having for that cause made a law in the said vniuersitie, that none should enjoy the rōme of a canon in anie cathedral church, vnles he were a batcheller of diuinitie, or at least of the canon law.] By which meanes all manner of vertue and good learning increased daile through the realme during his time, and namelie musike was had in great price, which he appointed to be used in churches with organs, the which before his time were not much knowne amongst the Scottishmen.

Much what about the same time, there was a parliament holden at Perth, in the which Henric Wardlaw bishop of S. Andrews, in name of all the three estates there assembled, made a long and right pithie oration to this effect; that Where by the high policie and prudent diligence of the kings maiestie there present, iustice, and all due administration of lawes and good ordinances were so reuised, that nothing seemed to be overpassed, that might aduance to the profit and commoditie of the common-weale; yet was there one wicked v sage crept in of late, increased so fast, that if speedie remedie were not had in time, all those commodities brought into the realme by his coming, should be of small auail, and that was, such superfluous riot in banquetting there, and numbers of costlie dishes, as were then taken by and used after the English fashion, both to the great hinderance of mans health, and also to the vnprofitable waisting of their goods and substance. If the laudable temperance used amongst the Scottishmen in old time were well considered, nothing might appeare more contrarie and repugnant thereto, than that new kind of gluttonie then used, by receiving more exesse of meats and drinks than sufficeth to the nourishment of nature, through procuration of such deintie and delicate dishes, confectioned sauces, and deuised potions, as were now brought in amongst them. As for such gentlemen as the king had brought with him forth of England, they were worthy in deed to be cherished and had in high fauour; neither was this abuse to be so greatlie imputed vnto them, considering it was appropriate to their nation. But the Scottishmen themselves were chieflie to be blamed, that had so quicklie yielded to so great an inconuenience, the enormitie wherof appeared by the sundrie vices that folloved of the same, as exesse, sensuall lust, sloth, reisse, and waisting of goods. For if temperance be the nourisher of all vertue, then must the contrarie, that is to say, intemperance, be the bringer forth and prouoker of all vice. If it might therefore please the kings highnesse, to shew his accustomed wisdom and prouidence in repressing this abuse of costlie fare, so much damagable to his people, he should doe the thing that was meritorious before God, and no lesse profitable and necessarie for the publike weale of all his subjects.

By these and manie other the like persuations, bishop Wardlaw used to dissuade the king and his people from all superfluous courses of delicate dishes and surfetting bankets. Insomuch that euen then there was order taken, that fewer dishes and more spare diet should be used through the realme, licencing gentlemen onelie, and that on festiual daies, to be serued with pies, the vse of them not being knowne in Scotland till that season. Neuertheless, such intemperance is risen in procelle of time following.

Wardlaw
granted to the
vniuersitie of
S. Andrews

Fr.Thin.
Lescus. li.10.
pag. 474.

Organs
brought into
Scotland.

Parliament
at Perth.

Bishop Ward-
law much
against super-
fluous fare.

Wardlaw
followed
being deli-
cate fare.

Order taken
for suppressing
of costlie fare.
Vse of baked
meates in
Scotland
when it began

following, that the greedie appetite of gluttons in this age may be satisfied with no competent feeding, till their bellies be so stuffed with immoderate gourmandise, that they maie scarce fetch breath, though which their noisome surfetting, they fall daile into sundrie strange and lothsome kinds of diseases, being oftentimes killed by the same in their flourishing youth, as by daile experience plainlie appeareth.

In the same yere the seventeenth day of June, 10 was a terrible eclipse of the sunne, at thre of the clocke at after none, the day being darkened over head for the space of one halfe houre together, as though it had bene night, and thereupon it was called the blacke houre. At the next Lammas, the king raised an armie, & came with the same to Norburgh, besieging the castell for the space of fiftene daies together. He had in this armie (as the report went) the number of two hundred thousand men, accounting cariage men & all other such as followed the campe: yet notwithstanding all this huge multitude, having wasted his powder and other munition, before he could doe anie great hurt to his enemies, he was constrained to raise his field, and leave the castell in the Englishmens hands as he found it. After this king James perceiuing how the knowledge of handicrafts and manuell occupations was decayed in Scotland, though continuall exercise of wars, since the daies of Alexander the third, to the further advancement of the common-wealth, and that his subjects might haue occasion to avoid sleuth and idleness (the root of all mischief) he brought a great number of cunning craftsmen out of Germanie, France, and other parties, to instruct his people in their arts and faculties.

Not long after, one Pank Crow a Bohemian boine, was burnt at saint Andrews, for preaching and setting forth the doctrine of John Hus, & John Wicliffe. John Fogo being one of them that helped chiefe to condemne him, was made (for his great and earnest diligence therein shewed) abbat of Melrose. After which, the said king James began to take upon him the person of a pinate man, sundrie times associating himselfe to the companie of others (but especiallie of the merchants) in changed apparel, according to the state of such persons with whom he would companie, to the end he might thereby learne what men did say and iudge of him, and so understand what was to be corrected in the government of the common-wealth. About the same time was the abbey of Chartar monks founded besides Perth, by king James, with great cost and magnificence.

Also the lord Scrope and other associates with him, came in ambassage from Henrie the first, king of England. The effect of whose message was, to haue the ancient league betwixt the Scots and Frenchmen dissolved, promising that if the counsell of Scotland would consent thereto, and ioine in league with the Englishmen: that both the towne and castell of Berwike, with all the lands lieng betwixt Twede and the Merroffe (as the Scots wyte) should be deliuered into the Scotchmens hands. King James hauing small credit in such faire promises, persecuted the same to tend onlie to this end, that the league betwixt the Frenchmen and Scots might be once clearelie broken, and then to vse the matter as occasion should serue their turne. This matter therefore being proponed before the counsell, it was concluded, that in no wise the said league betwixt the Frenchmen and Scots should be dissolved, and so thereupon the English ambassadors were dispatched without more talke concerning that matter.

In the same yere, that is to say, 1433, the king

caused George Dunbar erle of March, sonne to that earle which rebelled against his father king Robert the third, to be arrested and put in safe keeping within the castell of Edenburgh. He sent also the earle of Angus with his chancellor William Creighton, and Adam Hepborne of Hales to the castell of Dunbar, deliuering them letters signed with his hand, and directed to the keepers of the said castell, that they should deliuer by the house immediatlie vpon sight of those letters vnto the bringers of the same. The keepers durst not disobey his commandement, but suffered them to enter according to their commission. With-
in twelue moneths after, a parlement was held at Perth, where the foresaid George earle of March was disherited of all his lands and linings for his fathers offense committed against king Robert the third. Thus the house of the Dunbars lost the earldome of March, wherein the same had flourished for manie yeres together, to the great defense and safeguard of the realme of Scotland on that side, against both ciuill and foraine enemies.

The king yet moued with some pitie toward so noble a linage, within short time after gaue the earldome of Buchquhan to the said George; and after the kings decesse, the lords of the counsell thinking the same to little, assigned forth to him and his son Patrike, the summe of foure hundred marks yere-
lie, to be receiued out of a parcell of his owne ancient inheritance of the earldome of March, to enjoy the same till James the second came to full age. In the yere 1435, Alexander Steward earle of Mar departed out of this life. This Alexander was a bastard sonne of the earle of Buchquhan, that was one of the sonnes of king Robert the second. He was a man of right singular proweesse, and in his youth following the warres, was with Philip duke of Burgonie at the siege of Liege, or Lutke, where he bare himselfe so manfully, that few wan the like honor at that iournie. Not long after, to his high advancement, he got in marriage the ladie Jacoba countesse of Holland: notwithstanding, he continued but a while with hir, being forced to forgo hir companie, either for that she had another husband, or else for that the inhabitants would not suffer a stranger to reigne ouer them.

After his returne into Scotland, he sent messengers into Holland, requiring to haue the issues and profits of such lands as were due vnto him in right of the said countesse his wife; but receiuing nought saue a froward answer, hee provided him of ships, and made soe warres on the Hollanders by sea: first being put to the worse; but at length he toke a number of their ships laden with merchandize, as they were returning homewards from Dantzicke. The mariners were drowned, and the ships burnt. Through which losse the Hollanders being sore abashed, fell to a composition with him, and toke truce with the Scots for an hundred yeres. This earle of Mar so long as he liued had the gouernance of the north parts of Scotland under king James the first, for he was a right prudent person, as well in warlike enterprises, as in ciuill administration. Hee brought forth of Hungarie sundrie great horses and mares for generation, that by such means the countrie might be provided of great hostes of their owne race, where till that time there was none bred within Scotland, but small nags, more meet to serue for iournieng hacknies, than for anie seruice in the warres.

Not long before this time, there came an ambassage from the king of Denmarke to king James, requiring him to make payment of such pærelie tribute as was due to the said king of Denmarke, being also king of Norwaie for the westerne Isles, according

George erle of March arrested and put in ward.

A parlement at Perth.

The earle of March dis-herited,

The earldome of Buchquhan gaue to George Dunbar.

1435. The death of Alexander Steward erle of Mar.

Leodium.

warre betwixt the earle of Mar & the Hollanders.

Truce twixt the Scots & Hollanders for teareme of 100 yeres.

God mares brought out of Hungarie into Scotland for breed.

Ambassadors out of Denmarke. Their request

corping to the promise and agreement made by Alexander sometime king of Scotland, the third of that name, unto his predecessor Magnus, at that time king of Norwaie. The ambassado:rs that came with this message were honorable received, and in like sort interteined by king James, who at their departure gaue to them sundrie rich gifts, and appointed sir William Creichton to go with them into Denmarke, ambassado: frō him, to the king there, who used himselfe so sagelie in this businesse which he thus went about, that renewing the old league betwixt the two realmes of Denmarke and Scotland, speedfast peace and assured amitie without anie more ado ther of ensued. Much about the same time, there came ambassado:rs from the French king, Charles the seventh, not onelie desiring to haue the old league betwixt France and Scotland to be ratified at that present by a new confirmation, but also to confirme the same with better assurance. Margaret eldest daughter to king James, at request of the said king Charles, was giuen in marriage vnto Lewis the Dolphin, and eldest sonne to the said king Charles.

Henric great lords of Scotland were appointed to haue the conuenance of hir into France, and great provision of ships made for that voyage, because the king was aduertised that the Englishmen had a fleet abroad on the seas, to take hir if they might meet with hir by the waie. But as the hap fell, it chanced the same time, as the Scottish ships should passe, there appeared on the coast of England, a great fleet of Spaniards, which the Englishmen supposing to be the Scots, they came vpon them with foure score vessels of one and other, thinking verelie to haue had their wished price, euen according to their expectation: but being receiued with as hot a storme as they brought, they quicklie vnderstood how they were in a wrong wor, and so they wolbie amazed (as Hector Boetius saith) they sustained great losse both in men and ships, and in the meane time the Scottish naue passed by quietlie without damage, encountering not one ship by the waie that sought to impeach their passage. There went 140 ladies and gentlewomen south of Scotland, to attend this ladie Margaret into France, amongst which number there were siue of hir owne sisters.

In the meane time, whilest such things were a doing, Henric Percie of Northumberland invaded Scotland with foure thousand men, not being known whether he had commission so to doo from the king of England, or that he made that enterprize of himselfe. William Dowglass earle of Angus, to resist this inuasion, gathered a power of chosen men, amongst whom were Adam Hepburne of Hales, Alexander Ramsay of Dalchouse, and Alexander Elphinston, with others. The earle of Angus being thus associat, met the Percie at Piperden, where a sore battell was foughten betwixt them, with great slaughter on both sides; but at length the victorie fell to the Scots, though there were slaine together with Alexander Elphinston, two hundred gentlemen and commons of Scotland: and of the English part there died Henric of Chiddesdale, John Ogill, and Richard Percie, with fiftene hundred other of gentle men and commons, of the which gentlemen, fortie were knights. There were taken also and brought home by the Scots as prisoners, to the number of foure hundred.

Shortlie herevpon, king James raised a mightie armie, and besieged the castell of Rockburgh, but when he had almost brought his purpose so nere to passe, that those within began to fall to communication, for the rendering of the place, the quene came to the campe in great haste vnto him, signifieng that there was a conspiracie begun against him, so that

if he took not the better heed, he was in great danger to fall into the hands of those that sought his life. The king doubting the matter, raised his siege and returned home to prouide the better for his owne safety, but that preuailed little: for Walter Stewart earle of Atholl, and head of the whole conspiracie, pretending euer a right to the crowne, by reason that he was procreat by king Robert the second on his first wife, procured his nephew Robert Stewart, and his cosine Robert Graham, to sea the king by one meane or other, which finallie they accomplished in this wise. This Robert Graham, for diuerse wicked acts before committed, contrarie to the lawes and ordinances of the realme, was driuen to an outlawrie, so that if he were taken, he looked for nothing but present death, and therefore hated the king most deablie. And though by the quenes diligence both his and other of the conspirators purposes were now disappointed, hauing contriued to dispatch the king at the siege of Rockburgh; yet forsomuch as their names were not knowne, they hoped still to find occasion to atchaine their detestable intention, sith they were no more mistrusted than the others.

Herevpon the said Stewart and Graham came one euening to the blacke friers of Perth, where the king as then was lodged, and by licence of the porters comming into the house, entered vp into the gallerie before the kings chamber doze, minding to haue staid there till one of the kings seruants that was priuie to their diuelish purpose should come, by whose helpe they were promised to haue entrie into the chamber. But before the comming of this Judas-like traitor, an other of the kings seruants named Walter Straiton came south of the chamber doze to haue fetched wine for the king: but being aduised of these two traitors standing there at the doze, either of them hauing a long sword girded to him, he kept backe, and cried, Reason: but yet he could get with in the doze to haue made it fast, they leapt vnto him, and slue him there outright.

Whilest this was a doing, not without great nosse & rumbling, a yong virgin named Katharine Dowglassie (that was after married to Alexander Louell of Wolunnie) got to the doze, and shut it: but because the barre was awaie that should haue made it fast, she thrust hir arme in the place where the bar should haue passed: she was but yong, and hir bones not strong, but rather tender as a gristle, and therefore hir arme was sone crafht in lunder, and the doze broken vp by force. Herevnto entering the chamber, they slue such of the seruants as made defense, and then the king himselfe with manie cruell and deablie wounds [at 28 seuerall blowes.] The quene was also hurt as she was about to saue hir husband. Patrick Dunbar, brother to George sometime earle of March, was left for dead on the floze, by reason of such wounds as he receiued in the kings defense, doing most manfullie his vttermoost deuoir to haue preserved him from the murderers hands. Thus was James the first murdered the 21 day of Februarie, the 44 yere of his age, the 13 of his reigne, and from the incarnation of Christ 1436. His bodie was buried in the house of the Chartarars at Perth which he founded in his life time, but had not as yet thoroughlie finished.

Of this James I find written in his singular commendation, that he was for proportion of bodie of the middle stature, with broad shoulders, hauing the other parts also answering therevnto, as they neither seemed monstrous big to be wondered at, nor extreme small to be scoffed at; but carried the maiestie of a person, whome Aeneas Syluius (expressing the most excellent conformation of members in this our king) doth terme to be squared or of euen proportion.

Sir William Creichton sent into Denmarke. Peace and amitie betwixt Scotland and Denmarke.

Ambassado:rs forth of France. The old league renewed betwixt France and Scotland. The Dolphin marieth Margaret daughter to king James.

Englishmen lie in wait for the Scottish fleet.

The Englishmen encounter a fleet of Spaniards.

The arrivall of the ladie Margaret of Scotland in France.

Henric Percie invadeth Scotland.

The battell of Piperden fought betwixt Henric Percie and the earle of Angus. The Scots get the victorie. The number of Englishmen slaine. Prisoners taken.

Rockburgh besieged.

The king was feared of a conspiracie made against him, raised his siege.

Robert Graham.

Robert Stewart and Robert Graham murder the king.

Walter Straiton is slaine.

Katharine Dowglassie.

The murderers enter the kings chamber, and slue the king.

The quene is hurt. Patrick Dunbar is wounded and left for dead in the kings defense.

James the first murdered.

1437. Bodie.

1447. Bodie.

1326. Letter.

His stature and figure of bodie.

Fr. Thin.

Letleus lib. cap. 271.

tion, as the parts of a quadrangle or iust square do answer each other, so that nature seemeth not to have framed a creature more apt or excellent than he, either for shape of bodie, or for kinglie maiestie. He did manie times embrace iustice more strictlie and seuerelie, than well became a king, which ought to be called and so in truth to be, the father and nourisher of the common wealth. For he seemed so exactlie to measure all things by the rule of iustice, that he is said within the space of three yeres to have executed three thousand persons for their committed offences. Although this may rather seeme to be a slander (than other wise) grounded upon no foundation, since all things seemed to haue bene performed by him in respect of sincere zeale of iustice, whereof this may be a sufficient argument, that he was of so mild and sweet nature, that we read not of anie of our princes that did more reuerentlie embrace peace at home amongst his subjects, or more willinglie conclude the same abroad with strangers. What shall I say of his wisdom, which in manie and the greatest affaires did so manifestlie appere, that the kings of other nations did come in league and friendship with him: Of which wisdom, and of other his vertues, although he obtained part by the benefit of nature, he got the greatest summe by the learning & instruction which he purchased in England, when he was prisoner: at that time he was by the commandement of Henrie the king most diligentlie instructed. For he was there by the kings beneuolence so well trained in all sciences and gentlemanlie activitie, with the diligence of good schoolmasters, that it is not easie to iudge what science he best understood: for beside that he had skill in all kinds of musike (but most excellent in plaiering on the harpe) he was so good an orator, that nothing might be more artificiall than that which he spake: againe, he was a rare poet, in which he seemed not so much cunning by art, as furthered by nature, which is sufficientlie proued by verses of diuerse kinds (at this day remaining) composed by him in Scottish meter with that singular art, as he is thought fullie to equall the sharpnesse, grauitie, and wisdom of the ancient poets.

It is strange that I saie, and far beyond the diligence of the princes of our time, yea and almost beyond the opinion of men: but yet most true and confirmed by the testimonie of them which knew him well: and therefore to be written to his perpetuall praise. He did so exactlie in mind and memorie comprehend the depth of diuinitie and law, that therein he excelled manie, & in his time gaue not place to anie: to conclude, there was nothing wherein the commendation of wit consisted, or wherein anie shew of the liberall arts appeared, that he would not with great diligence applie his indeno: for the knowledge thereof, yea and that sometime to all mechanicall or handicraft labors which were met for a free man, which he is said most studiously to haue followed. But in the end, iudging it ouer base for kinglie maiestie to be exercised in these meane & inferior: knowledges, he caused artificers of all sorts to be brought out of England, Flanders, and other nations, which should instruct our people therein: for by that means he perswaded himselfe he should in the end calme the rough manners of his nation, and that with these mild arts they would also receiue a mild and sweet condition of life & manners. Wherefore I may well say, a most happy common-wealth which was gouerned by so worshipfull a prince: & may iustlie exclaime; O you most fierce and wicked rebels, that would by murder take away such an honor, deahtie, and pillar of the common-wealth. Now, besides manie other things by him done, I will here (being better late than neuer) set downe

this (not touched before) which is, that he was not onlie a beaute to his countrie, in providing for his people to liue at quiet within borders; but he also fought for the defense of his realme against his enemies without borders: by artillerie, and other necessaries required for the warres. For the invention of guns hapning about his time, or not much before, he caused certeine pieces of artillerie to be made beyond the seas in Flanders, of which, there was one most especiall and great peece called the Lion, on the circumference whereof were these verses ingrauen, testifying the antiquitie in like maner of the same: John Maior lib. 6. cap. 13.

*Ilustri Jacobo Scottorum principi digno,
Regi magnifico, dum fulmine castra reducitur,
Faciunt sem subito, nuncupat ergo Leo.*

The nobles and peeres of the realme right sorrowfull for the death of this James, assembled together, and made such earnest & diligent search for the traitors before mentioned, that at the length they were apprehended and brought to Edinburgh, where they were executed on this manner. The earle of Atholl, which was not onlie principall in practise of this treason concerning the kings death, but also in times past was chiefe of counsell with Robert duke of Albanie, in making away of Dauid the kings eldest brother, and after the kings returne south of England did most earnestlie solicit him to put duke Henrie to death, with all other of his linage, trusting that when they were dispatched, he should find means to rid the king also, and his children out of the way, & so at length attaine to the crowne without anie obstacle. This earle I say was first stripped of all his clothes, saue onlie his shirt; and then was an instrument of wood, made like to the diall of a clock, set fast in a cart with a frame: at the end of which instrument, was the earle fastened and bound, and so carried about the towne, sometime hoisted on high, that the people might see him aloft in the aire, and sometime let fall againe with a swate

The search made for the traitors.

The execution of the earle of Atholl.

downe upon the pavement. After this, being brought to an open place, where most resort of people was, they crowned him with an hot iron, for that (as was said) a witch had told him, that before his death he should be crowned or penie in sight of the people. Through whose illusion being deceived, he liued vnder vaine hope to attaine the crowne, directing all his imaginations to compass the means thereto. Thus was he serued on the first day. On the second day, he was drawn forth with his complices laid on hurbels, round about the towne at an horse taile. The third day, his bellie was ript, and his bowels were taken forth, and throwne into the fire sickerling before his eyes; then was his heart pulled forth of his bodie, and throwne likewise into the fire: and last of all, his head was cut off, and his bodie diuided into foure quarters.

The prophesie of a witch.

His nephew Robert Stewart was not altogether so cruellie executed. But Robert Graham, for that it was knowne that he lue the king with his owne hands, was put into a cart, the head that did the deed being fastened to a paire of gallows, which were raised vp in the said cart; and then were three persons appointed to thrust him through in all parts of his bodie with hot irons, beginning first in those places where it was thought no hastie death would thereof insue, as in the legs, armes, & shoulders. And thus was he carried through euerie street of the towne, and tormented in most miserable wise, and at length had his bellie ript, and was bowelled and quartered as the other were before. Christopher Claton also, and other that were of counsell in the conspiracie, were put to most shameful kindes of deaths, as they had iustlie deserued, few or none lamenting their case. Touching whose death, and

Robert Stewart executed.

The ordering of Robert Gramhams execution.

Christopher Claton.

Fr. Thim.

Lellius lib. 7.
pag. 279.

Strange
lights.
Dogs with
heads like to
Dogs,
A calfe with
a head like a
colt.
A blasing star.
A great frost.
Ale and wine
sold by the
pound weight
A sword seene
in the aire.

James the
second.
1436

Buchan, 103.

The daugh-
ter of the duke
of Gelderland
married to
James the
second.

Sir Alexan-
der Leuing-
ston governoz.
Sir William
Creichton L.
chancelloz..

Disobedi-
ence
in the Dow-
glasie.

1437.

A policie
brought by
the queene.

the reuenge thereof, it is reported, that Aeneas Syl-
uius (being then ambassadoz in Scotland for pope
Eugenius the fourth to the said king James, con-
sidering the cruellnesse of such a wicked fact, with the
spædie reuenge therefore erected by the nobilitie)
should say, that he much doubted, whether he ought
with greater praise to commend them which reuen-
ged the kings death, than by sharper sentence pun-
nish those that had committed such parricide.] In
the daies of king James the first, sundrie strange
and monstrous things chanced in Scotland. At
Perth there was a sow that brought forth a litter
of pigs with heads like unto dogs. A colv also
brought forth a calfe, hauing a head like a colt. In
the haruest before the kings death, a blasing star
was seene with long streaming beams. And in the
winter following, the frost was so vehement, that
ale and wine were sold by pound weight, and then
melted against the fire. A sword was seene gliding
vp and downe in the aire, to the no lesse dread than
wonder of the people.

James the first made away through the traitzous
practise of the earle of Atholl (as before is speci-
fied) his eldest sonne James the second of that name
being as then but six yeares of age succeeded to the
crowne, as lawfull heire to the same, and by his mo-
ther and the nobilitie of the realme was brought to
Edene, where, by the vniuersall consent of the three
estates he was crowned king of Scotland, being
the 102 king of that realme from fergus the first.
He was surnamed James with the fierie face, by
reason of a broad red spot which he had in one of
his cheekes. This James at his coming to mans state
proued a stout prince, and married the daughter of
the duke of Gelderland, as after shall appeare. In
the beginning he had some trouble and businesse, by
reason of the great authoritie and rule which the high
barons of the realme sought to beare & mainteine,
as the Dowglasie, and other, but in the end he sub-
dued them all.

Shortlie after his coronation, because he was not
of himselfe able to gouerne, by reason of his tender
age; the nobles and estates of the realme chose sir
Alexander Leuingston of Calender knight, gover-
noz of the king and realme, and sir William Creich-
ton knight was confirmed in his office to inioy the
same as he before had done, the R. being committed
to his keeping, together with the castell of Eden-
burgh. Archembald earle of Dowglas remained in
his countreies of Dowglas & Annardale, and would
neither obeie gouernoz nor chancelloz, wherby great
trouble was raised within the realme. Within a
short tyme also, the gouernoz and chancelloz were di-
uided. The gouernoz with the queene remained at
Striueling, but the chancelloz had the king still with
him in the castell of Edinburgh; and what the one
commanded to be done, the other forbade: wherby
neither of them was obeyed, nor any execution of
iustice put in practise, so that through all the countrie,
reiffe, spoiles, and oppression were exercised with-
out feare of punishment. The queene perceiuing
such mischief to reigne throughout all parts of the
realme, deuised a meane to aduance the gouernozs
side, and hereupon with a small companie repa-
red to Edinburgh, where she to be bring hir purpose to
passe, did so much by great dissimulation, that she
persuaded the chancelloz to suffer hir to enter the ca-
stell, and to remaine with the king; but within three
daies after, she feigned one moyning to go on pil-
grimage vnto the White kirk, and caused the king
hir sonne to be handsomlie couched in a trunke, as
if he had bene some fardell of his apparell, and so
packed vp, sent him by one of hir trustie seruants
laid vpon a sumpter horse vnto Lieth, from whence

he was conueied by hote vnto Striueling, where, of
the gouernoz he was iustlie receiued, commen-
ding the queene highlie for hir politike working, in
deceiuing so wise a man as the chancelloz was. Then
raised he a great power of his friends and well-wil-
lers, and besieged the chancelloz in the castell of
Edenburgh.

The bishop perceiuing in what danger he stood
through the womans deceipt, sent to the earle of
Dowglas, desiring his assistance against the queene
and gouernoz. But the earle refusing either to helpe
the one or the other, alledging that they were both
ouer ambitious in seeking to haue the whole gouern-
ment of the realme in their hands. The chancelloz
then perceiuing himselfe destitute of all helpe, made
agreement with the gouernoz, vnder certeine condi-
tions, that he should reteine still the castell of Eden-
burgh vnder his possession, and likewise continue
still in his office of chancelloz. Shortlie after the earle
of Dowglasie decessed at Liffelricke, in the yeare
1439, against whome aswell the gouernoz as chan-
celloz had conceiued great hatred. He left behind
him a sonne (begot of the earle of Crawford's daugh-
ter) named William, a child of fourteen yeares of
age, who succeeded his father in the earldome of
Dowglasie, appearing at the first to be well inclined
of nature, but afterwards by euill companie he
ward wild and insolent.

About this season, James Steward sonne to the
lord of Lozne, married the queene Dowager, and fa-
uored the earle Dowglasie in his vnrulie demea-
nor: wherupon, both the said James and his bro-
ther William, with the queene, were committed to
prison in the castell of Striueling by the gouernozs
appointment; but shortlie after they were released
by the sute of the lord chancelloz, sir William Cre-
ichton, and Alexander Seton of Curdon, who be-
came suerties for their good abearing, vnder great
forfeiture of sufficient band. About the same time,
or rather somewhat before, Alane Steward lord of
Dernlie was slaine at Palmairs thorne, by sir Tho-
mas Wold. And in the yeare following, the same sir
Thomas was slaine by Alexander Steward of
Holmet and his sonnes; where through there rose,
great troubles in the west part of Scotland. Wil-
liam earle of Dowglasie sent Malcolm Fleming
of Cumernald, and Alane of Lowder, vnto Charles
the seventh, king of France, to obtaine of him the
duchie of Lotzaine, which was given to Archem-
bald Dowglasie at the battell of Wernouill in Perth;
and the last earle, father to this earle William, had
intoied the same all his life time, wherupon that
sute was the sooner obtained: which made the young
earle more insolent than before.

He kept such a port, and vsed to haue such a traine
attending vpon him, speciallie when he came to the
court, that it should seme he had the king in small
regard; for he thought himselfe safe enough in main-
teining the like state and port, or rather greater than
euer his father at any time had mainteined before
him: insomuch as he would ride with two thousand
horse, of the which number there were diuerse errant
thieves and robbers, that were borne out in their
vnlawfull and wicked practises by the same earle.
Certeine capteins of the Isles, as Lachlane, Spake-
laine, and Gurdac Giffon, with a wicked number
of the inhabitants of the same Isles, haried, spoiled,
and burnt the countrie of Lenor, and slue John Col-
quhoun lord of Lute vnder assurance. They also
slue women and children, without respect to age or
sex. In this yeare chanced a great dearth in Scot-
land, the like was neuer heard of before, and such a
death by pestilence, that few escaped that were ta-
ken therewith, and so the realme was plagued with
reiffe.

The king
conceiued
Striueling.

An agreement
made.

The earle of
Dowglasie
departeth the
life at Liffel-
ricke.

1439.

The queene
imprisoned.

Alane Ste-
ward is slaine

The great
port of the earle
of Dowglasie

Error is be-
ried.
John Col-
quhoun, of
Coughoun
slaine.

A dearth.
Pestilence.
reiffe.

reife, oppression, dearth, and death of people. This year also the gouernor took the whole administration upon him, where with the chancelor was displeased, and leaving the king and him in Striueling, repaired to Edenburgh, where he devised the way how to recover the king from the gouernor, and so on a morning took foure and twentie men with him and rode to the park of Striueling where the king was then hunting, and the gouernor absent at Perth.

At what time the chancelor with great courtelie dealing towards the king, did salute him, being in some feare to see such companie come vnto him, having so few in his traine. Which when the chancelor perceived, he praised the king to be of good comfort, and in few words (fit for that time) exhorted him that he should looke to himselfe and the kingdome, and deliver himselfe from the imprisonment of Alexander the gouernor, living free from henceforth after a kinde manner; that he should not accuse himselfe to obey the pleasure and courtousnes of others, that he should vse to command his subjects in all iust and lawfull causes; and that he should deliver his people from these evils which increased vpon them, by the ambition and courtousnes of the rulers, which he could not now well remedie or resist, except the king would take on him the gouernement, the which to do, he had without all danger or trouble provided a meane. For he had in a readinesse sufficient number therefore, which should attend vpon the king where so ever he would go, or to vse any other matter as need should require. Which the king taking with a pleasant countenance either because the matter liked him well, or to dissemble the feare he had of the chancelor, did fullie approve, and went with his small unarmed companie and the chancelor toward Edenburgh.)

The chancelor, as Helior Boetius saith, had caused the number of foure thousand horsemen of his seruants, tenants, and friends, secretly to be readie that morning about the towne of Striueling, to resist his aduersaries if they should haue used any force against him: and now vnderstanding of the kings going thus with the chancelor, they came to him on the way, and attending him, brought him safely and without further trouble vnto Edenburgh, where he was iustlie receiued. The gouernor when he was aduertised hereof, was grievously displeased; but because he knew not how to remedie the matter, he went to Edenburgh, and there got John Junes bishop of Murray, and Henrie Lichon bishop of Aberdene, to labor some agreement betwixt him and the chancelor: which they did in this wise: the king to remaine in the keeping of the chancelor, and the gouernor to continue his office. And so by this accord they were made friends.

During which tumults, William Douglas (that with a certaine pride of mind had highly borne himselfe, disobeying the rule of the gouernor, & daring to iourne in societie of the chancelor, did bew the dedlie hatred of them both against him; for which cause they sake by all means vtterlie to take him a waie. For the doing wherof (to the end it might be performed without any tumult) they appoint a parlement to be holden at Edenburgh; whither came not a few (as at other times in such assemblies it alwaies hapneth) but almost the whole countries came flocking thither, to complaine of the iniuries which they had receiued: of which sort there was such a miserable shew, that men could not behold the same without great motion of a pitifull mind: when euerie one for himselfe, the father for the children, the children for the fathers, and the widows for their husbands, did complaine that they were by the robbers spoiled of all their substance. Whereupon (as

it happeneth alwaies through pietie of gentle hearts, to see the afflicted) there arose great cruellie against the captiues and leaders of the wicked doers of such spoile, whose evils were now growne to such excess, as by no means they might be suffered: whose factions were so largelie spread ouer the realme, that none could defend their life or liuehood: but such as did yield themselves to their actions, and whose riches were so increased, as the towne could not well find any helpe (in the authoritie of the magistrate) against their violence.

Whereupon it liked the wisest sort (since their force seemed not almost able to be broken, or their parts to be scured) to flie to policie and leane strength, not daring openly to call the earle Douglas by that name of capitaine of them, although they well knew him to be the chiefe author and santon of those people. Wherefore the gouernor and the chancelor (for a time dissembling the hatred which they harboured against Douglas) persuaded the whole parlement, that it were more conuenient with faire speeches to pacifie Douglas, than with shew of suspicious and euill words to stirre him to further heat: especiallie considering that he was of that great wealth and power, that he alone if he stood against them, might hinder all the decrees of the parlement: but if hee ioined with the nobilitie, there might be easie remedie found to salue all these present evils. Through which wise and subtil persuasion of Alexander the gouernor, it was decreed amongst them, that there should be honourable letters directed to him in the common & speciall name of all the nobilitie, which should admonish him, that being mindfull of the honorable place which he possessed (and of his worthy ancestors, by whom the common-wealth of Scotland had receiued many singular benefits) hee should repaire to the parlement, which well could not, and willingly would not, either keepe or determine any thing in the same without his presence. In which assemblie, if hee would complaine of any wrongs or griefes offered vnto him, hee should be satisfied so fullie as they might lawfullie.

And if hee or any of his friends or familie had committed any disordered part, the nobilitie there met would fullie remit the same, as well for the nobilitie of his, and the worthie memorie of the deeds done by his ancestors; as for that they rather attributed such actions to the iniurie of the times, and the frailtie of his age, and the persuasion of others, than vnto him, of whom there was conceived a singular hope of great towardnesse, for the advancement of his name and benefit of his countrie. Therefore if he would come and iourne with them, hee should receiue in gouernement what part, place, and office of the common-wealth pleased him, to the end that as in times past, their countrie had bene many waies deliuered out of most heauie dangers by the hand of the Douglasses, so at this present, the same might also by his presence and furtherance, be againe advanced and strengthened from and against those intestine evils wherewithall it now fainteth. The young man by nature and age graced of glorie, being moued with these flatteries, and the other persuasions of his friends (whereof euerie one was blinded with a certaine hope of good to happen to himselfe) they now deemed it best for getting all former dangers) to thinke vpon their private commodities, and with that resolution took their iourne to come to the parlement.

The chancelor when he vnderstood they were on their way, rode forth of Edenburgh many miles to meet the Douglas, and courtouslie invited the earle to his castell of Creichton, which laie in his

The king
went with
the chancelor
to Eden-
burgh.

The gouernor
and chancelor
were made
friends.

St. John,
Colles lib. 8.
p. 304.
Parker lib. 11.

Cc.iii. waie

waite as he should ride, at which place he was most honourable interteined by the chancelloz. Where, when they had remained two daies, the chancelloz (after hee had shewed manie tokens of a friendlie mind vnto him) bicause he would vtterlie banish from the earle all suspicion of him, that he had anie mislike in the said earle) began familiarlie to persuade him, that (remembzng the kings dignitie, and the office of him whome the lot of inheritance, their countrie lawes, and the consent of the parls. ment had aduanced to the gouernement and administration of all things) he should in all humilitie acknowledge him for his chiefe lord and king; that he would permit the large patrimonie obtained by the blood of his ancestors to descend to posteritie by lineall inheritance as he himselfe receiued it; that he would clearelie delinze the name and familie of the Dowglasses (no lesse famous for their dutie, than their dæds) not onelie from the filthie spot of treason, but also from all note of suspicion thereof; that he would reframe himselfe and his from offering injuries to the weake and common people; that he would remoue from him all such as were giuen to robbrie and spoile; that he would from henceforth applie himselfe to the defense of iustice, to the end that his former offenses (if there were anie) might rather be attributed to euill counsell of the wicked, than to the naturall disposition of himselfe: for so the repentance of his young yeeres might be taken for prooue of his innocencie in such euils. With these and such like speeches, declaring the faith of a well-willing mind, he allured the earle to come to Edinburgh with Dauid his brother partaker of all his counsels and actions.

This faire tale of the chancelloz, more than in times past or then befeimed the place which he possessed, with the manie messengers sent to him from Alexander the gouernoz (to meet him on the way) almost euerie houre, draue a deepe suspicion in the heads of the earles companie riding with him to Edinburgh, of some trecherie to be ment towards him. Whereupon the same began to be blundered from one to another of the traine, and came so fast to the friends of Dowglasse, that some of them did boldlie and liberallie admonish him, that he should remaine in that purpose (which once he did) so state, to returne, and not to go forward with the chancelloz: and at the least (if he would aduenture himselfe) to send home his brother Dauid, to the end that hee might not hazard the whole familie vnder the fortune of one stroke, as his father had before admonished him when he died. Whereat the vnadvised youth of this man, being moued to anger against his friends, did by the voices of some of his men (as it were by one that should make proclamation therfore) pacifie the secret murmurings that were amongest the companie; and answered such of his friends as found fault therewith, that he sufficientlie knew, that it was the common plague of all great families, alwaies to haue such men about them, as being impatient of quiet and ease, respect not the danger and miserie of their patrons, so it maie be commoditie vnto them: who bicause (they would not be restrained within the bounds of peacefull lawes) are authors of sedition, in which (when all things are in turmoile) they may the better wander abroad to satisfie their euill humoz: whose speeches hee regarded not, since hee rather respected and trusted the approued wisdom of the chancelloz and the gouernoz, than the slouthfull & rash minds of such seditious persons.

After which (to cut awaie occasion from the rest to answer) he set spurs to his horse, and hastned his iourneie more than he did before, with his bro-

ther and a few of his other friends, taking his right course into the castell, and (as it were by a certeine destiny) casting himselfe he long into the snarcs of his enimies. At such time as he came to the castell, the gouernoz (according to his promise) was ready there to meet him, to the end the matter might come to be wrought by common consent, and the weight of so great enuie might not light vpon the head of one man. Dowglasse being honorable and friendly by the gouernoz: receiued into the castell, was for dinner placed at the kings table. But in the midst of this sweet meat (sooner satwe being prepared) there was a bulles head set before him, which in those daies was a signe of death. Wherewith the young man amazed (and greatlie troubled in his mind, inwardlie repenting that he followed not the aduise of his followers) was about to rise from the table: but being apprehended by armed men (appointed to that function) he was caried into the court next to the castell, and was there (in reuenge and punishment of his vnbydeled youth) beheaded, with his brother Dauid, and Malcolme Fleming, who (next vnto his brother) was in greatest credit with him. Whose death the king now entring into his adolescencie or yeeres (as we tearme it) of discretion, is said heauilie with teares to lament, which the chancelloz (grieuing to see) did greatlie rebuke in the king such vntimelie and inordinate mourning, for the death of his and the common-wealths enimie, whose life (said hee) would haue taken awaie all peace and tranquillitie in the realme.)

After the death of the said earle, the state of the realme became more quiet: for his vnkle James Dowglasse baron of Abircorne that succeeded him, being a man of great stature, and verie fat, gaue himselfe to quietnesse, and liued but three yeeres after. The foresaid William had but one sister, that was called the faire maiden of Galloway, and was married to one William Dowglasse, sonne to this earle James before his decesse, that the heritage should not be diuided: bicause the earledome of Dowglasse was intailed vpon the heires male, and the lands of Wigton, Balwanie, Annardale; and Dumont remained to him as heire generall. This earle William, after the decesse of his father earle James, began to war vnrulie, and to follow the vntoward maners of the other William Dowglasse latelie beheaded (as before ye haue heard) so that by support manie disobedient persons would not obeye the gouernoz and chancelloz, wher vpon sundrie great slaughters and oppressions were committed.

Againe (by the marriage of this earle William with his rich kinswoman) he did (besides his unrulie behauiour) aduance himselfe in pride, wherof grew secret enuie, and of that rose open malice: but he incountering sufficientlie with them, partlie by force, & partlie by subtiltie, mainteined his people in those oppressions and robberies, in despite of the proudest: which occasioned the nobilitie to iudge, that the said earle was priue of their misdecanoz. Amongest which euill disposed companie, there was one John Cozmacke of Atholl, who (when he had infected all the countrie about him with this miserable plague of robbrie) did set vpon William Kewene (thiriffe of Perth, and had almost killed him) bicause he had led a theefe of Atholl to execution. But at the length (true men being alwaies better than theues) the thiriffe recovered the battell, and killed the captaine Cozmacke, with thirtie of his companie, and put the rest to flight into the mounteins.

In the yeare 1443, not manie daies after, the castell of Dunbzeton (which is not by strength to be subdued) was twise taken within a few daies: for Robert Semplier that was captaine of the castle: ca-

Buchanan.
lib. 11.

1443.

stell, and Patrike Galbith capteine of the higher castell, did so diuide their gouernement of the said castell (being a thing of great circuit) that euerie one had a peculiar and seuered entrance into his owne part without offense of the other. But yet these two (as most part of the realme of Scotland then was, and as it alwaies, or most commonlie hapeneth in the minoritye of the prince, when euerie one will be a king) wanted not their factions, whome they did follow: for Patrike was secretlie thought to fauour Dowglas, for which cause Semplier, or (as some haue simplie) the other capteine perceiuing the part of the castell wherein Patrike ruled to be more negligentlie kept, than due to the state of the time required, found oportunitie to expell Patrike from thence, and to cause all his furniture and household stuffe entered into the castell; and first finding the porter alone, turned him awaie, then taking armes, expelled the others out of the higher castell: after which, calling aid out of the towne next adioining, he shut them also out of the inferior castell, and got possession of the whole castell to himselfe.)

The king, after he came to the age of soueraine pères, would not anie longer be vnder the gouernement of others, but toke the rule vpon himselfe. The earle of Dowglas informed thereof, came to him at Strueling, and put himselfe and all he had to remaine at his pleasure: whereupon the king receiued him, pardoned all his passed misdemeanors, and admitted him to be one of his speciall friends and priue counsellors in all his affaires. By his perswasion shortly after, sir Alexander Levingston, & William Creighton being discharged of their offices, were also put off from the counsell, and all their friends banished the court, and they themselues were summoned to appeare before the king: which because they refused to doe, they were proclaimed rebels, and put to the horne. The earle Dowglas then for the old grudge he bare them, raised an armie, and harried their lands. In reuenge whereof, sir William Creighton spoiled the earle of Dowglas his lands, so that great trouble was raised through the whole countrie, and the lands of Strabroke, Abircorne, & the towne of Blackneth were burnt and destroyed.

The earle of Dowglas ruled wholie about the king, & made Archembald his brother earle of Murray, by joining him in marriage with a ladie of the house of Dunbar inheretrix therof. Forouer, Hugh Dowglas was made earle of Dumont. Thus the earle of Dowglas advanced his name, and ioined in friendship with the earle of Crawford, with Donald earle of the Isles, and with the earle of Ross, to the end that each of them should be assistant to others. In this meane time, the earle of Crawford at the request of the earle of Dowglas, toke a great price of goods out of the bishop of S. Andrews lands in Fife, which bishop was called James Benedie, sisters son to king James the first: where through the earle of Crawford on the one part, and the earle of Huntlye with the Ogilues on the other, met at Arbroth in set battell, where the earle of Crawford was slaine, and diuerse barons on his side, although the victorie and field remained with his sonne, the maister of Crawford, who succeeded his father, and was called earle Weirde. On the earle of Huntlies side were slaine, John Forbes of Westerge, Alexander Berkleie of Gartulie, Robert Hartwell of Teline, William Curdun of Burrowfield, sir John Diphant of Aberdaghie, and five hundred more on their side, and one hundred of the victors were also slaine, as Hector

Boetius saith.

The same writer reporteth that the occasion of this battell did chance, through the variance that fell out betwixt the earle of Crawford's eldest sonne Alexander Lindseie, and Alexander Ogilue or Ogilue (as some write him) about the office of the bailiffewike of Arbroth, the which the maister of Crawford inueng, was displaced and put out by the said Ogilue. Whereupon the maister of Crawford, to recouer his right (as he toke it) got a power together with helpe of the Hamiltons, and with the same seized vpon the abbey, and Ogilue with helpe of the earle of Huntlye, came thither with an armie to recouer the place againe out of his aduersaries hands, and so vpon knowledge hereof giuen vnto the earle of Crawford, he himselfe comming from Dundee vnto Arbroth, at the verie instant when the battels were ready to ioin, caused first his sonne to staie; and after calling forth sir Alexander Ogilue to talke with him, in purpose to haue made peace betwixt him and his sonne, was thrust into the mouth with a speare, by a common souldier that knew nothing what his demerment, so that he fell doone therewith, and presentlie died in the place: whereupon together the parties went incontinentlie without more protracting of time, and so fought with such successe, as before ye haue heard. The earle of Huntlye escaped by flight: but Alexander Ogilue being taken and sore wounded, was led to the castell of Fineluin, where shortly after he died of his hurts. This battell was fought the 24 of Januarie, in the yeere of our Lord 1445.

* The king thus ruled by the trope of the Dowglas, the earle Dowglas sent to sir William Creighton knight, to deliuer by the castell of Edinburgh. But Creighton (saing that the castell was committed to his gouernement by the whole realme, and that the king had not anie thing to doe therewith vntill he came to his full age) had all his goods forthwith confiscat to the kings vse, with his castell of Creighton, which the kings people entered into and possessed. But least they should seeme to offer anie manifest wrong to the said Creighton, they gaue out the same edict (as a veile of their malice and crueltie) which Creighton had before caused to be established and proclaimed. For he first of all others made a law, that whosoeuer did denie or resist the king, demanding the deliuerie of anie castell, should be in danger of treason; the breach and execution of which law did first come and fall by and vpon him, by whome that might be worthilie said (which is vsed to be spoken in common prouerbe) He is fallen into the snare which he prepared for others. Whereupon the Dowglas (since the castell would not otherwise be deliuered) sharpelie besieged the same by the space of nine moneths, which in the end Creighton surrendered into his hands, on certeine conditions to be performed. At which time also the said Creighton was reinstalled with the honor of the chancellorschip, although he neuer after intangled himselfe with affaires of the kingdome, hoping that in time to come (when the darke clouds of the wicked men, which had now ouerspread all things, were ouerblown) a better forme of gouernement would be brought in, as a certeine light to giue shine to the common-wealth.

James Steward a worthie knight (not he that was surnamed The blacke) was slaine at Birkenpatrick, two miles from Dunbretton, by Alexander Leslie, and Robert Boyd, whose crueltie not being satisfied with his blood, they laboured to bring his wife (great with child, & vpon point of deliuerance) within their danger. For the performance whereof, they sent a priest vnto hir, that (in haste and as it were troubled) should tell hir in what distress she now rested.

1444.
The king went
into Huntlye.

Fr. Thin.

1445. I. Ma.
1446. Leff.
Buchanan.
lib. 11.
Leflus lib. 8.
pag. 279.

1446. Leff.

Buchan. lib. 11.

sted, and that there was no meanes to relieue his selfe by anie waie (since euerie place was beset with horse and footmen) vnlesse she escaped by bote to Robert Boid at Dunbretton, who further vpon oth promised hir, that he would safelie bring hir backe to his owne house.

The woman being credulous (and ignorant that Robert Boid was present at the death of his husband) and caried out of Cardrossie, into the Dunbretton castell, might easilie perceiue his selfe hardlie beset on euerie side by the deceipt of his enemies, who (being so deceiued and overcome with feare & griefe) was deliuered of child before his time, and (together with his sonne) died there within few houres after.

Buchan, lib. 11.

Almost at the same time, Patrike Hepburne (gouernour of Hales) held the castell of Dunbar, where he had Jane Seimer the quene with him, to whom she fled for succour in the times of these tumults. Archibald Dunbar (supposing this to be a iust cause of anger) in the night did set vpon Hales the castell of Hepburne, which he toke at the first assault, by slaying of the watch, who being stroken with a great feare for the same, did (in few daies after) restore the same to earle Dowglaste, with couenant that all they which were within, should depart in safetie without anie danger.)

James Stewart is banished the realme.

He died.
The quene died.

1446.

Sir James Stewart surnamed the Blache knight, husband to the quene the kings mother, was banished the realme for speaking words against the misgouernement of the king and realme, wherewith he offended the earle of Dowglaste. As he passed the seas towards Flanders, he was taken by the Flemings, & shortly after departed this life. The quene his wife being aduertised of his death, died also within a while after, and was buried in the Charterhouse of Perth the fifteenth of Iulie, in the yeere 1446. His name was Jane Summerlet, daughter to the earle of Summerlet. James the first married hir (as before ye may read) in England. She had by him eight children, two sonnes, and six daughters, which were all honorable married: the first named Margaret, to the Dolphin of France: the second Cleane, to the duke of Britaine: the third, to the lord of Berne in Zealand: the fourth, to the duke of Austria: the fifth, to the earle of Huntley: and the sixth, to the earle of Northumberland. And by James Stewart his second husband, she had three sonnes: John earle of Atholl, James earle of Buchanane, and Andrew bishop of Murray.

Fr. Thin.

1448. Leslie.

King James married a daughter of the duke of Gelderland.

1447.
1448. Leslie.

In the yeere 1447, there was a parlement holden at Edinburgh, in the which sir Alexander Levingston of Balenbar late gouernour, James Dundas and Robert Dundas knights, at the pursute of the earle of Dowglaste were forsaken and condemned to perpetuall prison in Dunbretton, and James Levingston his eldest sonne, Robert Levingston trea-

suro, and David Levingston knights, lost their heads. James before his execution made a verie wise declaration to the standers by, declaring the instabilitie of fortune, and change of court, exhorting all persons to beware thereof, with enuie euer followed high estate, and wicked malice neuer suffered good men to gouerne long. In the same parlement, sir William Creighton was also forsaken for diuerse causes, but principallie for that his seruants would not deliuer the house of Creighton to the kings herald, who charged them so to do. This forsalture was concluded in parlement by vertue of an act which the said William (when he was chance llo) caused to be made, and so being the first inuentor, was also the first against whome it was practised.

James Levingston made an oration.

William Creighton condemned.

The yere next ensuing were sundrie incursions made betwixt Scots and Englishmen on the borders, Dunfreis was burnt, and likewise Anwick in England: but shortly after a truce was concluded for seven yeres, great offers of friendship made by the Englishmen for to haue the wars cease on that side, because the warre betwixt them and France was verie hottie pursued, and ciuill dissention disquieted the state of England, which was raised betwixt the two houses of Lancaster & Yorke. This yere there were manie meetings or parlements of the nobilitie, in which were lawes established for brideling the wicked facts of such as applied themselves to spoiling of other men; whereupon a long peace followed in Scotland: beside which, there were other lawes made for auoiding of treasons, and chieflie of such as touched the kinglie maiestie. This lawe of treason was afterward executed first vpon Dowglaste, which was author thereof. In this parlement were manie earles and lords created, wherof the chiefe were Alexander Seton baron of Gordon, who was made earle of Huntley, and George Leslie baron was made earle of Rothsaie, both men singularlie famed for their wisdome and valure.)

Incursions made.

1448.

Fr. Thin.
Lesleus lib. 2, pag. 300.

1446.

The English borderers of the west marches fetched a great botte of cattell out of Scotland, notwithstanding the truce, in reuenge wherof the Scots invading England, wasted the countrie, burnt totones and villages, slew the people, & with a great preie of prisoners, goods, and cattell, returned home into Scotland. Wherewith followed daillie robes and forraies made on both sides betwixt the Scots and Englishmen, and that with such rage and crueltie, that a great part of Cumberland was in manner laied wast: for on that side the Scots chieflie made their inuasions, because that from thence the first occasion of all this mischief might seeme to haue had the beginning. When such things were certified to the king of Englands counsell, an armie was appointed forthwith to invade Scotland, vnder the leading of the earle of Northumberland, and of one Magnus surnamed Redberd, a capitaine of great experience, as he that had bene trained by from his youth in the warres of France. The Scots, because of his long red berd, called him in scoene and derision, Magnus with the red mane.

Englishmen fetch booties out of Scotland.

1450.

The Scots invade Eng-land.

A knight named Magnus

The Scots hearing of the approach of this armie towards their borders, lent a power: George, or rather Hugh Dowglaste earle of Dumont by the kings commission, hauing the conduction thereof, who vnderstanding that the enemies would enter into Annardale, drew thither with the said armie to resist their attempts. The Englishmen passing ouer the riuer of Sultweie and Annand, came to another riuer called Sarc, & there pitched downe their tents. And on the next day they began to rob and spoile the countrie on eich side: but aduertised that the Scots were at hand with an armie, they that were thus gone forth, were with all speed called backe to the campe

The earle of Dumont generall of the Scottish armie

The English armie invaded Scotland.

campe by sound of trumpet, and forthwith their armie was brought into order of battell. Magnus with the red mane was appointed to lead the right wing, and sir John Penneinton a verie skillfull warriour gouerned the left wing, in the which the Welshmen were placed. The battell of middle ward the earle of Northumberland himselfe ruled.

Sir John Penneinton.

Mallase of Craggie.

The earle of Dymont exhorteth his armie.

The battell is begun.

Magnus is slaine.

The English men put to flight.

The number slaine.

Pisoners taken.

The earle of Dymont on the other side ordered his battels in this wise. He appointed a verie balliant knight called Mallase of Craggie, with an hardie number of souldiers to encounter with Magnus. And against the Welshmen he placed the lord Sparwell, and lord Johnston, with a chosen companie of lustie Scottishmen, and commanding himselfe in the battell of middle ward, had scarce set his people in a-raie, when the trumpets in the English armie began to sound to the battell. He therefore exhorting his men to do balliantlie, put them in remembrance that they had put on armor, being thereto prouoked by iniurie which their enemies had first offered them, whereupon they might conceiue good hope of victorie by the fauour of the righteous God, who giueth the vpper hand (for the most part) to that side that hath iust cause to make warre. He willed them then to put all feare out of their hartis; and as they had force enough to vanquish their enemies that came thus to brag and threaten them with bitter destruction: so he besought them to shew no lesse manlike stomachs to deliuer their countrie by hardie fight from iniurie of the same enemies.

He had no sooner made an end of his speech, but that the arrowes came so thicke from the English archers, that the Scots began to looke about them, as it were to see which waie they might best escape by flight. But Mallase perceiuing their faintnesse of courage, with loud voice reprimed their cowardise, and with most pittie words exhorted them to remember their duties, and to follow the example of him their leader, whome they should perceiue to haue follied to spend his life in defense of his countrie. The Scots herewith seemed to be so encouraged, that they rushed forward with great egerneesse vpon the right wing of the Englishmen where Magnus stood, and so laied about them with speares, axes, and such like hard weapons, that with great slaughter they brake the Englishmen to breake arate and to flee: Magnus herewith being more chafed than afraid, as should appere, pressed forward vpon Mallase with great violence, and seeking to approch vnto him that he might haue woken his grieffe vpon him, was inclosed among the Scottish troopes, and slaine with a few other of his friends and seruants that follied him.

The slaughter of this man, in whome consisted no small hope of victorie on the English part, put the residue of their armie in such feare, that they were not able longer to resist the Scottishmens violent impression, but turning their backs fled amaine, whom the Scots pursued in chase verie fiercelie, so that manie of the Englishmen died in the battell, but more now in the chase: for the tide being come in, staid manie of them that made their course to haue escaped thorough the riuer, whereby diuerse that ventured into the water were drowned; & other that durst not take the water, were oppressed by the Scots that followed them. There died in this battell of Englishmen, to the number nere hand of thre thousand, and amongst other, Magnus (as before ye haue heard) with eleuen other knights of no small account and estimation. Of Scots were lost somewhat about six hundred. There were taken prisoners of Englishmen sir John Penneinton, and sir Robert Hartington knights, and the lord Perrie, sonne to the earle of Northumberland, who helpe his father to boyshache,

whereby he escaped by flight: & besides these, a great number of other were by the Scots taken prisoners, whome the sword and water had spared.

The earle of Dymont hauing got this honorable victorie, conueied the chiefest of the prisoners to the castle of Lochmaben, and after repaired to the court, where he was of the king iustlie receiued, honorable feasted, and highlie rewarded: After this, the Scots that dwelled vpon the borders, liued for a season in better quiet: for though the Englishmen wished to haue bene reuenged for this losse and ouerthrow of their people, yet by reason of ciuill wars that shortly after followed, they were constrained to forbear to make anie further wars against the Scots, till better occasion might serue. And for the auoiding of danger that might insue in time of this intestine trouble by forein enemies, they sued to haue a truce with the Scots, which for the terme of thre yeares was granted. In this yeare, William earle of Dowglas, with a great companie of nobles and gentlemen, as the lords Hamilton, Craie, Salton, Seiton, and Eliphant; also, Calder, Arguhart, Cambell, Fraser, and Lauder, knights, went into Italie, and was at Rome in time of the Jubilee which was kept there that yeare. He left behind him to gouerne his lands in Scotland, Hugh earle of Dymont that was his brother: but in his absence (by counsell of such as were about him) the king summoned the erle to appeare before him within 40 daies; & because he came not within that set time, he was put to the horne, & his lands invaded & spoiled.

Whereupon the king sent William Sentclaire earle of Orkades at that time chancelor, first into Galloway, and then into Dowglas, where he appointed collectors to take vp (to the kings vie) the revenues of the Dowglas. But when Sentclaire was not of sufficient strength to performe what he would, because some of the most part reieted (though others embraced) him, he returned home without doing anie thing. Wherevnto the king greatlie moued (because he saw his authoritie contemned) called all the Dowglases into law, and declared them publike enemies and detractors of his gouernement. And thereupon (providing an armie against them) he goeth into Galloway: where, at their first coming (since their captains were all in prison) a small part of the armie (seeing the enemies dispersed by rougher parts of the countrie to hide themselves) turned backe to the king without anie thing done.

Whereat the king highlie offended (in that such wantering theures should so lightlie dare to contemne his power) followed them into their starting holes and caues, and with no great labor took the castle of Lochmaben, reducing the countrie of Dowglas (with extreame labors of his souldiers) to his subiection, at what time he leuelled the castle thereof equall with the ground.

The earle aduertised hereof, with all speed returned home through England, and sent his brother James vnto the king, to know his pleasure: who commanding the earle to see his countrie (namelie Annandale) purged of theues and robbers, pardoned him of all offenses, and receiued him into fauor againe, so that he was also esteemed proclaied the kings lieutenant; but shortly after going into England without the kings licence, to common with the king of England about the recovery of Iules Iuliers by the Englishmen by certeine incrodes (as he alleged) the king took the matter in boie euill part, so that he should haue so to be had in contempt of the king: and vnto that he mistruied also, least there were some secret practises in hand to the preiudice of him, and his reuene: so that he became not a little foliowed the earle, who being thereof aduertised, came

The earle of Northumberland escapeth by flight.

1448. Buch. 1450. Lell. A truce for thre yeares betwene England and Scotland.

The earle of Dowglas goeth into Italie.

Fr. This.

Buchan.

The earle of Dowglas goeth into England without licence of the king of France.

The earle of
Dowglasle
sueth for par-
don.

came in humble wise to the king, & besought him of pardon, if he had in anie wise offended him, assuring him that from thenceforth, he would neuer commit anie act that might tend to his maiesties displeasure.

The enuie
those that
bare rule a-
bout the king.

The seeketh to
destroy the
L. chancellor.

The Dow-
glasle con-
strained to
sue out of E-
denburgh.
He maketh a
part.

The earle of
Dowglasle
presumeth of
assistance at
the hands of
his friends.
The Lord
Herres his
lands spoiled

The Lord
Herres han-
ged.

The confede-
racye mis-
led.

The king ter-
reth the
earle of Dow-
glasle.

Herewith the quene also and other noble men made sute to the king for the earles pardon, so that in the end he was receiued againe into fauor, but yet discharged of bearing anie publike office, which pinched him so sore (namelie for that his aduersaries William Chreighton lord chancellor, and the earle of Mkeneie seemed to beare all the rule about the king) that he sought to dispatch the chancellor, procuring certeine of his seruants and friends to assault him on a morning as he was comming forth of Edenburgh, but yet he escaped to his castell of Chreighton, although wounded in dead right sore, and with in few daies after, gathering a power of his kinsmen, friends, & allies, he returned againe to Edenburgh, and had destroyed (as was thought) the earle of Dowglasle at that present, if he had not shifted away the more speedilie, who being thus to his great griefe, and no small dishonor chased out of Edenburgh, deuised which way he might best be reuenged; and for the more easie accomplishment of his purpose, he procured the earles of Crauford, Helle, & Helle to ioyne with him in that quarell against Chreighton and other his complices, by force of which confederacie they couenanted to assist one another against the malice of the said Chreighton, and all other their aduersaries.

The earle of Dowglasle having concluded this bond of confederacie, bare himselfe verie high, in presuming further thereof than God with reason: and this was one great cause of the kings displeasure notwithstanding increased against the said earle. An other cause was this: a sort of theues and robbers barked into the lands of the lord John Herres, a noble knight, and one that had continued ever faithfull to the king, taking with them out of the same lands a great boote of cattell. And whereas the said lord Herres complained unto the earle of Dowglasle of that wrong, because the offenders were inhabiting within his countie; and yet could haue no redresse; he attempted to fetch out of Annardale some preie, wherewith to satisfie in part the wrong which had bene offered him by those thimmes and robbers. But such was his euill hap, that taken he was with his retinue, and committed to prison; and shortly after by commandment of the earle of Dowglasle he was hanged as a felon, notwithstanding that the king by an herald commanded the contrarie.

The king being sore offended herewith (as he had no lesse cause) passed ouer his displeasure with silence, till he saw time and opportunitie to reuenge the same: but the meane season manie an honest man bought the bargaine right deerie, being spoiled of that he had; and other wise euill intreated, and yet durst not the meane sort once complaine for feare of further mischance: where the higher powers also lamented the great disorders daily increasing, and yet were not able in anie wise to restrain the same, insomuch as it was greatly doubted, least the earles of Dowglasle, Crauford, Helle, & Helle, and other of that faction went to put the king beside his seat. Which doubt being put into the kings head, brought him into no small perplexitie, whereupon by courteous messages he sent for the earle of Dowglasle; willing him to repaire to his presence, forourning them in Strueling castell, which he refused to do, till he had assurance under the kings great seale for his safe comming and going (as some haue said). And then about the twelfth of the month of April he came to the court at Strueling, where the king

toke him aside, & in secret talke moued and requested him to forsake the league and bond of friendship betwixt him and the earle of Crauford, and other such his confederats.

There was a secret murmuring amongst a number, that this earle of Dowglasle purposed to make a pzoofe on a day to get the garland beside the kings head. In deed by reason of his kinsmen and allies, he was of more puissance in the realme, than (as it was thought) God with the suertie of the kings estate, vntill he were the more faithfull. He had at the same time two brethren that were also earles, as Archibald earle of Murray, and Hugh, or (as other haue) George earle of Dumont, beside the earle of Angus, and the earle of Arbroth, that were of his surname and blood, with a great number of other lords, knights, and men of great possessions and linings, all of the same surname, and linked in friendship and alliance with other the chiefest linages of all the realme. Herewith (by reason there had bene so manie valiant men and worthy captains of the Dowglasles one after another, as it had bene by succession) the people and commons of Scotland bare such good will and fauour towards that name, that they were readie to rise and go with them, they cared not whither, nor against whom. It is said, that the earles of Dowglasles might haue raised thirtie or fortie thousand warlike persons readie at their commandment, whensoever it had pleased them to call. In deed the Dowglasles had euer the gouernement of all matters pertaining unto the defense of the realme, so that the men of war had them still in all the estimation and honor that might be.

But now to the purpose, touching the conference had betwixt king James the second, and the earle of Dowglasle: it chanced in the end (upon what occasion I know not) that the earle answered the king somewhat ouerthwartlie, wherewith the king toke such indignation, that the earle hereupon was slaine by him, and such other as were there about him, on Sibourne. Then after the earle was thus made awate; his brethren made open warre against the king, and slue all such of his friends and seruants, as they might incounter with: insomuch that those which travelled by the high waies, were in doubt to confesse whether they belonged to the king, or to the Dowglasles. The Lord of Cadzow being in the towne of Strueling, with a great companie of the earle of Dowglasles friends, in reuenge of his death incontinentlie burnt that towne, and did manie other great displeasures to the king and his subjects; setting forth proclamations against the king and his counsell, for the violating of the assurance granted (as before is said) to the earle of Dowglasle.

And that with such despite, as in the 6 kalends of April, binding a wooden truncheon to an horse taker, they fasten thereto the safe conduct of the king and the nobles, which they forbore not to traile vp and downe the streets (not sparing to reuile the king) with bitter and heauie words of contumelie and exclamation. With which not satisfied, when they were come into the market place; they did with the noise of fine hundred hornes, and by the mouth of a crier, proclame the king and all such as were about him, faithbreakers, perjured, and such persons as were to be denounced enemies of all goodnesse and god men. And yet supposing this not a sufficient reuenge to quash the furie of their rebellious minds, they run with like rage, and with like order do spoile the countie & possessions of all such as toke part with the king; and the castle remained in the execution of their obedient dutie. For they besieged the castell of Dalketh, binding themselves (as conured and perjured enemies of all vertue) not to depart from thence,

Earles of the
surname of the
Dowglasles.

The linage
and great al-
liance of the
Dowglasles.

The love that
the people
bare toward
the name of
the Dow-
glasles.

The earle of
Dowglasle an-
swereth the
king ouer-
thwartlie, and
is slaine.

1442. Buch.
His brethren
make warre
against the
king.

Strueling
is burnt.

Fr. Thin.
Buchan. li. ii.

thence before they had taken and spoiled the same, being grievously offended with John the lord of that place, because that he with the earle of Angus had secured themselves from the opinion and faction of the Dowglasles, whose furie growing still to extremitie, found such support by the inclining multitude that the king was put to his shifts that he was determined to have left the realme, and to have fled by sea into France, had not James Benedic the bishop of saint Andrews caused him to staie, on the hope he had of assistance onelie by the earle of Huntlie, which earle hearing that the Dowglasles had gathered an armie in the south against the king, raised an other armie in the north to aid the king.

On the other side the earle of Crawford, having assembled a great power, encountered him at Bietthune, in purpose to stop the earle of Huntlies passage, where betwixt them was fought a sore battell, and the earle of Crawford chased into Finlwin, so that manie noble men, gentlemen, and commons were slaine, and amongst other the earle of Crawford's brother was one. Hector Boetius writeth, that John Cullace of Bannamwin, whome the earle of Crawford had appointed to lead them that bare the battell ares, or as I maie terme them) the bilmen, in the left wing of his armie, fled of purpose in the hottest of the fight, so left the middle ward naked on the one side of the chiefest aid that the said earle had, and so the historie by that meanes onelie inclined to the kings standard, which the earle of Huntlie had there with him. But howsoever it was, the said erle of Huntlie had the honor of the field, who neuertheless lost diuerse of his men also, though nothing so manie as his aduersaries did. This battell was fought the eighteenth of Maie, being the Ascension day, 1452.

The earle of Huntlie the same day before the battells ioined, gaue lands to the principall men of those surnames that were with him, as to the Forbesses, Leslies, Jouings, Agilues, Grants, and diuerse other. Which bountifullnesse of the earle made them to fight more valiantlie. In recompense whereof the king gaue to the said earle the lands of Badzenot & Lochquhaber. In the meane time, Archembald Dowglas earle of Murray burnt the peill of Straboggie, pertaining to the erle of Huntlie, and haried the lands thereabouts. In reuenge whereof, the erle of Huntlie at his returning backe, burnt & haried all the lands of the earldome of Murray. In the meane time, at a parlement holden at Edinburgh, the earle of Crawford was denounced a traitor, and all his lands and goods demed to be forfeited into the kings hands. James earle of Dowglas, James Lord Hamilton, the earles of Murray, and Dymont, the lord of Baluay, and manie other of that faction, were by publike proclamation made by an herald, commanded to appeare by a day to vnderlie the law. But in the next night that followed the day of this proclamation, certeine of the Dowglasles seruants that were sent priuillie to Edinburgh, to vnderstand what was done there, fastened writings vpon the church doores, sealed with the Dowglasles seale in this forme. The earle from henceforth will neither obeie citation, nor other commandement. Beside this, in the same writings, they charged the king with manie heinous crimes, calling him a murder, perjured, false, and a bloudsucker.

The king therefore assembled an armie, and went forth against them: but because the time of the yere was contrarie to his purpose, he could do no great hurt to his enemies, although he burnt vp their corne, and droue awaie their cattell. But the Dowglas seemed to passe little for the kings malice, and the erle himselfe married his brothers wife the coun-

tesse Beatrice, & sent to Rome for a licence to haue that marriage made lawfull: but by the kings agents in that court, the earles sute might not be obtained. Whereupon he kept his still in place of his wife, and continuing in rebellion against the king, the next spring, and for the more part of the tearme of two yeres next ensuing, he haried and spoiled the kings possessions; and the king on the other part wasted Annandale, and all other the lands and possessions that belonged to the said earle of Dowglas or his friends: but shortly after, as the king passed through Angus, to go into the north parts of the realme, the earle of Crawford came, and submitted himselfe vnto him, craving mercie in most humble and lamentable wise, and obtained the kings pardon thorough mediation of James Benedic bishop of saint Andrews, and sir William Creighton; but the said earle liued not past six moneths after, departing this life by force of an hot ague in the yere 1454.

The same yere, the king called a parlement at Edinburgh, in the which James earle of Dowglas, and his brothers wife the countesse Beatrice (whome he had taken to him by waie of a pretended & feined marriage) Archembald Dowglas earle of Murray, George Dowglas earle of Dymont, and John Dowglas baron of Baluay, were forfeited & condemned of treason. The earldome of Murray was giuen to sir James Creighton, or rather restored to him from whome it had bene wrongfullie taken by the vniuersall sentence of William earle of Dowglas, who had procured it to be assigned vnto his brother the forsaide Archembald, though the right remained in the said sir James Creighton. But yet when the said sir James Creighton could not keepe that earldome without ennie of diuerse and sundrie persons, he handled the matter so, that shortly after it returned againe to the kings hands. Whereupon at this parlement, George Creighton was created erle of Cathnessie, & William Haie constable of Scotland was made earle of Erroll. There were also diuerse created lords of the parlement, whose titles were as foloweth: Warlie, Halls, Wood, Lile, and Loche. After the breaking vp of the parlement, the king made a tourne against his aduersaries into Galloway, and with small adu brought all the castles of that countrie into his possession, and then turning into Dowglasdale, because the inhabitants thereof would not obeie him, he abandoned the spoile thereof vnto his souldiours, who practised no small crueltie against the inhabitants.

Whereupon the Dowglasles being dysuened to their shifts, the lord James Hamilton of Cadzow was sent from them into England to sue for aid, but in vaine, for none there would be granted: whereupon returning to his friends, he counselled the earle of Dowglas to trust to his owne forces; and sith the same were farre superior in number of men to the kings power, he gaue likewise counsell without delay, to set vpon the king, that the matter might be tried by chance of battell, the onelie meane to assure them of their liues and estates, for otherwise he saw not how anie vnfeined agreement might be concluded, the matter being now passed so farre forth to an extremitie. But the earle of Dowglas utterlie (as some write) refused to fight against his soveraigne and true liege lord, if any other meane might be found. Whereupon diuerse great lords which were with him there on his side, being men of great wit, and no lesse experience, aduised him yet to keepe together his host, till by their trauell and assistance a peace were concluded, and pardon obtained for all parts: for if the armie were once broken vp, all hope was then past (as they alledged) for anie indifferent conditions

The earle of Dowglas married his brothers wife.

The earle of Crawford submitted himselfe to the king, and is pardoned. He departed this life.

1455. Buch.

1454. A parlement.

The Dowglasles forfeited, or (as I may say) attainted.

Creations of noble men.

Dowglasdale giuen in spoile to the men of warre.

The counsell of the lord Hamilton.

Io. Maior.

The king would haue fled.

Cullace of Bannamwin bare the rite of Crawford.

The earle of Huntlie was hurt.

1452.

Lands giuen to the earle of Huntlie.

The earle of Murray.

The earle of Crawford was attainted.

Lords created.

Writings set by in contempt of the king.

The lord
Hamilton
departeth
from the
Dowglas.

conditions of peace to be obtained.

Herewith also, the lord Hamilton being wiser than the residue, had the Dowglas farewell, and so departed, concluding that he should never see so faire a day againe, wherein he might haue cast the dice for the whole kingdome. And being thus departed from the Dowglas, he repaired to the king as then lieng at the siege of Abircorne, who sent him to the castell of Kelleine, there to remaine vnder safe keeping with the earle of Arkele, to whom the said castell belonged: but at length, the king did not onlie pardon the lord Hamilton of all passed offences, but also receiued him into such fauor, that he gaue him his eldest daughter in mariage, as after shall appeare. But now vpon the withdrawing thus of the said lord Hamilton from the Dowglas, because the king had set forth an open proclamation of pardon to all those that would forsake the earle of Dowglas, the most part of the same earles companie departed from him, by reason whereof he fled into England, together with his brethren. The king lieng at the siege of Abircorne, lost diuerse of his men, besides manie that were wounded; but yet taking first a strong tower, being one of the chiefest limmes of that fortreffe, shortly after hee wan the rest.

The earle of
Dowglas his
companie
shrinketh
from him.

He withdraw-
eth into Eng-
land.

He inuadeth
Scotland.

The earle of
Dowglas dis-
comfited.
Archembald
Dowglas
earle of Hur-
rey slaine.
Earle of Dum-
mont taken.
Donald earle
of Ross.

The earle of Dowglas being withdrawne (as ye haue heard) into England, within a while after got together certeine companies of men, and with the same returned againe into Scotland by the west borders, in hope to find friends in those parties: but such as the king had appointed there to defend the countrie, assembling themselves together, and setting vpon him, discomfited his people, slue his brother Archembald, and toke the erle of Dumont prisoner, being first sore wounded. The baron of Baluay escaped into a wood, and so got awaie. The earle himselfe also (as Hector Boetius saith) escaped by flight, and got vnto Dunstaffe, where finding Donald earle of Ross and lord of the Isles, he procured him (being of nature inclined and readie inough to follow such counsell) to make warre in his fauour against the king. And after he had once set him on worke, he got him backe againe into England. Donald waisted not onelie the kings possessions that lay nere to Dunstaffe, but also passing through Argile, did much hurt in all places where he came. He inuaded also the Ile of Arrane, and chased the bishop of Lismore, confreining him to take sanctuarie. This done, he entered into Lochgabair, & so into Hurrey land, where he burnt the towne of Inuerness, and wan the castell by a guilefull traine.

The earle of
Dumont be-
headed.

The countess
of Dowglas
Beatrice sub-
mitteth hir
saile to the k.
The countess
of Ross.

Patrick
Thornton.

In the meane time, the earle of Dumont after he was recovered of his hurts (as the said Boetius writeth) was presented to the king, and after he had remained in prison a certeine time, he was at length beheaded. Moreover the countesse Beatrice, after she saw no hope left that the earle of Dowglas should recover his former estate, came to the king, and submitted herselfe, laiting all the blame in the earle, who had procured hir vnto such vnlawfull mariage with him, being hir former husbands brother. The king receiued hir right courteously, and gaue to hir the baronie of Baluay, to mainteine therewith hir estate. Shortly after also the countesse of Ross fled from hir husband, & came to the king for feare of hir husbands crueltie, whereof partlie she had already tasted. The king because he had made the mariage betwixt hir and hir husband, assigned hir forth sufficient reuenues also for the maintenance of hir estate. About the same time Patrick Thornton one of the kings seruants, but a fauourer of the Dowglas, and Alane Stewart at Dunbretton, for that

they favoured the contrarie faction: but the king getting the offenders into his hands, caused him and his complices to die for their wicked offense committed. The viceroy of Glasgowe was founded about this time by one Turnbull, bishop of that see. In the yeres following, died William Hare earle of Erroll, and constable of Scotland: also George Creighton earle of Catnes, and William Creighton chiefe of that familie.

The viceroy
of Glasgowe
founded.

1455.
Death of no-
ble men.

In this meane while, the earle of Dowglas remaining in England, procured the Englishmen diuers times to make rodes into Scotland, whereby he lost (as the Scottish writers affirme) the loue of his owne countymen, when they saw him thus ioine with the Englishmen; to the damage of his native land. At one time, Henrie earle of Northumberland, and the said earle of Dowglas inuaded the Shers, but taking little heed to themselves, and suffering their people to ride abroad to harie the countrie without order; Dowglas earle of Angus with a mightie armie of Scottishmen set vpon them, and put them to flight, slaying diuers, and taking to the number of seuen hundred prisoners. Thus (as should appeare) the earle of Dowglas in vaine sought to disquiet his countrie, for all his friends in Scotland continued faithfull to the king, who had granted peace to all other of the Dowglases and their complices: for it was Gods will the matter should be taken vp without more bloodshed, that the right line of the Scottish kings might be preferred. [For (as it appeareth) he was amongst the English inuading Scotland, subdued and taken by the barons Johnstoun and Cokpall, who presented him vnto the king, wherevpon the king after a long banished him into the monasterie of Lendoze, where he was bountifullie and honozable receiued (according to his nobilitie) of the religious persons, in which place he liued manie yeres, and then died.]

Fr. Thin.
1454.
Lesseus lib. 8.
pag. 305.

And though the almighty God might haue brought that to passe by other meanes, according as it should haue pleased his good will and omnipotent power; yet he chose this way, whereby the effusion of much blood might be auoided, which by ciuill battell had bene spilled, if the parties hauing their hearts filled with rancor & ire, had buckled together in battell. But the king being the aduise of his kinsman James Benedie archbishop of S. Andrews, compassed his purpose in the end, dispatching out of the way such as he anie waies forth mistrusted, of which number namelie were the Dowglases, whose puissance and authoritie not without cause he euermore suspected. Many haue reported (as before is said) that in the beginning king James the second, through feare of the great power of these Dowglases, was in mind to haue fled the realme, but being recomfited by the counsell and authoritie of the said bishop James Benedie, he aduanced his studie to matters of greater importance.

James Benedie
archbishop of
S. Andrews,
chiefe cham-
berlayn to the
king.

The said Benedie turned the earle of Angus, bearing of the surname of the Dowglases, and brother to him by his mother, to take part with the king. He procured also diuers other of the same blood and surname, to renolt from the other confederats, and to submit themselves vpon promise of pardon vnto the kings mercie; and so infexibling the forces of such as were aduerfaries to the king, in the end he had them all at his pleasure. It was thought, that for so much as the Dowglases had their lands lieng lo vpon the west and middle marches of the realme, (that no man might beare anie rule in those parts, but onelie they themselves) if they had happily joined with the Englishmen, considering the great intelligence beside, which they had in all other parts of the realme, what by kinned and alliance, the realme might

The practice
of bishop
Benedie.

Great power
cause of suspi-
cion.

might haue fallen into great perill: for truite it is a dangerous thing (as lo. Maior saith) for the estate of a realme to haue men of great power and authoritie inhabiting on the borders and vttermost parts thereof. For if they chance (vpon anie occasion giuen) to renounce their obedience to their naturall prince & suppreme gouernor, the preiudice may be great and irrecoverable, that oftentimes thereof insueth; as well appeareth in the earles of March, and other before mentioned in this historie: and likewise in France by the duke of Burgognie, Britaine, and Normandie: for till those countries were incorporated and annexed vnto the crowne of France, the kings of that realme were oftentimes put to great hinderance through rebellion by them, whome they accounted for their subiects.

But now to returne where I left. After the Dowglasses were once dispatched, and things quieted, King James the second began then to reigne and rule realle, not doubting the controulment of anie other person. For then he ordeined lawes for his people as seemed best to his liking, commanding the same to be kept vnder great penalties and forfeitures. And being counselled chieflie by the bishop of saint Andrews, James Benedie that was his vnkle, and the earle of Arkenie, he passed through all the parts of his realme, granting a generall pardon of all offenses passed. And so he ruled and gouerned his subiects in great quietnesse, and caused iustice to be ministred on all sides, that it was said in his daies, how he caused the rath bush to keepe the cow. In the yere 1455, the king held a parlement, in which were manie good lawes made and established for the weale of all the realme, as in the booke of the acts of parlement is contained. He bled the matter also in such wise with the principall capteins of the Isles, and of the hie lands, that the same were as quietlie gouerned, as anie part of the low lands, shewing all obedience as well in paying such duties as they owed to the king for their lands, as also in readinesse to serue in the warres with great companies of men, as became them to do: speciallie Donald lord of the Isles and earle of Ross, who had before joined himselfe in confederacie with the earles of Dowglas and Crawford against the king, and had taken into his hands the kings house, and castell of Inuerness (as before ye haue heard) naming himselfe king of the Isles.

Nevertheless, he was now at length reconciled to the king, and gaue pledges for his good demeanour, and afterwards brought to the king three thousand men in aid at the siege of Forburgh, whose reconciliation was after this manner. When this Donald perceived aduerse fortune to besiege him on euerie side, he sent messengers to the king, craving peace and pardon for himselfe and for his offenses. Who comming before the king (and with manie humble speeches, remembryng the manie parts of clemencie which the king had vsed to the earle of Crawford, and such as followed his faction) they did so purge the fault of Donald (by transferring the same to the fatal rage and inturie of the present times, and by promising in his behalfe that hereafter he should liue most quietlie in dutifull obedience) that they moued the kings mind to haue compassion vpon him.

But yet the king answered in a meane sort betwene both, not vtterlie pardoning, nor flatlie rejecting him: for (saith he) there be yet manie thynges extant of his wickednesse, and he hath not giuen forth anie one token of a changed mind. Wherefore, to the end that we may beleue the same to be true (which you haue promised in his behalfe) hereafter to become a dutifull subiect and lo-

uing neighbour to vs, and to those which are about him, he must with repentance (proceeding from an vnfeined tong) craue pardon from vs whome he hath grauously offended, and (with sufficient restitution) recompense those whome (by spoliing) he hath injured: besides which also, he must with some worthy exploit wipe awaie the meungie and blot of all his former committed wickednes. And although I well know that no vertue doth moze besmeare a kinglie maiestie than clemencie, yet we ought so to provide, that (measuring all things by the line of reason) the wicked war not so proud and rebellious (by ouermuch lenitie and lose gouernement) as the god may be excited to the honest performance of their dutie by fauour and iustice. Wherefore I will inioine a time to Donald, and the rest of his associats, wherein they may openlie shew some deeds of an altered disposition, and from henceforth we will so account of him, as his works and not his words shall iustifie him to be. But in the meane time, I will him to rest in quiet, leauing it in the power of him and his, whether he, and they, will hereafter be accounted (by due deserts) happie or miserable. Which said, the messengers departed, and Donald rested satisfied.)

In the meane while great dissention rose in England betwene the two houses of Lancaster & Yorke; the king being principall of the house of Lancaster, was taken himselfe at the battell of saint Albons. But the quene with hir sonne the prince, and Henrie the yong duke of Summerfet, with diuers other fled into the north parts of England, and sent to the king of Scotland to desire him of aid, who vpon good aduise taken with his counsell, for that king Henrie had euer kept well the peace with the realme of Scotland, and also for reuenge of his vnkle the duke of Summerfet his death, prepared an armie of twentie thousand men to passe into England: and in the meane time all the north parts of England, hearing that king James was readie to support the quene of England, joined with hir, and passed forward into the south parts, constringing the duke of Yorks to flee the realme, and so king Henrie inioined the gouernement of his realme againe, and for that time concluded an agreement with the duke of Yorks his aduersarie, which lasted not long.

The duke of Yorks remembryng how readie king James was to prepare an armie in support of his aduersarie king Henrie, procured the borderers to make incursions vpon the Scottish subiects, & would suffer no redresse to be had, nor daies of truce to be kept on the borders, as in time of peace the custome was. Wherevpon king James raised a power, and in person entered with the same into England, doing great hurt by destroying diuers towncs, castles and peiles in Northumberland, the bishoppske and other parts, till at length vpon faire promises made by the Englishmen, he returned into his owne countrie. [At this time, the art of printing was first inuented in the citie of Mentz in Germanie, but thence to great commoditie or discommoditie of learning, I leaue to the iudgement of others, saith Lessus.]

After this, king Henrie of England, perceiuing that the duke of Yorks by the counsell of the earle of Marlowe, ceased not to practise conspiracies against him, sent emissaries to king James, requiring him of aid against them, and promised therefore to restore vnto the king of Scotland the lands in Northumberland, Cumberland, the bishoppske of Durham, and such like, which the kings of Scotland had held before. This offer was accepted, and by treaties and contracts accorded, sealed, and interchanged betwixt the two princes (as the Scottishmen alledge.) The yere next following, at the quene of Englands desire

Lawes ordeined.

A generall pardon granted.

1455
A parlement holden.

The Isles & high land quietlie gouerned.

Donald earle of Ross, and lord of the Isles.

Fr. Thin.
Buchanan.
lib. 11.

Dissention in England.

King Henrie inuadeth England.

Fr. Thin.
Lessus lib. 8.
pag. 308.
The art of printing first inuented.

1458.

1459.

D. J.

desire

desire to support his against the house of Forke, king James with a great armie entered England, but after that the queene in the meane time had slaine the duke of Forke, & got the upper hand of his enemies, at the same queenes request, he retired into Scotland againe. Neuerthelesse shortly after, when the earles of March and Marwick sought still to mainteine their quarrell against the queene of England, he was constrained to withdraw into the north parts, and to desire king James to approach with his armie vnto the borders: which he did, meaning to win the castles of Rockburgh and Marke, which were amongst other things promised to be deliuered vnto him by king Henrie, and so comming to Rockburgh, laid his armie round about that castle, and planted his siege in full warlike manner.

Where the king hauing great experience in knowledge of shooting great artillerie, departed from his campe, accompanied with the earle of Angus, and others, and came to the trenches where the great ordinance was planted, which he caused to be shot off. And here by great misfortune, this worthie prince James the second, was slaine by the slice of a great peece of artillerie, which by overcharging chanced to breake, and slue not onelie the king standing somewhat nere it, but also hurt the earle of Angus, with other: being a notable president from henceforth, how such great princes approach so nere within danger of such peeces of ordinance, when they are shot off. He was thus killed the third day of August, in the yere of his life 29. of his reigne 24. and after the incarnation 1460. His bodie was buried with all funerall obsequies according to his estate, within the monastrie of Holie rood house at Edinburgh, the people generallie lamenting his death with no lesse sorrow and dolefull mone, than as is seene in a priuat house for the deceasse of the welbeloued master and owner thereof.

In time of warre, amongst his subjects in the campe, he behaved himselfe so gentlie towards all men, that they seemed not to feare him as their king, but to reuerence & loue him like a father. He would ride vp and do vnto amongst them, and eat & drinke with them, euen as he had bene fellowlike with the meanest. He had issue by his wife queene Marie three sonnes, and two daughters. His eldest sonne named James, succeeded him in the kingdome: the second named Alexander, was created duke of Albanie; and his third sonne called John, was made earle of Mar. The eldest of his daughters the Hamilton had in marriage (as before is said) and also after shall be mentioned.

* All the time of the reigne of this king, christian religion did greatlie flourish amongst the Scots: for there were amongst them twelue notable and famous bishops, whereof the chieffest were James Kennedie bishop of saint Andze wes, Turnebull bishop of Glasgou, Thomas Spenser bishop of Aberdeen, and Henrie Lichton bishop of Murray. At what time likewise there were manie religious abbats that kept such great houses, as both the nobilitie and communalitie traouelling through out the kingdome, did neuer almost lodge in anye publicke hosterie, but in the monasteries: which were neuer bereed or spoiled, during the time of the ciuill warres of the kingdome. Beside these men of eminent learning, there flourished also Nicholas Weddone, and John Eldmaire, singular diuines, with manie other doctors laudable seene in all kind of learning. In the reigne of which king also, Charles the 7, king of France, for singular seruice done vnto him by the Scots, in the warres (betweene the English and the French) did honorable indow manie of the Scots (for recompense thereof) with manie rich possessions in

quitaine, who by that meanes (setting themselves in that countrie) were the originall of manie worthie families of that prouince, amongst which is that famous kinred of Calbell de la Campania in Colouise, at this time greatlie flourishing, which had his beginning from Calbell a thane (or baron) being knight in the north parts of Scotland: for the grandfather of him which is now liuing, head of that house did inioy the place of magistrat or ruler of the Capitolline in that citie, hauing that title confirmed to his posteritie. This mans sonne Peter Calbell being a senator in the high court of Colouise (commonlie called the parlement) was for his singular learning and wisdom had in great honor of all men during his life, which stretched to extreme age. In whose place came John (the eldest sonne of the said Peter) who both at this day possesse the roome of his father, as a senator of the said court of Colouise. And his other children with great honor are indued with other offices of gouernement in the said citie.)

Some strange sights there appeared before the death of this king James the second: for the day before he was slaine, a blazing star was plainlie seene, which signified (as was thought) the death of the said king. In the yere before the siege, there was in Dundee an hermophrodite, that is, a person with both shapies, but esteemed for a woman onelie, till it was proued, that lieng with his maisters daughter nightlie where she dwelt, she had got the yong damsell with child; for the which act, because she had counterfeited hir selfe a woman, and yet had wrought the part of a man, she was condemned to be buried quicke, and suffered according to that iudgement. At the same time, there was a certeine theefe, that with his familie liued apart from the companie of men, remaining secretlie within a den in Angus called Fenisden, who used to kill yong persons, and to feed on their flesh, for the which abhominable offense, being apprehended with his wife and all his familie, they were burnt to death. One of his daughters that was scarce twelue moneths of age, onelie excepted, the which being preserved and brought vp in Dundee, before she came to the age of twelue yeres, she was taken in the like crime for the which her father died, whereupon she was iudged to be buried quicke: and going to execution, when the people in great multitudes followed hir, in wondering at so horrible an offense committed by one of hir age and sexe, she turned to them that thus detested hir wicked doing, and with a countenance representing hir cruel inclination, said to them: What need you thus to raile vpon me, as if I had done an heinous act contrary to the nature of man? I tell you, that if you knew how pleasant mans flesh is in taste, there would none of you all forbear to eat it. And thus with an impenitent and stubborne mind she suffered the appointed execution.

After the death of James the second, his sonne James the third a child of seven yeres of age succeeded, and forthwith was sent for to the siege of Rockburgh, whither he was conueted by the queene, a woman of a stout stomach, representing the manlike race of his countrie Gelderland, of the which she was descended. For comming with his sonne thus to the siege, she spent not time in lamenting and womanly bewailing the irrecoverable losse of his husband, but rather in comforting the lords, whose part had bin to haue comforted hir: and about all things she exhorted them with all diligence to imploy their whole endeavors and forces to the winning of that castle. Whose words so encouraged the captains and whole armie, that the siege was continued till the castle was twone, rased, and beaten downe flat to the ground: and the yong king was crowned at

1460.

King James the second is slaine.

Alias 17. 23. Buchan.

1460. The buriall of James the second. The lamentation of the people.

The amiable conditions of James the second.

The issue of James the second. James the third king of Scotland. Alexander duke of Albanie. John earle of Mar. Fr. Thin. Lesleus lib. 8. pag. 310.

Lesleus lib. 8. pag. 300.

A blazing starre.

An hermophrodite, that is, a person being both man and woman.

A wicked theefe that used to kill yong persons and to eat them.

His daughter, which she used to kill yong persons.

Her words going to execution.

James the third.

The stout stomach of the queene.

Rockburgh castle taken and broken downe.

1461. I. M.
1460. Lett.

more belie-
go and town.

Donal-
governors cho-
ke.

at Kelso, with the uniuersall consent and great re-
liefing of all the noble men, and other being there
present in the armie.

This done, they besieged the castell of Marke,
which likewise they took, and thre drowne, and af-
terwards the king with the nobles of his realme
came to Edinburgh, to take order for the quiet go-
uernement of the realme. And because the king was
young, there were chosen seven regents to gouerne
both king & realme, as these, the quene his mother,
James Benedicte bishop of S. Andrews, that was
sisters sonne to James the first, the bishop of Glas-
coto, the earles of Angus, Huntleie, Argile, and
Dykeneie. These, so long as James Benedicte lived,
agreed well together about the gouernement of the
realme; but within a while after his deceasse, they
fell at square, or rather before, as appeareth by He-
ctor Boetius, who saith, that in the second yere of
this kings reigne, there was discord in betwix
twixt the quene and the archbishop Benedicte, who
perceiving that the woman sought to usurpe wholie
the gouernement vnto hir selfe, withstod hir in that
behalf, in so much that it was doubted least the
matter would haue broken forth into some ciuill
warre, if the bishops of Glascoth, Dunkeld, and A-
berden, and certeine abbats had not taken in hand
to trauell betwixt the parties for an attonement, who
did so much in the matter, that they compounded the
variance in this wise.

The quene mother was appointed to haue the
charge of the kings person, and of his brethren, Alex-
ander duke of Albanie, and John earle of Mar, and
likewise of his two sisters; but as for the administra-
tion and gouernance of the realme, she should leaue
it vnto the peeres. Where were therefore elected by
common consent as rulers, the bishops of Glascoth
and Dunkeld, the earle of Dykeneie, the lord Cra-
ham, Thomas Boid, and the chancellor. About the
same time, one Alane Beir, in hope to get the heri-
tage of his brother, John lord of Lozne took him,
and kept him in prison. But Colen Campbell earle
of Argile, taking great indignation with so pre-
sumptuous a part, gathered a power, and comming
against Beir, took him, and set his brother at liber-
tie, and brought the offender vnto Edinburgh, where
he died in prison. Moreover, shortly after Donald
lord of the Isles and earle of Ross, who had serued
obedientie in the armie at Roxburgh, and was (as
outwardlie appeared) well reconciled, began aneto
to vse his old manners, spoiling & harrieng the whole
countrie of Atholl, and took the earle thereof, and
the countesse his wife captiues with him into the
Isles.

To repress his insurious attempts, the regents
together were preparing an armie; but therewith
came true aduertisements, that the said lord of the
Isles, and other the principall offenders of his com-
pantie, were stricken through the hand of God with
a certeine frensie or madnesse, and had lost all their
ships and spoiles in the sea, so that the earle of Atholl
and his ladie were rescozed, and those frantike per-
sons were brought vnto saint Brides church in A-
tholl, for the reuerencie of their health, but it would
not be. Donald himselfe was afterward slaine in
the castell of Inuernes by an Irishman that was a
minstrell. In the yere 1461, Henrie the first king
of England being vanquished by his aduersarie
Edward the fourth, purchased of king James the
third a safe conduct for himselfe and a thousand horse
to enter into Scotland; and hereupon he came to
Edinburgh, and was lodged in the house of the fri-
ers preachers, with his wife quene Margarete, and
his sonne prince Edward. There was also with
him the duke of Excester, and the duke of Sum-

merfet, with manie other of the English nobilitie.

* And to the end this firme amitie thus begun,
might more increase, and be further strengthened:
the two quenes Margarete (of England) and Marie
(of Scotland) both French (by birth and nature) be-
gan to intreat of a mariage (hoping by amitie to
establissh that perfect amitie) to be solemnized be-
twene the daughter of James the second king of
Scots, and the sonne of Henrie (king of Eng-
land) being called prince of Wales, although none
of them as yet was aboue seven yeares old. Which
mariage, Philip duke of Burgonie (uncle to the
quene of Scots, and deadly enemie to the quene
of England) labored by all means to hinder, by his
ambassadors Cruthusius, a noble man and of great
iudgement; for this Philip did vse such bitter enimi-
tie against Reinold, grandfather to the son of king
Henrie by the mothers side, that he did depelie en-
uie anie god successe to happen to anie of that race,
whereby it might increase or flourish; and therefore
sought occasion by all demie to hinder it: for whose
cause, and at whose request, the said mariage was at
that time rather deferred, than vtterlie broken off.
But the end thereof (which was greatly feared by
this Philip to be the consummation of the mariage)
was by the aduerser fortune of king Henrie vtterlie
disappointed. For (as after shall appeare) this Hen-
rie being incouraged (by the benenolence of the
Scots towards him) and throughlie confirmed (by
the letters of his friend sent vnto him) dispatched his
wife into France to Reinold his father, to procure
what aid she could of his friends beyond the seas, to
helpe to restore him to the kingdome: which iourneie
succeeded not to hir in vaine, obtaining succor from
thence.)

The same time, king Henrie deliuered the towne
& castell of Berwik into the Scottish mens hands,
whether by couenant thereby to haue the foresaid
safe conduct granted, or of his own voluntarie will,
to the end he might haue the more support and fauor
amongst them, it is vncertaine by the variable re-
port of writers. Neuertheless, shortly after a truce
was taken betwixt king James and king Edward,
for the terme of sixtene yeares, vpon what condi-
tions or promises made on king Edwards part I
find not. This truce was concluded in the moneth of
Maie, in the yere 1462, at the citie of Poike,
whither had bin sent the bishop of Glascoth, the earle
of Argile, keeper of the priuie seale, the abbat of Ho-
lie rood house, sir Alexander Boid, and sir William
Crautston knights, ambassadors and commissa-
ners for king James.

All things in this season were ordered in Scot-
land by the aduise and counsell of James Benedicte
bishop of saint Andrews, a man of great wisdom
and policie, as well appeared in his prudent & sage
gouernement of the realme, as well during the mi-
noritie of this James the third, as also in the daies of
his father king James the second. Pierre de Bie-
ze, otherwise called le Seigneur de la Larenne,
great seneschall of Normandie, was sent by the
French king Lewes the eleventh, with two thou-
sand fighting men, to aid the part of king Henrie a-
gainst king Edward. This Bizeze was one most
in fauour with king Charles the seventh, father vnto
the said king Lewes, and therefore (as manie did
suppose) he was appointed by k. Lewes (who greatly
loued him not) to be chiefe in this iourneie, to the
end his life might be put in hazard and aduenture;
notwithstanding, after some danger both of tempest
on the sea, and also of the enemies hands, he wan the
castels of Wamburgh and Dunstanburgh, which he
cast to the ground, and after took in hand to keepe
the castell of Antwik, and being besieged therein, belied,
Dd. ij.

Fr. Thin.
Buchanan.

The quene
went into
France for
aid.

Berwik de-
liuered to the
Scottishmen.

A truce for
15 yeares.

1462.

James Bene-
dicte the archbis-
hop gover-
neth the
realme.

Monsieur de
la Larenne
sent forth of
France to aid
the part of
Margaret
quene of
England,

He keepeth
Antwik cas-
tell, and is
besieged,
sent

Donald of the
Isles slaynes
victually.

Donald be-
come mad.

Herbert to hath
factor Boe-
was continued
the Scottish
bishops.
He was killed
1461.
Henrie king
of England
by safe con-
duct commeth
into Scot-
land.

He is rescu-
ed by the earle
of Angus.

Alias 13000.

sent for aid to the Scots.

George Dowglas earle of Angus as then war-
den of the marches, immediatlie raised a pow-
er of 23000. men, and comming with the same to the bor-
ders, chose forth of all his numbers five thousand of
the most able ho[m]emen in all his armie, and com-
ming with them to the castell about the middelt of
the day, toke the Frenchmen away with him into
Scotland: the English armie that lay there at siege
beholding the maner, and not once making profer
to fight with him. Some Englishmen there were,
that would faine haue fought with the Scots; but
other (whose counsell was followed) were otherwise
minded, alleging that better it were to let them passe
without encounter, sith they left the castell void, than
to leopord vpon the doubtfull chance of battell, for
though their number were not great, yet were they
picked and chosen men, able to atchieue a great enter-
prise.

After this, the first of Nouember, in the yeare
1463, the quene of Scots, mother to James the
third, died at Edinburgh, and was buried in the
college of the Trinitie, which she hir selfe had found-
ed. This woman, after the decess of hir husband
James the second, liued somewhat dissolutelie, pro-
curiug Adam Hepburne of Hales a married man to
keepe hir such familiar companie, as founded great
lie to hir dishonor: for that she could not with-
in the whole realme find some single man amongst all the
nobilitie, with whom she might haue married, & in
some sort to haue auoided the greater open slander &
infamie. In the same yeare, Alexander duke of Al-
banie, and brother to the king, was taken on the
sea by the Englishmen in the moneth of June, as he
was returning from his grandfather the duke of
Gilder: but the bishop of saint Andrewes James
Benedie, caused both the said duke and also the ship,
with all the goods there in being, at the time of the
taking of it, to be restored; for otherwile (as he flat-
lie protested) he would not keepe the truce any longer
concluded betwixt the two realmes.

The duke of Summerfet, in hope of great fauor
which he should find in England, perswaded king
Henrie to passe thither, and with a great companie
of Scottishmen he entered England, and manie
of the north parts reioyced vnto him: but at length,
at his comming to Exam, the lord Montacute with
a great power was readie to giue him battell, and
there discomfited him and his whole armie. The duke
of Summerfet and the lords Hungerford and Koss
were taken and put to death; the duke at Exam, and
the lords at Newcastell. King Henrie escaped verie
hardlie into Scotland againe, and there remained a
certeine space after, till at length he thought to re-
turne into England in such secret wile, as he should
not haue bene once knowen, till he might haue got
amongest his friends, which would haue supported
him: but such diligent watch was laid for him all
alongst the borders, that he was espied, taken, and
deliuered to king Edward his aduersarie, who shut
him vp in the tower of London till he was at length
there made away, as in the historie of England ye
may see more at large.

In the yeare 1466, that famous bishop James
Benedie departed this life, and was buried in the
college of saint Sautour, founded by him within
the towne of saint Andrewes in most sumptuous
wile. This prelat in prudent policie excelled all
other Scottish bishops, of whome anye writer maketh
mention. He kept the realme in good quiet, and ob-
serued the truce concluded with the Englishmen, to
the great weale and commoditie of the poore com-
mons. He was verie rich, as appeared by sundrie
buildings and workes which he left behind him, as

a memorie of his name. [Whereof the three else, Fr. Thin.
shall things for rarenesse and magnificence, were his
college of saint Sautour (wherein youth might be
trained to learning and religion) the other his sepul-
chre, wherein he was buried (being a statelie piece of
work, such as before had not bene accustomed for
bishops of Scotland) & the third was a ship of won-
derfull burden: all which three, the common people
affirmed were of one price, and stood him in like
charge.] Besides his bishopricke, he held in his hands
the commandarie of the abbeie of Pettinwene,
which was worth vnto him eight hundred crowns
by yeare. [Afterward, at the parlement holden in
October and Januarie, there were manie edicts
made for the benefit of the commonwealth, & chiefe-
lie for the estate of the merchants; at what time also
there was a proclamation made, that none of the
Englishmen should beare anye office, nor receiue a-
ny benefice or benefit in Scotland.]

In the yeare 1469, on the tenth day of Iulie,
king James the third, being as then about twentie
yeares of age, married in the abbeie of Holie rood
house nere Edinburgh, the ladie Margaret, daugh-
ter to the king of Denmarke and Holsteine, which
ladie was at the same time not past twelue yeares
of age, some saie sixtene. Hir father the king of
Denmarke and Holsteine, in name of hir dower,
transported and resigned to B. James all his right,
title, and interest which he pretended to the out Isles.
The ambassadoers that were sent into Denmarke
to conclude this mariage, and to conueie the bride
into Scotland, were these: Andrewus Bursche bishop
of Glasgow, the bishop of Dunkie, the lord Auandale
chancelor of Scotland, and Thomas Boid earle of
Arrane, who had married the kings sister, and was
now in his absence run into the kings displeasure;
whereof his wife hauing intelligence, hearing of hir
husbands arrival with the other in the forth, got
out of Edinburgh, & comming on shipboard to him,
gaue him to vnderstand what displeasure the king
had conceiued against him: who perceiuing him-
selfe in that danger he stood if he toke land, retur-
ned backe into Denmarke, taking his wife with
him.

The king herewith was so offended, that he cau-
sed both the said earle and his father to be attainted
of high treason, and sent for his sister backe into
Scotland, causing a diuorse in absence of hir husband
to be sued & gotten forth against them, marieng hir
afterwards to James lord Hamilton, to whome he
gaue the earldome of Arrane, which hir former hus-
band had in gift before. Of this mariage, those of
the house of Hamiltons are descended, & are next of
blood to the crowne of Scotland, as they pretend.
[For as saith Lesleus, lib. 8. pag. 316.] if the line of
the Stewards faile, the crowne is to come to them.]
But now to shew farther what we find written con-
cerning the maner and cause of the banishment of
the afore remembred Thomas Boid, Giouan Ferre-
rio, in his appendix of the Scottish historie annexed
vnto Hector Boetius lastlie printed at Paris in the
yeare 1574, agreeth not with that which ye haue red
before. For as he telleth the tale, the said lord Boid
being one of the gouernors of the realme, elected
thereto (as before ye haue heard) within short time
grew so far in fauor with the king, that he might doe
all things with him at his pleasure, although his as-
sociats in authoritie did neuer so much go about to
hinder his deuises: by reason whereof, he seemed to
vsurpe the whole rule & administration of the realme
into his owne hands, soe to the griefe of those his
said associats being ioined with him in like office.

Whereof the state of the commonwealth through
the dissention thus bred among the gouernors, was
brought

1463.
The quene
mother died.

Adam Hep-
burns fami-
lie with
the quene of
Scots, mo-
ther to James
the third.

Alexander
duke of Alba-
nie taken on
the sea.

1464.
King Henrie
returneth into
England.

King Henrie
is imprisoned.

1466.

1469.
The mariage
of James the
third.

The king of
Holsteine re-
signeth his
title to the out
Isles.

The earle of
Arrane in the
kings displea-
sure.

The lord Her-
mion mar-
ieth the kings
sister.

Fr. Thin.

Giouan Ferre-
rio in his ap-
pendix of the
Scottish histo-
rie.

The lord
Boid beareth
all the rule a-
bout the king.

Through de-
fault of agree-
ment in the

A Shipwreck.

A strange comet or blasing starre (as we call it) appeared in the fourth, from the sevenenteenth day of Januarie, vnto the eighteenth of Februarie, and was placed betwixt the pole and the pletades, that is to say, the seven starres. A great ship built by Kenedie the late archbishop of saint Andrews, called the bishops barge, brake and was lost beside Wamburgh, being fraught with merchandize, the twelfth of March. Many merchantmens seruants and other passengers were drowned with hir, some escaped by boat, and were taken by the Englishmen, among whom was the abbat of saint Colme, who was constrained to pay vnto his taker one James Bar foure score pounds for his ranome per he coult be suffered to depart. The abbacie of Dunfermling being

D. iii.

vacant,

Abbeies gi-
uen by unla-
full means.

vacant, the couent chose one of their owne monks called Alexander Thomson, and the king promoted Henrie Treichton abbat of Dalley therunto, whom the pope admitted, & Robert Shaw parson of Spint was preferred by the king unto the abbasie of Dalley, and then in such wise began promotings of secular priests to abbasies at the princes request, and the laudable elections ancientlie vsed, made void: because the court of Rome admitted such as the princes made sute for and named, getting great rewards and notable summes of monie thereby, so that neither the bishops durst admit such as the couents elected, nor such as were elected durst pursue their right, and so the abbasies were bestowed vpon such as followed the court, and liued courtlie, secularlie, and voluptuouse, to the great slander of religious men, which by the naughtie examples of their gouernours fell to the woorks of wickednesse; where vpon daily much euill increased, and vertue in all estates decayed.

The bishop of
S. Andrews
made arch-
bishop.

1474.

Primate and
metropolitan.
The twelve bi-
shops in
Scotland.

1476.

The lord of
the Isles at-
tainted.

1446. Lell.
The king rai-
sed an armie.

The lord of
the Isles sub-
mitteth him-
selfe.

He resigneth
Ross, Cantire,
and Kinapden.

1477.
An inquisitor
sent from the
pope.

This yere in September, the indulgence of the see of saint Andrews was published by Patrike Graham bishop thereof, and the same he erected in to the dignitie of an archbishops see, at the sute of the said Patrike, who gaue information to the pope, that because the archbishop of Dork was metropolitan of Scotland, and that there was oftentimes warre betwixt the realmes of England and Scotland, the Scottishmen could not haue access to their metropolitane, specially in cases of appellation. And therefore the pope (as some write) thought it reason to make saint Andrews primate and metropolitan of Scotland, and ordeined that the twelue other bishops of Scotland should be vnder his primacie, who would not agree thereto; but promised the king by way of a taxation eleven thousand marks for his maintenance against the said archbishop: and the prelates sent to Rome about this matter. This yere was a great death in the realme of Scotland, so that where a parliament was called in September, it was prologed untill the twelue day after Christmas. In Januarie the parliament was holden at Edinburgh, in which John lord of the Isles and earle of Ross was attainted, partly for his owne euill deeds, but most speciallie for the defaults of his father Donald lord of the Isles.

In Aprill, in the yere 1477, the king raised a puissant armie of the most able men vpon the north side of the water of Forth, to pursue the lord of the Isles both by sea and land. The earle of Crawford was made admerall of the armie by sea, and the erle of Atholl the kings vncle by his father was lieutenant of the armie by land. But such meanes was used by the earle of Atholl, that the lord of the Isles humbled himselfe to the kings pleasure, vpon certaine conditions; and therevpon in the beginning of Iulie next ensuing, the said lord of the Isles came to the parliament vnto Edinburgh, and there was the agreement made and confirmed betwixt the king and him: he resigned into the kings hands all the right he had to the earldome of Ross, the lands of Cantire and Kinapden, which earldome the king annexed to the crowne, and pardoned him and his seruants of all offenses and transgressions before that day committed, and inuested him anew in the lordship and seignorie of the Isles, and other his lands not released, to hold the same of the king by the seruice of ward and reliefe. The king also gaue vnto the earle of Atholl for his diligence shewed, in reducing the said lord of the Isles vnto order, the lands and forrest of Clouie.

There was an inquisitor called Husman this yere sent by pope Sixtus into Scotland, to examine by vertue of his commission Patrike Graham arch-

bishop of saint Andrews, whose examination and proofes being sent vnto the pope, he pronounced him an heretike, schismaticke, and simonake, and declared him accursed, condemning him to perpetuall prison: and so he was degraded from all orders, cure, and dignitie of ecclesiasticall office, and William Schewes archdeacon of the same see was promoted in his place, to whome he was also committed to see him safely kept in prison. He was first sent vnto saint Colmes inch, and from thence to Dunfermling, and lastlie to Lochleuin, where he died, and was buried in saint Marthis Ile in Lochleuin. The said William Schewes was consecrated archbishop of saint Andrews on passion Sunday in Lent, within holie rood house, the king being present, and manie of the nobles of the realme. And there the said archbishop receiued the pall, as a signe of his archbishops dignitie, and so was confirmed primate and legat of the realme, notwithstanding the impediment made against Graham before by the bishops about the same.

This yere also Alexander duke of Albanie was committed to prison by the king his brother, within the castell of Edinburgh, through euill counsell; but he brake out and escaped to Dunbar, where he caused the castell to be furnished with all necessaries: and leauing his seruants within it, passed himselfe into France, and was there of the king honorable receiued, and louinglie intreated. In the beginning of Maie following, the king besieged that castell by his lieutenant the earle of Arundale, who lost at that siege three god knights, the lord of Lute, sir John Schaw of Sand, & the lord of Cragwallace, with the shot of a gun, & John Ramsie was slaine with a stone cast by hand. When they within saw they could not long indure, they left the castell and fled a waie by sea, and the earle of Arundale entered, and found it void of all things thereof anie account was to be made.

Doctor Ireland being graduat in diuinitie at Paris, was sent from the French king vnto the king of Scots, to persuade him to make war vpon England, to the end that king Edward should not aid the duke of Burgonie. And moreover, he had in charge to moue for the pardon of the duke of Albanie, and shortly after returned with answer. The erle of Mar called John Stewart the kings younger brother, this yere in the moneth of December, was taken in the night within his owne house, and conueied vnto Cragmiller, where he was kept as prisoner by the kings commandement, and after was conuict of conspracie for witchcraft which he should practise against the king: and herevpon in Cannogate beside Edinburgh, his beines were cut, and so he bled to death. There were manie and diuerse witches and sorcerers, as well men as women conuict of that crime, and burnt for the same at Edinburgh. The king sent ambassadors into England to make sute to haue the ladie Cicill, daughter to king Edward, joined in marriage with his sonne James the prince, which was granted, and the marriage concluded to be solemnized, when the prince of Scotland should come to perfect age: as in the English historie it more plainlie appeareth. Doctor Ireland, with a knight, and another religious man, came againe to king James from the French king, to persuade him to make warres against England: and at length, king James and his nobles condescended to breake the peace, therewith Thomas Spenser bishop of Abirdeen (that was full tenderlie beloued of king Edward, and had bene ener a mediator for peace betwixt the kings of England, France, and Scotland, & the duke of Burgonie) when he heard that warre would follow, he died through griefe of

The archbi-
shop is not
well handled.

Depined.
1478. Lell.

Put in prison

1478. Lell.

1479.
Wm. Schewes
is consecrated
archbishop.

The duke of
Albanie im-
prisoned.

He escaped.

Edinburgh
besieged.

1479. Lell.
Doctor Ire-
land sent vnto
the king of
Scots.

1479. Lell.
1480.
John Stew-
ard a ppe
four.

was sent to
death.

A marriage
concluded.
1480. Lell.

Bishop Spen-
ser died.

mind

1481.
King James
sent an ambassa-
dor into France.
Edward.

Edward
sent a naue
into Scot-
land.

Ships taken
and burnt.

The king of
Scotland pre-
pared an ar-
mie.

Legat inhi-
bited him.

In other na-
me sent into
Scotland.

Berwick at-
tacked by an
armie of Eng-
lishmen.

1482.

The duke of
Albanie com-
mited into
England.

The presump-
tion of the
Scottish nobles.

Thomas
Cochran.

Embasing of
him.

The king's
conscience was
in doubt.

mind and melancholie at Edinburgh, in the moneth of April. The king sent two heralds unto king Edward, requesting him not to aid the duke of Burgonie, nor any other against the king of France: for if he did, he must needs support the Frenchmen, by reason of the league betwixt France and Scotland: but king Edward would not admit those heralds to his presence, but kept them still without answer, till he had sent forth a naue of ships into the Forth before Nith, Kingome, and Pictentown, and then were the heralds licenced to returne. The English fleet entering the Forth, took eight great ships which they found in that river, and landing at Blackness, burnt the towne, and a great barge that lay there at rode, and so returned.

The king assembled an armie from all parts of the realme, and amongst other, the lord of the Isles came with a great companie: and now the king being ready to enter into England, there came to him a messenger of king Edward, sent from a cardinall legat that was resident as then in England, commanding king James by authoritie apostolike, not to proceed any further in his purposed iournie, to the end that peace being obserued, all christian princes might bend their powers against the Turke & Infidels. This commandement did king James obey, and so discharged his armie, notwithstanding that king Edward sent forth his naue againe into the Forth, to the Ile of Jns Keith, but they did no hurt: for the countrie men kept them off. The Scottish borderers invaded the English marches, destroyed townes, and led manie prisoners awaie with them into Scotland. The king of England caused Berwick to be assailed both by sea and land all the winter season, and overthrow a wall that was newlie made about it for defense thereof: but the Scots within it defended the towne for that time so stoutly, that the enemies might not win it from them.

The duke of Albanie, after his wife was dead, whom he had married in France, perceiving himselfe not so well intreated as before, came ouer into England, where king Edward receiued him verie honorably, promising (as some haue written) to make him king of Scotland: and thereupon assembled an armie of thirtie thousand men, with a great naue by sea to invade Scotland, and appointed capitaine and leaders of the armie by land, his owne brother the duke of Gloucester, the duke of Albanie, and others. The king of Scots hearing of their approach to invade his realme, raised a puissant armie to resist them, and came forward with the same vnto the towne of Loder, where being incamped, the principall nobles of his realme, as Archibald earle of Angus, George earle of Huntley, John earle of Lennox, James earle of Buchanane, Andrew lord Greie, Robert lord Lile, and diuerse other being armed, entered the kings lodging, where they accused him of diuerse things done and practised by him contrary to his honor and the common-weale of his realme, and specially, because he used young counsell of lewd persons, vnto which and base of birth, such as Thomas Cochran, whome of a malon he had made earle of Spar, through whose deuise and counsell he had caused to be coined certaine monie of copper, not conuenient to be current in any realme, which the people refused, and so great dearth and hunger was raised through the countrie. Moreover, that he would not suffer the noble men to come nere his presence, nor to take their counsell in governing the realme, but gaue himselfe to voluptuous pleasure, setting naught by the queene his lawfull wife, & keeping a naughtie harlot called the Daisie in his place.

Also they laied to his charge, that he had put his brother the earle of Spar to death, and banished his

other brother the duke of Albanie, and therefore they could not suffer him and the whole realme to be longer misled by such naughtie persons. And hereupon they took Thomas Cochran earle of Spar, William Roger, and James Hommil tailor, who with others being conspired, were hanged ouer the bridge at Loder. Whellie John Kaitheie a young man of eighteens yeres of age, for whome the king made great instance, was pardoned of life. This done, they returned to Edinburgh, and appointed the king himselfe to be kept in the castell by the earle of Atholl, and in the meane time, the second of August, they sent Andrew Stewart elect bishop of Murray, & John lord Darnley to the English armie, lying then at Luder, to take truce for thre moneths: but the dukes of Gloucester and Albanie came forward vnto Kestralrig, where they incamped without any resistance. The English naue lying also in the Forth was ready to assist their fellows by land.

Hereupon, certaine noble men of Scotland, as the archbishop of saint Andrews, the bishop of Dunkeeld, Colin earle of Argyle, and Andrew Stewart lord Auendale, great chancelor of Scotland, went to the English campe, & treating with the two dukes, agreed vpon certaine articles, whereby the duke of Albanie was receiued into his countrie againe in peaceable wise, and had giuen to him the castell of Dunbar with the earldoms of Spar and Spar. He was proclaimed also generall lieutenant to the king. And so the Englishmen returned homewards, and came vnto Berke, where they hauing done the towne as they passed that toales into Scotland, had left the lord Stanleie, and sir John Claxington, with foure thousand men, to keepe a siege before the castell, and now they enforced the same: but the lord of Halls then captaine within that castell, defended it verie manfully, sending to the duke of Albanie and other, the lords of the counsell, for reliefe to raise the siege. The duke in deed raised an armie, and came to Laner more, but when they within perceived that through dissention betwixt the king and the nobles of the realme, they were not like to be rescued, they yielded the castell into the Englishmens hands, the 24 of August, in that yere 1482, after it had remained now at this time in the Scottishmens hands the space of 21 yeres.

The king remaining as prisoner in Edinburgh castell, all things were ordered by the duke of Albanie, Andrew Stewart lord Auendale, chancelor, and others, till the said duke, the archbishop of saint Andrews, the chancelor, the earle of Argyle, and diuerse others, went to Striueling to visit the queene and prince, where the duke was persuaded by the queene, without knowledge thereof giuen to the other, to go vnto Edinburgh, and to restore the king vnto libertie. The duke accordingly to the queenes pleasure comming to Edinburgh, besieged the castell and won it, removed the earle of Atholl, and set the king and all his seruants at libertie, for the which good turne, the king shewed great tokens of loue to his brother the duke, although it lasted not long. The earle of Argyle, the bishop of saint Andrews, the chancelor, and others, which remained at Striueling, when they heard those newes, fled into their owne countries: and shortly after, the bishop of saint Andrews, at request of the king, resigned his bishoprike in fauor of maister Andrew Stewart prior of Cleveloden, and was content in recompense thereof, with the bishoprike of Murray. This yere there was great theft, reifte, and slaughter in diuerse parts of the realme, by occasion of the variance betwixt the king and his nobles.

* Charles the eight, king of France (in the beginning of his kingdome) sent into Scotland cer-
taine

Cochran
earle of Spar
and other hart-
red.

The king
kept under
arrest.

The duke of
Albanie is re-
conciled.

The castell of
Berke is
taken.

1482

The king a
prisoner.

The king is
set at libertie.

The arch-
bishop resigneth

1483.

Fr. Thin.
Lectus lib. 8.
pag. 329.

1483.

certeine ambassadoys, which were Berold or Bernard Steward, lord of Aubignie, marshall of France, and Peter Gallart doctor of both lawes, to renewe the old league betwene this James the third, and the king of France: for which cause the king of Scots and the nobles assembled at Edinburgh, where (with the French ambassadoys) seeking all the rols of all the ancient leagues, they reconfirmed the same, with the seales of both parts set therevnto; which done, the Frenchmen (with whom were sent into France diuerse Scots) returned home. Amongest the Scots, one Robertson was the chiefe, a man famous for the feates of battell, and hauing imployed his seruice on the parts of the French in the Italian warres, which being ended, the said chosen soldiers following, the conduct of Berold Steward, went into England with Henrie earle of Richmond, after king, whose part they tooke against Richard at that time blurper vpon the English, for which cause the earle of Richmond (when he was after king) did detestie loue the Scots.

The seditions also, which a long time did burne in France, caused deable wars to grow betwene the king of France and the duke of Burgognie. Wherevnto, when the death of Charles (the last duke of Burgognie) came at Plants by the duke of Lorraine did set end: Charles the eight of that name, king of France (assembling a great armie) did apply all his force and deuile to expell Alphonse out of the kingdome of Naples, who at that time succeeded happily vnto him, by reason that Alphonse was then easilie remoued. But after, when the Neapolitane people did reuolt (from the French faction) to Ferdinand the son of Alphonse, there arose great flames of warre and sedition through Italie, ech part striving to support the strength of his owne. The administration of which warre against Ferdinand, was chiefe performed by the Scots, as principall captains of that armie, or at the least equall with the best. Of which Scots the chiefe were Alexander duke of Albanie, son to James the second king of Scots; John also duke of Albanie sonne of this Alexander, George Montgomerie lord of Lorges; Bernard Steward (who was after made viceroy of Naples, which office he vsellie manie yeres did execute) Robert Steward marshall of France, Nicholas Scot, and others, whereof manie (for their worthie exploits) were by the French honorable rewarded with great possessions. Who also (as manie of the Scots before had done) planting themselves in Calabria, became the authors of manie ancient families. For though by the euill custome of common speech, they retein the name of Scot (as taken of their countrey) yet by the ensignes, and tokens which they had and bled, it may easilie be knowne of what families the Scots their ancestors did descend.

Certeine noble families in Italie and Calabria spring from the Scots.

Wherefore it followeth by most certeine coniecture, that the ancient familie of the earles (to whom the of speech hath long obtained the surname of Scots) flourishing in Placentia, had their originall from the stocke of the Douglases, as the armes of them both do well witness: which kindred (besides manie other earles thereof) is at this day notable beautified by Christopher Scot, who (with singular piety and learning) doth governe the church of Canallion. Again, there is another familie of Scots, commonly called the Scotties in Calabria, whereof Bernard Scotia and Iohaz his brother (the one a senator of Spantua, and the other a prelat) are both famous, as well for their vertue, as nobilitie: also Francis Scotia, lord of Idine and Mondone, and other nobles of the marquedome of Saluce, are descended from the Scots, with the large familie of the Schitties (descended of James Orlando Scot,

which we haue heard confirmed by the armes of that familie) are well advanced about Cermonia, Pantua, and Verona, as are also the Paparons in Rome (so called for their armes and ensignes) whose ancestors to be of the Scottish nobilitie, is witnessed by a worthie monument thereof in the church of saint Marie the great, in which the father and the son called Paparons, being there buried, are both adorned with the ensignes of knight hood out of Scotland.)

The duke of Albanie, for that he understood there was passed given to him in drinke in the kings chamber, and therefore stood in feare of his life, fled from the court vnto the castell of Dunbar, whereby ensued great discord. The king fearing the displeasure of his nobles, got him also into the castell of Edinburgh. The earles of Angus, Buchquhane, and others, left the king, and assisted the duke of Albanie. And the king through compell of certeine meane persons whom he had againe taken vnto him, summoned the duke and other his assistants, to come to answer for such treason, as he had to lay against them, & the king prepared an armie to besiege Dunbar, whereof the duke being advertised, fled into England, and afterwards being accompanied with the earle of Douglas, and a great number of Englishmen, invaded Scotland vpon the west marches, where manie Englishmen were slaine and taken by the resistance of the lords Colpuill, Johnston, and others, the duke was put to flight, and the earle Douglas taken and brought to the king, who because he was an aged man, and had bene long banished his countrey, was sent to the abbey of Lindores, where he remained the rest of his daies, and at length, departing this life, was buried there.

The duke of Albanie for the losse of that armie, was blamed of the king of England, and therevpon taking a misliking, secretly departed ouer into France by the helpe of John Liddell, sonne to sir James Liddell knight, who afterwards lost his life for the same. The duke was well intertained in France by the king there: and finally running at tilt with Wolues duke of Orleans, was hurt with the splint of a speare, and thereof died. He left behind him two sonnes, John duke of Albanie, that was after gouernor and tutor to king James the first, and Alexander that was after bishop of Murray, and abbat of Scone. His yere the lord Hume, Torrellis, Dilephant, and Drummond, were made lords of the parliament. In the yere 1484, the king sent the archbishop of saint Andrews vnto Rome, for certeine priuileges which he obtained. And the same yere, pope Innocent the eight of that name, sent the bishop of Imola to treat of peace, betwixt Richard king of England, & James king of Scotland. James king of Scots, hauing not long before made diuerse incursions and rodes into England, and that to his profit, he sued therevpon for a truce, which came to passe euen as king Richard wished, so that condescending to haue a communication, commissioners were appointed for both parts to meet at Nottingham, the twentieth day of September next ensuing.

For the king of Scots there appeared Colin earle of Argyle, the lord Campbell, the lord chancellor of Scotland, William bishop of Aberdeen, Robert lord Lile, Laurence lord Dilephant, John Drummond of Stubhall, Archembald Quilclaw archdeacon of Lawden, and secretarie to king James, Lion king of armes, and Duncan Dundas. For king Richard, there came Richard bishop of saint Asaph, John duke of Norfolk, Henrie earle of Northumberland, Thomas lord Stanleie, George Stanleie lord Strange, John Greie lord Polvers, Richard lord Fitzhugh, John Gunthorpe keeper of the kings priuie seale, Thomas Barlow maister of the rols, sir Thomas

Doulson given

The king is for slain.

Lords are summoned.

Scotland invaded.

Earle Douglas sent to an abbey.

The duke of Albanie is blamed.

1484.

The archbishop is sent to Rome.

The pope sent to treat for peace.

Commissioners appointed on the behalf of the king of England & Scotland, to treat for a peace at Nottingham.

Thomas Brian chiefe iustice of the common pleas, sir Richard Kitchiffe knight, William Catesbie, & Richard Salkeild esquires. These counsellors in the later end of September, after sundrie meetings and communications had together, concluded (as followeth) a peace to be had betwixt both the realmes for the space of three yeeres, the same to begin at the rising of the sunne, on the 29 of September in the yere 1484, and to continue unto the setting of the sunne on the 29 of September in the yere 1487.

During which terme, it was agreed, that not one lie all hostilitie and warre should cease betwixt the two realmes, but that also all aid and abatement of enmities should be avoided, & by no colorable meanes or waie in anie case used. The towne and castell of Berwikke to remaine in the Englishmens hands, for the space of the said terme, with the same bounds as the Englishmen possessed it at that season, when it was delivered to the Scottishmen by king Henrie the first. It was likewise condescended, that all other castles, holds, and fortresses, during the terme of the said three yeeres, should abide in the hands of those that held them at that present, the castell of Dunbar onelie excepted. This castell of Dunbar was delivered unto the Englishmen by the duke of Albanie, when he fled into France, and so remained in their hands at that time of concluding this truce.

Hereupon (by reason the Scottish commissioners had not authoritie to conclude anie full agreement for that castell, unlesse the same might be restored unto the king their maisters hands) it was accorded, that if the king of Scots, within the space of fortie daies next ensuing, did intimate his resolute refusal to be agreeable, that the said castell should remaine in the Englishmens hands above the space of six moneths, that then during that terme of six moneths, those that kept the castell for the Englishmen should remaine in quiet, and not be troubled nor molested by anie kind of meanes by the said king of Scots, or anie other by his procurement, so that they within the castell likewise abstaining from making anie issues or reissues upon the Scottish people. And if after that the said terme of six moneths were once expired, it should chance that anie warre arose for defending or recovering the said castell, yet the truce should indure for all other rights and possessions; notwithstanding that it might be lawfull to do what lay in anie of their powers, either for winning or defending the foresaid castell, as though no truce had bene concluded.

It was further agreed, that no traitor of either realme should be received by the prince of either realme; and if anie traitor or rebell chanced to arrive in either realme, the prince thereof to deliver him upon demand made. Scots already abiding in England & Iwoyne to the king there, may remaine still, so their names be certified to the Scottish king within fortie daies. If anie warden of either realme should invade the others subiects, he to whome such warden is subiect, shall within six daies proclaim him traitor, and certifye the other prince therof within 12 daies. And in euerie safe conduct this clause should be contained; Provided alwaies that the obtainer of this safe conduct be no traitor. If anie of the subiects of either prince doe presume to aid, helpe, mainteine, or serve anie other prince against anie of the contractors of this truce, then it shall be lawfull for him, to whome he shewed himselfe enimie, to apprehend and attach the said subiect, going, coming, or tarieng within anie of his dominions.

Colleagues compassed in this truce (if they would assent thereto) on the English part were these: the king of Castile and Leon, the king of Arragon, the king of Portugale, the archduke of Austria & Bur-

gognie, and the duke of Britaine. On the Scottish part, Charles the French king, John king of Denmarke and Norwaie, the duke of Gelderland, and the duke of Britaine. The lordship of Rone in the realme of Scotland, and the Iland of Lundaie lieng in the river of Seuerne, in the realme of England, were not comprehended in this agreement. This concord, peace, and amitie thus concluded, was appointed to be published the first day of October, in the most notable cities and townes of both the realmes.

For the sure obseruation, keeping, & performance of this truce & league, there were appointed for conservators on the Scottish side, David earle of Crawford and lord Lindseie, George earle of Huntleie lord Gordon and Badenath, John lord Darncliffe, John lord Benedie, Robert lord Lile, Patrike lord Halcane, Laurence lord Diphant, William lord Northwike, sir John Kosse of Halkheid, sir Gilbert Johnston of Clifton, sir John Lunde, sir John Ogilvie of Arlie, sir Robert Hamilton of Fin-galton, sir William Balze of Lamington, sir John Benedie of Blarphone, sir John Alemes, sir William Kochwen, Edward Stochton of Birke patie, John Dundas, John Kosse of Mountgrenan, esquires.

It was further agreed, that commissioners should meet at Loughmaben on the eighteenth day of November, as well for redresse of certeine offenses done on the west marches, as also for declaring and publishing the peace. On the English part, the lord Dacres, the lord Fitzhugh, sir Richard Kitchiffe, sir Christopher Horesbie, sir Richard Salkeild, or three of them. For the Scots, the lord Benedie, the lord Mountgomerie, the lord Lile, John Hartwell steward of Annandale, Robert Creighton of Sanguhan, or three of them. Also, there were assigned commissioners to meet at Koldenborne for the east marches, the first day of December; and at Haldan Stanke for the middle marches, on the fourth day of the same moneth. At which two places for Scotland, there were assigned to appeere the earle of Huntleie, the earle of Angus, the earle of Argile chancellor of Scotland, the lord Annandale, the lord Seiton, the lord Diphant, the lord Stubbhall, with others.

For England, the earle of Northumberland, the lord Greiffocke, the lord Scrope of Passan, sir William Gascoigne, sir Robert Constable, and other. The same commissioners had authoritie to assigne certeine persons, to visit and declare the bounds and limits appertaining to Berwikke, according to the true meaning of the league. For the battell ground it was accorded, that the same should remaine without sowing, earing, building, or inhabiting, as it had done before. Shortly after the concluding of this truce, king Richard intreated for a marriage to be had betwixt the prince of Northsai, eldest sonne to king James & ladie Anne de la Poole, daughter to John duke of Suffolke and to the ladie Anne his wife, that was sister to the said king Richard. For the concluding of this marriage, both the kings sent their ambassadors againe unto Nottingham, where their treatie had such successe for that time, that the marriage was agreed upon, and writings thereof drawn, ingrossed, and sealed, and affiances made and taken by proctors and deputies on both parts. The foresaid young ladie was immediately called pynesse of Northsai, but by the short life of king Richard hir uncle the shortly after lost that name.

King James within a while after the conclusion of this league and marriage aforesaid, for the expressing and declaring of his opinion touching the castell of Dunbar, whether he would be agreeable that the same should remaine onelie six moneths, or else during

Lorne & Lundaie excepted,

Commissioners appointed to meet at Loughmaben

Commissioners to meet at Koldenborne. And at Haldan Stanke.

The battell ground.

A marriage concluded betwixt the duke of Northsai and the ladie Anne de la Poole.

A peace concluded for three yeeres.

The castell of Dunbar in the Englishmens hands.

An article for the castell of Dunbar.

An article for traitors.

An article for Scottishmen already being in England.

An article for the wardens of the marches.

A clause to be put in safe conducts.

An article for such as should serve either princes in warre.

Colleagues compassed in the truce.

King James
by letters sig-
nifieth his
mind con-
cerning the ar-
ticles of Dun-
bar.

during the tearme of the whole truce in the English-
mens possessions, he wrote unto king Richard a
louing letter, signifieng vnto him, that he was not
minded to seeke the recouerie of the said castell by
force of armes, but rather to leaue it in his hand,
during the whole terme of the truce. Whereupon
he instantlie required him for the bond of that loue
and familiaritie, which now by treatie and aliance
was sprung vp betwixt them, that he would redeli-
uer the said castell into his hands, according as rea-
son might moue him thereto; considering the Eng-
lishmen had no right to it, being onelie deliuered to
them by traitors of their native countrie, without
anie reasonable cause, or commission lawfullie au-
thorised.

King Richard
would not de-
liuer the cas-
tell of Dun-
bar.

1486.

King Richard
ouerthrowne
by the earle of
Richmond.

King Richard dailied in this matter with pleasant
letters and faire words feeding forth king James,
without minding to gratifie him in that sute, so that
as long as king Richard liued, king James could
neuer get it for anie thing he might do. In the
yeare 1486, Henrie earle of Richmond coming
out of France with a power of men, of the which
Bernard Stewart a Scottishman was chiefe cap-
taine, landed in Wales, and passing through the
countrie into England, at length incountred king
Richard, and slue him, so obtaining the crowne of
that realme. And after he was somewhat quietlie
established in the same, he came into the north parts,
where he remained the most part of the next sum-
mer, and regarding nothing more than to haue the
loue and friendship of his neighbors, & to be confede-
rat with the kings and princes joining next vnto
him, he sent from Newcastle one of his counsellors
Richard For bishop of Exeter, and sir Richard
Edcombe knight, ambassadors vnto king James,
to treat a contract, and renew the bond of peace and
truce betwixt the said kings and their realmes.

An ambassa-
ge sent vnto
Scotland.

The kings
answer.

These ambassadors were gladlie receiued of king
James, who declared vnto them, that he bare great
fauor and loue vnto their maister, and would be glad
to pleasure him in all he might: howbeit, that his
subiects were not of so good a mind towards the
English nation as he himselfe wished, and therefore
he willed them to be contented with a truce for seuen
yeares, sith further he could not do, for doubt to of-
fend his nobilitie and subiects. But he promised se-
cretlie, that when those seuen yeares were expired,
he would renew the same for the tearme of other
seuen yeares, and so from seuen yeares to seuen
yeares so long as he liued. This he did, because he
perceiued that his people had him in such hatred, that
they would not consent to anie bond that he should
make. The ambassadors perceiuing his good mea-
ning toward king Henrie, confirmed the truce for
those seuen yeares, and so returned home to king
Henrie, who was glad of that they had done.

His promise.

Fr. Thin.
Buchanan.
lib. 12.

1487.

A parliament.

No pardon to
be granted to
offenders for
the space of
seuen yeares.

* In the meane time died the quene, a woman
of singular beautie and godnesse, who was suppo-
sed greatlie to mitigat the vnbridled force of hir hus-
band. At what time also in France died Alexander
the kings brother, leauing behind him two sonnes,
which were Alexander borne of his first wife (daugh-
ter to the earle of Mkeneie) and John (borne of his
second wife) being after made gouernor of Scot-
land. Immediatlie after that this truce was thus
concluded betwixt the two realmes, king James
caused the thre estates to assemble in parliament at
Edenburgh the first of October in the yeare 1487,
in the which order was taken, that iustice shoulde
be holden through all the parts of the realme,
& that no pardons should be granted for anie great
crime that shuld be committed for the space of seuen
yeares to come, so that the king began to vse sharpe
exccution of iustice in all parts, which was right dis-

pleasant to manie.

At the same time was an ambassado: sent to the
king of Romans, for the calling in of a letter of
marque, which had bene granted against Scottish
merchants, at the sute and instance of certeine Hol-
landers and Burgognions, and was shortly after
hereupon reuoked. After the parlement was en-
ded, the king remoued vnto Striueling, leauing his
wife the quene, and hir sonne the prince at Eden-
burgh castell, whilst he keeping persons about him
of meane calling, gaue himselfe to take his pleasure
with women, & to gather by gold and siluer, great-
lie to the offense of his subiects. Yet in the meane
time, now after the death of king Richard, whether
it was by treson or appointment, the castell of Dun-
bar was deliuered to the hands of king James, and
that to his great ioy and high contentation; for he
that ruled his kingdome more with rigor than with
anie tractable meane of fauorable iustice, stood euer
in feare of some troublesome tumult that might be
raised by his owne people, if occasion were mini-
stred either through hope of foreyn aid or otherwise.

Ambassadors
sent to the
king of the
Romans.

The king ga-
ueth himselfe
to satisfie his
lust in keeping
women and
gathering
treasure.

After the deat
of king Ri-
chard, Dun-
bar is deliue-
red.

So long therefore as the castell was in the Eng-
lishmens hands, he doubted least through practise,
some conspiracie should be contriued betwixt his
owne subiects and the English nation, greatlie to
the annoiance of his estate, & thereupon he was the
more desirous to reduce the same castell into his pos-
session. But the onelie meane to haue assured him-
selfe from the hands of such as sought his life, had
bene to haue changed his wilfull manner of govern-
ment, & to haue leaned vnto such counsell as would
haue aduised him for the wealth of his whole realme,
and not vpon desire to please, haue maintained his
vndiscreet opinions, to the wpinging astwell of his
commons as of the nobles and peres of his realme;
for the nobilitie of Scotland, namelie the earles of
Angus, Argile, and Lenox, the lords Halls, Home,
Drummond, Greie, and others, perceiuing them-
selues oppressed by such as from base birth had risen
(without worthie deseruing) to the degree of coun-
cellors, and therewith aduanced to so high authoritie,
as all things were ordered at their appointment,
conspired together, & determined by force of armes
to see a reformation in such a disordered manner of
gouernement.

The meane
whereby king
James might
haue auoided
danger of death
by his sub-
iects.

The conspi-
racie of the
Scottish lords
against king
James the
third.

But yet because it should not be thought that they
minded the destruction of their countrie, but rather
the aduancement thereof, they made the lord James
duke of Rothsaie sonne to the king (a child borne to
godnesse and vertue) the chiefe captaine in this their
enterprize, and that in maner against his will; here-
by openlie protesting, that they minded and purpo-
sed the suppressing and confusion of an euill king, and
not the subuersion of their native countrie. By which
their craftie imagined inuention, they thought to
remoue all suspicion of their purposed vntruth and
shamefull disloyaltie. They had sent to the earle of
Dowglas, who remained prisoner (as ye haue
heard) in the abbete of Lundon, and required him
to assist them in their begun enterprize, promising
that they would restore him againe to his lands and
former dignitie, and honor him as principall of
their faction. But that noble, wise, and ancient
earle, being already scholed with troubles, and ha-
uing learned by experience (to his great griefe) what
such matter meant, refused to breake his ward, or to
assist them in anie wise, disuading them from their
enterprize, because it seemed to him neither godlie
nor honorable, sithens both himselfe and his friends
had tasted for the like, great hinderance, which might
be an example to him and others to beware in time
to come.

The king being once informed of this rebellion
and

King James
gathereth an
armie.

He sendeth
messengers to the
kings of England
and France.
Eugenius
Catholick.

The answer
the rebels
make to the
king's
message.

and conspiracie against him, was soze disquieted in his mind, and to meet their mischievous attempts, gathered an armie. Yet before the using of anie force, he sent messengers to his sonne, and to the nobles with him, to trie if he might come to some agreement with them. He sent also letters to the king of England, & to the French king, requiring them to take some paines in the matter, to procure an attonement betwixt him and his nobles. And besides this, he wrote to pope Innocent about the same purpose, praiesing him to intermeddle his authoritie by sending some legate into Scotland, to appease the troubles thereof. But the Scotch nobilitie, and such of the people as were up in armes against him, were so desperatlie set, and wholie bent on reuenge, that no whole some counsell no; medicinable aduise might appease their furious rage, so that for answer to his messengers, they sent him word, that if he would resigne the title of his crowne and realme, & depose himselfe of his whole regall dignitie, then they would come to some communication with him or else not. The like answer was given to the ambassadors of England and France, that were sent unto them from the kings of both those realmes, which soze lamented the fortune of their friend and alie the Scotch king.

But Adrian the bishop of Romes legat came too late, as who should say, a day after the faire: for when their grounded malice and spitefull hatred conceived against him might not be qualified by anie manner of means, but that they were now comming forward with all their puissance to Striueling where he then remained, he would not staie till the eyles of Huntlie, Erroll, Atholl, Crawford, Rothus, Sutherland, Cathness, & Sparthall; the barons, fiores, Ogilvie, Grant, Fraser, and others, were arrived with their powers, amounting to the number of forty thousand men, with the which they were comming forth of the north parts to his aid: but rashlie and without god aduise he issued out of the towne, accompanied with the earles of Glencarne & Montros, the lords Graham, Ruthven, Sparwell, and certaine others, and forthwith ioined battell with his aduersaries at Banockeburne, within two miles of Striueling.

Now when nothing might quiet them, at length they met thus in a pitched field, where after great slaughter & murder made of an huge multitude of people, the king being put to the worke, fled into a mill, whither being fiercelie followed and found therein, he was cruellie slaine, and vnreuerentlie left stark naked. A notable mirrour to all princes, that calling to remembrance such a miserable and most dolorous sight, they may take heed by what manner of persons they suffer themselves to be led and abused. For if this prince king James the third had not followed upon a wilfull pretense, and obstinat mind, the counsell and aduise of vantage, and such as (being aduanced from base degre unto high authoritie) studied more to keepe themselves in fauor, than to giue true aduertisements, and faithfull aduise unto their prince, he might haue reigned longer by manie daies & yeres, in great and high felicitie. [In which conflict was on the kings part slaine (as saith Buchanan) Alexander Coningham earle of Glencarne.] He was thus slaine nere Striueling, on the seventh day of June, the yere after the incarnation 1488, being also the 29 of his reigne.

Now then, after that the barons of Scotland had thus slaine their soueraigne lord and liege king James, the third of that name: his eldest son James the fourth was crowned king of Scotland, and began his reigne the 24 of June, in the yere 1488, being not past sixtene yeres of age, who notwithstanding

ding that he had bene in the field with the nobles of the realme against his father, that contrarie to his mind was slaine; yet neuertheless afterwards, he became a right noble prince, & seemed to take great repentance for that his offense, and in token therof, he wore continually an iron chaine about his middle all the daies of his life. He was greatlie giuen to deuotion and praier, visiting religious houses, and bestowing on them sundrie gifts. He gouerned his realme in great rest, peace, iustice, and quietnes, riding him selfe in proper person diuerse daies and nights, to suppress and take thoes robbers, and oppressors of his subjects in all parts of his realme, till he had brought the countrie to great quietnes. He was learned and liberall, and indued with manie other god vertues and qualities.

Anon after his coronation, the earle of Lennox, and the lord Lile, with diuers other their assistants, notwithstanding that they had bene with him at the slaughter of his father, seeing that things went not as they wished, raised an armie, and caused the dead kings bloudie shirt to be borne afore them for a banner: and comming forwards toward Striueling against the young king, were ouerthrowne at Tolhousie, where the Lennox men, and sundrie other of the barons side were slaine, as the lord of Baltrucht, and other taken and hanged for their offenses. The king called a parlement at Cumberburgh, which was holden the first of October, where he being moued by clementie, granted a generall pardon to all those that came in field at Striueling with his father against him, and appointed euerie one to haue special pardons thereupon under his seales. He likewise dispensed with the heires of them that were slaine with his father there in field, appointing them their particular dispensations under his seales, after the same manner. Further it was ordeined, that all iustices, shiriffes, stewards, bailiffes, lieutenants, and other which had offices in heritage, and had bene with his father at the field, should be suspended from the same offices for the tearme of thre yeres: and those which had offices for life, or for terme of yeres, should be utterlie excluded from the same.

Moreouer, he took order that all such goods as had bene taken from landed men and burgeses, should be restored to them againe, except that which was taken from such landed men and burgeses as were in the field against him; for that was deemed a lawfull preie. It was also iudged that the death of his father came vpon him through his owne default, and that king James the fourth then reigning, and all his adherents and partakers in that field, were innocent and guiltles of all slaughter made there at that time, and clearlie acquit of all pursute and occasion thereof: the thre estates granting to giue their seales to testifie the same, with the kings great seale of the realme, to be shewed vnto the pope, the kings of France, Spaine, Denmarke, and other princes their confederats. And for the ceassing of theft, reiffe, & such other great enormities, the king was appointed to ride in person once euerie yere through all parts of the realme. And certaine noble men were ordeined to exercise iustice in euerie thre next adioining to the places where they had their chiefe residence: and hereunto they gaue their othes to be diligent in the administration of iustice. These ordinances were right well obserued all the daies of his James the fourth his life time, so that the realme was reduced to great tranquillitie, and gouerned in god peace and iustice. Furthermore, all gifts made by his father in pretence of the crowne, were renouked, from the second day of Februarie immediatlie preceeding his death, to the day in which he was slaine.

*About

The king
was repen-
tant.
The king
wore an iron
chaine.
He was giuen
to deuotion.
He was a
great iusticer.

He was lear-
ned.

The nobles
raise an armie
againe.

They were
ouerthrowne.

A parlement.

A generall
pardon.

They met in
a pitched
field.
The king is
put to the
worke.
He is slaine.

Thus.

James the
fourth.

1488.

Fr. Thin.
Buchan. lib. 13.

* About this time was a monster borne of a strange forme, hauing from the nauill downeward the perfect parts of one man, not different from the right proportion of a man: but from the nauill upward, it was double bodied, hauing all perfect parts answering euerie of those bodies, furnished to all actions and shew. This monster the king commanded to be diligentlie nourished and instructed, but chieflie in musike (wherein it profited verie much.) Further also learning diuers sorts of languages, whose feuerall wits and natures manifestlie appeared by diuers dispositions of their minds. For sometime they would fall out one with another, and when anie thing displeased them, they would most bitterly contend the one with the other: contrarilie, when anie thing happened to their liking or desire, they would consult and agree together as friends. In which this was worthie remembrance, that if the legges or loines had bene hurt below, they both together felt the paine; but if they were pinched or grieued in any part aboue seuered from the other, then that bodie onelie felt the same which had that hurt done vnto it. Which different sense did more plainelie appeare in the death of the one of them: for when the one bodie died manie daies before the other, that which liued, did after by little and little consume, by the putrifaction of the other bodie then dead: which monster liued 28 yeres, and in the time of John the gouernor: of which thing we doubt not to write (more boldlie) sith there are men yet liuing of honest fame which saw these things.)

Buchan. li. 13.

1486
A marriage
sought for
the king.

This king in the beginning of his reigne, to make his estate the surer, and more faithfull to reconcile the harts of such as had maintained factions against him, determined to marie the daughters of his aunt by two husbands, to two of those noble men: for which cause he married Cecina Boid to Alexander Forbois, and Margaret Hammliton to Spatheu Steward, by which in time there followed a most singular peace in the kingdome. Also an esquire, and an herald were sent into France, Spaine, and other places, to learne where the king might be a suter for some great ladie to ioinc with him in marriage. Whereouer beside these, there were sent honorable ambassadors into France, Spaine, and Denmark, to renew the old amities & leagues betwixt those realmes and Scotland, as had bene used in the daies of this kings progenitors. His two brethren, the duke of Northleie, and the earle of Mar, he caused to be brought vp in good nourture and vertuous exercise, appointing to them such livings for maintenance of their estates, as his father had assigned them.

For his counsell he chose a certeine number of the prelates, noble men, and barons of his realme, such as were thought most meet, taking this order, that six of them at the least should continually remaine about him, by whose aduise he should doe all things that touched the affaires of the realme: and in case any thing was done without their aduise, the same should be iudged void, & not to be obeyed, & this was inuolablie kept all his daies. When the esquire and herald were returned againe into Scotland, which had bene to visit strange countries, and made report of that they had seene, there was a parlement holden, in which it was ordeined, that the bishop of Glasgou, the earle Bothwell, and others, should go as ambassadors to sue for the kings marriage in place where it should be most expedient, and most to the kings liking. Great variance rose betwixt the archbishop of saint Andrews, and the bishop of Glasgou, touching the prebeminence of their iurisdiction, which drew the noble men into factions, till the king commanded the same to cease, and that they

Two archb:
shops strue
for the prebe-
minence.

should trie it by law before competent iudges.

* James Dgillie knight of Aire, was sent ambassador to the king of Denmark, to whom the king gaue in charge, that he should labor to renew the old league that was betwene the Danes and the Scots, which he wiselie executed and obtained, with certeine priuileges for the benefit of the merchants. By means whereof at his returne, he purchased such fauour of the king, as that he was advanced to the title of a lord, in which the name of the Dgillies was first increased with anie honorable title. The king about the same time tooke order for increase of some number of ships to be had in his realme, and that euerie hauent towne should build some, as well for fishing, as to transport merchandize from place to place.

The lords and barons, and such other as would, were commanded to helpe the merchants toward the building of such ships: and for good example, the king caused to make certeine ships at his owne charges, which might vse the trade of fishing. Whereouer, the king considering the ignorance that was amongst the landed men of his realme, when they should passe vpon inquests, he ordeined that euerie landed man should put his eldest sonne to schole, that he might learne perfectlie the lawes of the realme, and that vpon great forfeiture. Thus in the beginning of his reigne, diuers good lawes and constitutions were made, for the advancement of the common-wealth, which he caused to be duly obserued and kept during his time. The pope sent a protomorie called Forman into Scotland, with a rose and a scepter of gold, to be presented vnto the king, desiring him to perseuere in godlinesse, honor, and vertue, as he had begun. The most part of this yere the king spent in riding abroad through all parts of his realme to see iustice ministred, speciallie in the north parts, where the people are commonlie furnished out of order.

There was shortly after some appearance of warres betwixt England and France, whereupon king Charles sent vnto king James, requiring him of assistance, if it came to passe that the Englishmen did invade France: and further declared, that he had one with him called Richard duke of Porke, second sonne to king Edward the fourth, who had bene preferred now manie yeres secretlie by his aunt Margaret duchess of Burgonie, and therefore was iust inheritor to the realme of England, whom he would send into Scotland, praieing the king to assist him to recover his rightful heritage, the said realme of England. And shortly after herevpon, the said seined duke (whose right name was Perkin Warbecke, as in the English historie it appeareth) arrived in Scotland well and honorable accompanied, to trie what purchase he might make there for succors to attaine his pretended right to the crowne of England.

* After whose arrivall he was brought to the presence of king James, before whom he did lamentable bewaile (as he well could) the fall of the house of Porke, and his owne calamities: most humble and vehementlie beseeching him, to ransom the kingle bloud from that contumelie. For answer wherevnto at that present time, the king bid him be of good heart, for he would so worke, that he should find his sute not defrauded of all due effect, in obtaining succor in his distresse. Few daies after, the king assembling together his counsell, commanded this (counterfeit) duke of Porke to be brought vnto him, who now (more than before) did in this assemble bitterlie complain of his misfortune, shewing, that being borne to great hope of a kingdome (as the sonne of the noblest king of that age) he was left

Fr. Thin.
I. cleus lib. 4.
p. 332.Drouillon
made for
ships.
1492. I. cle.Drouillon
made for
learning.1494. I. cle.
A protomorie
sent into
Scotland
with a rose.
1495. I. cle.1492.
The king go-
eth on pre-
greffe.

1496. I. cle.

Perkin was
becke.Fr. Thin.
Buchan. lib. 13.

both of all helpe by the death of his father, & had like to haue fallen into the tyrannie of his vnckle Richard duke of Gloucester, before he could vnderstand what calamitie or misfortune might signifie.

But aided by diuine assistance, he (when his elder brother was murdered by his vnckle) was persecuted by the helpe of his fathers friends, and conueied away from the bloudie hands of the vsurping king Richard, who (not able in that kingdome, whose heire by right he was) to lead a bare and begged life, did so liue in forrein countries, as he counted the condition of his brother (taken from those miseries by sudden death) to be happie in respect of his owne troubles and extremitie: for he was rescued aline to the scoone of fortune, not daring at the first to bewaile his calamitie amongst strangers, whereby he might moue their pittie towards him: yea (and after) when by little and little he came to open what person he was, how noble borne, whose heire, and to whome alied, he was (to increase all his former miseries) more grieuonslie assaulted by the malice of fortune than before. For then he could not almost liue in safetie in any place, because of the subtiltie of his enemies, who would haue bought his life (of those with whom he remained) pmiue soliciting them to discover his secrets, and (vnder the colour of seined amitie) to corrupt his true friends, to search out and discouer his hidden friends, and to defame him amongst the common people.

Wherewithall not yet satisfied, they reuile (said he) the ladie Margaret his aunt, and imprison the nobles of England that seemed to fauor his cause; notwithstanding all which (the vsing the truth of his owne conscience against the flanders of hir and his enemies, and moued with pittie for the distresse of hir kinsman) did with hir abilitie relieue his necessitie. But at length, when he saw no sure defense in a woman and widow (whose authoritie could not stretch to the command of hir people in that liberal sort as he would) he was driuen to seeke the aid of other princes, and to request them to looke into the misfortunes that might light vpon such great estates, and that they would not suffer kinglie blood (oppressed by tyrants) to lament in such extremitie. For yet he was not so base minded (although he were in manie great miseries) that he would not hope at one time or other to be restored to his kingdome, by the helpe of such friends as he had in Ireland and England: adding thereunto the helpe which he should haue out of France, whereof he had already made some trial by the singular beneuolence of the same king, hauing liberalitie imparted manie benefits vnto him.

Besides which, not supposing this to allure the kings mind to his fauor, he began by flatterie to extoll him, not douting but he (whose fauor had bene liberalitie shewed to the distressed) would now diminish the same to him; but that he hoped that he would (for his singular humanitie to all banished persons, for pittie towards a miserable creature, for loue towards his kinsman, for necessities cause towards his friend, and for the necessitie of league that ought to be among princes) succor and relieue him with men and monie, thereby to helpe him to the recouerie of his kingdome. Wherefore againe he importunately requiereth the king of aid in this extremitie, since the same was honorable to himselfe, acceptable to God, beneficiall for his realme, and a singular fame among other princes in totning with them determined to restore him. Which if he might obtaine (and that the rather by his furtherance) he did liberalitie promise alwaies to stand a most firme friend to the Scots, for whose cause he would spend his crowne and life.)

Thus Perkin Warbecke did vse the matter in

such subtiltie, that king James either giuing, or seeming to giue credit to his wordes, after abuse and deliberation had and taken with his counsell, receiued him in honorable wise, naming and reputing him duke of Borke, and therefore promised him to aid him in all that he might. And shortly after, he married him to his nere kinswoman the ladie Iaccharine, daughter to the earle of Huntley, and moreover raised a great armie, speciallie of the borderers, and with the same hauing this pretended duke in companie with him, inuaded England, burnt towne spoiled houses, and toke great booties and rich preies both of goods and prisoners, & allured with the sweetnesse of such spoile and gaine, wasted all the countrie of Northumberland, and had gone further, but that he could perceiue no aid comming in vnto this new found duke, contrarie to such golden promises as he had made, that as soone as they were entered into England, there would flocke vnto him both of the nobilitie and commons, and that in great numbers.

King James perceiuing no such matter, thought it better to returne with assured gaine, than to tarie this new sprung dukes doubtfull and vncerteine victorie. And so hauing his people laden and pestered with spoile and prisoners, he drew backe into Scotland. The king of England aduertised hereof, made preparation for the raising of an armie, meaning to send the same against the Scots; but the rebellion of the Cornishmen, which chanced the same time about a tarenteneth then of the people, constrained him to imploie that armie to repress the enterprise of those rebels. Yet neuertheless he sent the earle of Surreie to the borders, that with the power of the countrie adioining, he might defend the same from the inuasions of the Scots, if they attempted to breake in: and so the earle laie on the borders all that yere.

King James then perceiuing that no maine armie came against him, inuaded euen the borders of England, and laied siege to the castell of Roxham, sending his light horsemen abroad into Northumberland, and the bishopricke of Durham, where they burned and spoiled all about in the countrie: but hearing that the earle of Surreie had raised an armie, and was comming towards them, they returned to the host lieng before Roxham, where king James perceiuing he could not win the castell, notwithstanding he had done great hurt and damage thereto, he raised his siege, retired into his countrie, and left great companies on the borders for defense thereof. And so before the comming of the English armie, king James was returned. The earle of Surreie yet (as the English writers affirme) followed into Scotland, and toke diuerse castles and towres, remaining within the countrie the space of six or seuen daies, and then came backe without battell or any notable skirmish offered.

About the same time was one Peter Hialas sent ambassadoe from Ferdinando king of Spaine, to treat as a mediator for the concluding of peace betwixt the kings of England and Scotland, which Hialas travelled so earnestlie in the matter, that at length it was agreed, that certeine commissioners of both the realmes should meet at Melrose, where for the king of England, doctor For, then bishop of Durham, with this Hialas, and other graue personages, met the Scottish commissioners. After long conference and much talke had, for the conclusion of a general peace, finally nothing but a truce might be accorded for certeine yeres, though Hialas did what he possible might, to haue agreed them for all manner of matters, quarrels, demands, and causes, that thereafter the same had bene, that a perpetuall peace might haue bene concluded, because he was thier sent

Perkin Warbecke marieth the earle of Huntleys daughter.

1495.

King James inuadeth Northumberland.

1496.

1497. Lesle.

King James returneth without profect of battell.

Rebellion in Cornewall.

The earle of Surreie sent into the north.

1498.

The Scots inuade the borders of England.

The earle of Surreie raised an armie.

The Scots raise their siege.

The earle of Surreie went into Scotland.

Peter Hialas an ambassadoe from the king of Spaine.

Commissioners met at Melrose of Redworth (as some say.)

A truce concluded for yeres.

The cause whye Hialas was sent.

C. s.

for

for that intent.

The king of England required to haue the counterfeite duke of Yorke (otherwise named Perkin Warbecke) deliuered to him: but king James (cōsidering his honor more than anie earthlie thing) would in no wise seme to betraie him that fled to him for succour, and with whome he had coupled one of his owne kinswomen in mariage: but he was contented to couenant, that the same Perkin should be constrained to depart out of Scotland, and not to be further aided by him, or by anie other through his meanes or procurement. The king of Scots to keepe promise made in the said treatie of peace, and knowing himselfe to be abused by the said Richard, whom he had reputed to be verelie duke of Yorke (although he was not so) called him before his presence, and declared to him the great fauour and good will which he had borne towards him, putting him in remembrance that for his sake he had taken warre in hand against England, and inuaded the countrie in hope of assistance by his friends within the land, where not one resorted to him.

And albeit he had married his nere kinswoman, yet might he not keepe longer warre with England for his sake onelie; except he might be sure of some aid through his meanes, whereof he could see no apperance. He desired him therefore to withdraw forth of his realme, either into Flanders to his fathers sister the ladie Margaret; or into some other place where it pleased him to abide, and erped some better time more conuenient for his purpose. The said Richard gaue the king thanks, and obeyed his pleasure, departing hostlie after out of Scotland, and sailed into Ireland, from thence to transport into Flanders. But finally making an attempt into England, he was taken prisoner in the abbey of Beaulien, together with his wife, whose beaultie was such, as king Henrie thought hir a more meet price for an emperour, than for soules, and therefore used hir verie honorablie, appointing hir to remaine in the court with the quene his wife, where she continued so long as the said king liued.

This yere, the peace being well kept betwixt England and Scotland, the same was nere at point to haue bene broken; by reason that the Englishmen which laie in garrison within the castell of Poerham, did make a frate with certeine Scottishmen that came riding nere to the castell, as it had bene to haue viewed it. But although they ment no euill, yet diuerse of the Scottishmen were slaine, and manie wounded and sore hurt; so that king James hauing information thereof, was sore displeased therewith, thinking and saying, that there was no more incerteine thing, than to haue peace with England. And hereupon he sent his herald Sperdmount with sharpe and vehement letters vnto the king of England, making great complaint for this iniurie and wrong done to his subiects, by those within the castell of Poerham. But receiuing most reasonable letters for excuse of that which was done, as well from the king of England himselfe, as from the bishop of Durham owner of the castell, he was indifferentlie well appeased & satisfied, so that he required to haue the bishop to come into Scotland vpon safe conduct to conuene with him, as well for the full quieting of this matter, as for other things which he had to talke with him of.

The bishop by licence of the king his maister, accomplished the Scottish kings request; so that coming into Scotland, he was receiued by him verie honorablie at Edinbrough, where after certeine talke had betwixt them for the appeasing of this last displeasure, the king brake with the bishop for the hauing of the ladie Margaret, eldest daughter to Hen-

rie the seventh, as then king of England, to be giuen him in mariage: and further declared that he was minded to send his orators vnto hir father the said king Henrie, about the same matter. And forsomuch as he knew that the bishop was one that might do much with king Henrie, who highlie fauoured him for his singular wisdom and learning, he desired him to be a meane to further his sute, which if it were obtained, he trusted it should highlie rebound to the honor & wealth of both the realmes. The bishop considering herein as much as the king was able to tell him, did not onelie promise to do all that in him lay, but also encouraged him to send his orators with all speed, trusting that they should receiue a verie towarde answer.

King James following the bishops aduise, anon after his returne into England, sent certeine persons ambassadoes vnto king Henrie, to moue him to the effect aboue mentioned. These ambassadoes were highlie welcomed, and verie well heard, so that to be briefe, their request seemed so agreeable to king Henries mind, that the mariage was shortly thereupon concluded (but not consummate betwixt the foresaid James king of Scotland, and the said ladie Margaret daughter to king Henrie) in the seventeenth yere of the said king Henries reigne. At the same time, when this mariage was so agreed vpon, a peace was also concluded betwixt the kings of England and Scotland, for the terme of their two liues. And to auoid that none of either of the said kings subiects that had offended the lawes, should be receiued into anie of their dominions; it was agreed, that no Englishman should come within Scotland, without his princes letters supplicatorie vnto the king of Scots, nor anie Scottishman to come within England, without the like letters from his prince, desiring safe conduct and passport.

In the yere next ensuing, Robert Blakater the bishop of Glasgowe, Adam Hepborne the earle Bothwell, and other noble men of Scotland, were sent in ambassage from king James vnto the king of England, for the perfecting of the foresaid mariage betwixt king James, and the ladie Margaret, eldest daughter to king Henrie, which earle by letters of procuracie and mandat, in the name of his maister king James, assied and handfasted the foresaid ladie Margaret in all solemne wise, according to the manner: which assurance and contract thus made, was published at Pauls crosse in London, on the day of the conuersion of saint Paule, in reioysing whereof *Te Deum* was song, and fiers made, with great feasting & banquetting throughout that citie. This done, the ambassadoes returned into Scotland, and then afterwards was great preparation made in England for the conueieng of the said ladie into Scotland, and likewise great purueiance there for the receiuing of hir.

On the sixteenth of June, king Henrie toke his iourne from Richmond, with his daughter the said ladie Margaret, and came to Colchester, where his mother the countesse of Richmond then laie. And after he had remained there certeine daies in pastime and great solace, he toke leaue of his daughter, giuing hir his blessing with a fatherlie exhortation, and committed the conueieng of hir into Scotland vnto the earle of Surreie, and others. The earle of Northumberland, as then warden of the marches, was appointed to deliuer hir vpon the borders vnto the king of Scotland. And so this faire ladie was conueied with a great companie of lords, ladies, knights, esquires, and gentlemen, until she came to the towne of Berwik, and from thence vnto Lambert church in Hamer mare within Scotland, where she was receiued by the king and all the nobles of that

In article for Perkin Warbecke.

King James reasoneth with the counterfeite duke of Yorke.

Perkin Warbeck went into Ireland to come into Flanders.

1499. The truce like to be broken.

King James requireth to take with the bishop of Durham.

King James purpoeth to be a suitor for mariage in England.

Ambassadors sent into England.

1500. A mariage concluded betwixt king James and the ladie Margaret.

A peace concluded betwixt king James and the ladie Margaret.

1501.

This was in the yere 1501.

1503. Lelle

that realme, and from the said place of Lamberton church, the was conueied unto Edinburgh, where the day after his coming thither, he was married unto the said king with great and solempne triumph, to the high reioysing of all that were present.

And verelie the English lords (as the earle of Surreie and others) which gaue their attendance on the said ladie till the mariage and feast were ended) at their returne home, gaue great praise not onelie to the manhood of the Scots, but also to their manners and heartie intertainment. For aswell the noble men as the ladies and gentlewomen of Scotland at that present, were nothing behind the English lords & ladies in costlie apparell, massie chaines, and other furniture, as well for themselves as their horses, and made great bankets to the English men, and shewed them such iusts and other pleasant pastimes in honor of the mariage, so well, as after the manner of the countrie could be deuised. By reason of this mariage and aliance, men were in great good hope that perfect peace and sincere amitie should continue betwixt the two realmes of England and Scotland a long time after: and verelie during the life of king Henrie the seventh, no cause of breach was ministred betwixt him and his sonne in law, but that they liued in great loue and amitie.

About this time, the king of Denmarke, through diuision that did rise betwixt him & his lords, was constrained to forsake his countrie, and to come for aid into Scotland, where the king receiued him louingly, and upon his earnest sute, for that he was both his cosine and confederat, and also the rather, at the contemplation of the French kings request and perswasion, he prepared an armie of ten thousand men, the which vnder the conduct of the earle of Arrane, he sent with the said king of Denmarke to assist him against his aduersaries. The earle of Arrane according to his commission, attending the Danish king into his countrie, ressoied him to his kingdome and former gouernement, and so leaving him in peaceable possession thereof, returned with his armie againe into Scotland, with great honor both to himselfe, the king, and realme.

Shortlie after was a parlement called, during the which the queene was crowned, and manie good acts and constitutions made, especiallie touching the limiting of places where iustice should be ministred in the Isles and hie lands: whereby it came to passe, that the king was aswell obeyed, & his lawes were as duclie obserued and kept by the hie land men, as by those that diuelled in anie part of the low land. The king then being at peace with England, and iustice so ministred amongst his owne subiects, that they liued in great rest and quietnesse, certaine of his counsell (as William Elphinstone bishop of Aberdeen) deuised waies to win the king great profit and gaines, by calling his barons & all those that held anie lands within his realme, to shew their euidences by way of recognition: and if they had not writings to shew, according to the ancient instruments and lawes of the realme sufficient for their warrant, the lands should remaine at the kings pleasure.

But when the king perceiued his people to grudge herewith, and not without cause, as with a thing deuised to disquiet his people and the whole countrie, of his owne courteous & gentle nature he easilie agreed with the possessors of such lands: for the which he purchased great loue amongst his people, & the deuisers of that ordinance waie passing great hatred and malice. This yeare in Maie the king held his court of iustice at Lowder, and removing it to Edinburgh, there continued the same, where the lord of Chorneton was conuicted for killing his wife, and therefore

lost his head [at Edinburgh by the kings sentence.] There came an ambassadoz this yeare also from the duke of Gelderland, to renewe the league betwixt the king and the said duke. Also an herald came out of France, who brought netos which the king liked well.

This yeare also, the king caused a mightie ship to be made, the which was put forth into the rode the seventh of Iulie, and the king sailed himselfe into the Spate, an Island in the Forth, and was diuinen in againe with tempest: but the same ship was after appointed forth, and sent to the sea with sundrie valiant gentlemen in hir, to meet with the Hollanders which had taken and spoiled diuerse Scottish ships, and throune the merchants and other that were in the same ouer boord. For reuenge thereof, Andzeu Barton took manie ships of the Hollanders and filled certeine pipes with their heads, which he sent vnto the king for a witnesse how he had sped. A star like a comet appeared the tenth of August, giuing great light in the night season like to the sun beames.

A Frenchman named Sir Anthonie Darcie knight, called afterward Le sir de la Batotie, came through England into Scotland to seeke seats of arms. And coming to the king the foure and twentieth of September, the lord Hamilton fought with him right valiantlie, and so as neither of them lost anie peece of honor. This yeare James prince of Scotland and of the Isles was bozne in the abbey of the Holie rood house, the one and twentieth of Iannuarie; and on the thre and twentieth of the same moneth, he was baptised in the said abbey church. His godfathers were these, Robert bishop of Glascolu, and Patrike earle Bothwell; and the countesse of Huntclie was his godmother. The queene, after she was brought to bed, was verie weake and troubled with great sicknesse, so that she lay in great danger: for recovery of whose helth the king went on foot vnto saint Pirians in pilgrimage; and after wards in Iulie, both the king and the queene went thither to visit the same saint.

Pope Julius the second sent an ambassadoz vnto king James, declaring him protector and defendoz of the faith, and in signe thereof sent vnto him a purple diadem or crowne wrought with flowers of gold, together with a sword, hauing the hilts and skabbert of gold set with pretious stones, which were presented vnto him by the said ambassadoz, and the abbat of Dunfermling, within the abbey church of Holie rood house. At that time the peace contracted betwixt the two kings of Scotland and England was there confirmed. The lord of Teruer or Camfire in Zealand (whose ancestors not long ago came forth of Scotland) sent his messenger the bailiffe of Teruer to the king, who presented vnto him certeine great horses and other rich presents, in remembrance that he came of the Scottish race; and the king in recompense thereof, sent vnto the said lord his order, and made his ambassadoz knight, rewarding him at his departing (which was in August) with right honorable gifts.

The whole realme remained in such peace and quietnesse in these daies, that the king rode one day himselfe alone in post from Sterling, by St. Johns towne, and Aberdeen, vnto Elgin; and reposing a little part of the night in the house of master Thomas Leslie then parson of Angus, went to horse againe, and came to saint Dunthois in Koffe, by that time they were reade to go to masse. This was on the one & thirtieth day of August. About the latter end of September, the archbishop of saint Andzeus, and the earle of Arrane, were sent ambassadozs into France. They took ship the seven and twentieth of September. The seventeenth of Februarie, James

A great ship made.

The Hollanders ships taken.

A bright star appeareth in the skie.

Anthonie Darcie.

1507. Prince James is bozne.

The king went on pilgrimage.

The pope declared king James protector of the faith.

Horses presented vnto the king.

Peace and quietnesse in Scotland.

An ambassage into France.

The consumption of the marriage betwixt James the sixth, and the ladie Margaret.

The king of Denmarke cometh into Scotland.

He is ressoied by the king James.

The hie land men obeyed his lawes.

1505. Leil. 1504.

Fr. Thin.

A devise to put the king name.

1506.

prince of Scotland departed this life at Striueling, and the bishop of Galloway also, who was appointed to be his gouernour.

¶ About this time, the k. (to tell you here, as saith Lesleus, a matter that to this day is remembred amongest the Romane people with great laughter) created a certeine Italian (with whose wit and pleasant speech he was delighted) abbat of Lungland. This man (being a noble framer of deceit, & boaster of his wit) did on a time persuade the king, that he was to conuertant in all hidden knowledge of naturall things, and in the secret science of Alchymie, that he could turne all other mettals into pure gold, if anie would beare the charge thereof. But after much time spent thereabout (with long looking of the king, and the nobilitie, to see the effect hereof) there was nothing done, but that their purses were emptied, and the vaine man was defamed by the breach of his promise. At length when he was fallen into the hatred and offense of all men, he did (partlie to gather againe an opinion & report of his vaine glorie, and partlie to reconer the kings fauor) giue out a rumour, that he would (by sieng) be in France before the ambassadozs (which were sent thither, and had leued from thoz to take their iournie) should come thither. For the performance whereof, he appointed a day for them to meet at Striueling, from whence he would take his flight, and begin his iournie. At what time, and to what place, manie reioyced together, desirous to see this new bird; amongest whom (for recreations cause) came the king also.

What need manie words. This man fastening (which he had caused to be made of the fethers of diuerse foules) vnto both his sides, lifted vp himselfe from the castell of Striueling, into the aire to take his iournie: but this deceiver suddenlie fell headlong to the ground, not able to be holpen by the force of his wings: wherewith the people (vncerteine whether they should rebuke the follie of the man, or pittie his misfortune) flocked about him, demanding this winged abbat how he did: to whom he answered, that he had broken the bone of his thigh, and was out of hope to lie anie more hereafter. To conclude, they all were like to die with laughing, to see him, which before would lie like Icarus, did now lie like Simon Magus, with all his bodie almost broken in peeces. At length when euerie one had laughed their fill, this worthy abbat, to salue all the matter, referred the default of his sieng wholie to his wings, because they were not made of eagles fethers and such like, but onelie of pullens fethers, not meet or accustomed to cut the aire with flight; and which by a certeine inward vertue (working according to the nature of those foules) did draw the fethers downe toward the donghill (wherupon those birds lue) as the adamant draweth iron.]

The 9 of Maie in the yeare after, the lord D'obignie, and the president of Tholous, came from Letwes the French king as ambassadozs to declare vnto king James, that he ment to match his eldest daughter in mariage with Francis de Gallois of Alien, and duke of Angouleme; notwithstanding that Charles king of Castile that was after emperor, made sute for hir. Because therefore he ment not to conclude anie thing in such a weightie matter without consent of his confederats, of which he esteemed king James as chiefe, he required him of his aduise and counsell therein; who after aduise ment taken, made answer, that albeit the king of France had sufficient counsell about him, yet sith he had desired his aduise, he would friendlis giue the same: which was that he should rather marie his daughter within his owne realme, vnto such as should succede him, than to bestow hir vpon anie forren prince, sith otherwile

some claime might be made in time comming vnto the crowne by: such as should match with hir. And so with this answer, the president of Tholous departed, reporting the same at his comming home vnto the French king, who thereupon followed his owne determination therein, confirmed and allowed thus by his confederat the king of Scotland.

The lord D'obignie took a sicknesse and died thereof at Corfcorphin, in the moneth of June, and caused his heart to be sent vnto saint Martinians in Galloway; because he had solued a pilgrimage thither whilist he remained the French kings lieutenant in Naples, where he had atchiued manie high enterprises against his enemies. His name was Bernard Steward, lieutenant of those men of warre which Charles the eight of that name king of France did send with Henrie earle of Richmond into England, when the same earle came against king Richard, whom he vanquished, and thereby got the crowne. And so after manie noble victories and balliant acts atchiued, this lord D'obignie ended his life in his owne countrie of Scotland, where he was borne. This yeare also in Maie and June, there were kept great iusts and tourneies in Edenburgh, by one calling himselfe the wild knight, who counterfeited the round table.

There were diuerse ambassadozs sent forth this yeare also, as the archdeacon of saint Andrews, and sir Anthonie Marcie into France, and the bishop of Spurrey into England. The fiftieth of Iulie, the quene was deliuered of a daughter, which shortly after she had receiued baptisme, deceased, and the quene in that childbed was againe in great perill of death. The bishop of Glasco died this yeare in his iournie to Jerusalem, the nine and twentieth of Iulie; James Beton succeeded him in that see. The thirtieth of Iulie, there was a great fraie betwixt the lord Sparwell, and the lord Creighton of Sanchar, where the lord Creighton was chased with his compaignie from Dunfreis, & the lord of Dalzell and the young lord of Crauthlaie with diuerse other were slaine. The nineteenth of September was a great earthquake in manie places both of England and Scotland, namelie, the same was perceiued in churches.

The king of England sent a gentleman with horses trimlie trapped with bardes of Steele to be presented to king James, who thankfullie receiued them, and right honozable rewarded the messenger. The archdeacon of saint Andrews returned forth of France in a great ship called the treasure, which ship was cast away on the coast of England, and the archdeacon, and foure hundred persons that were in hir, were brought to the king of England: but the archdeacon in Nouember following returned home and came to Edenburgh. Adam earle of Bothwell and lord Hales departed this life at Edenburgh the seuenteenth day of October, and earle Patrike succeeded him. Henrie the seventh king of England, passed out of this world the two and twentieth of April, in the yeare 1509, and his sonne Henrie the eight succeeded him, after whose coronation king James sent an honozable ambassage of certeine lordes and a bishop to congratulat him at his first entrie into the rule of his kingdom, as to the manner in such cases appertineth.

¶ At this time, John and Andreto Barton (obteining letters of marque from the king against the Portugals) preieng on the borderers of Portugale did take manie of their ships (landed with rich merchandize) which they brought into Scotland. Which kind of pilles being often made by the Bartons vnto the Portugals, gaue them cause grauouslie to complaine to their king, of the wicked piracie of the Scots.

Fr. Thin.
Lesleus lib. 8.
pag. 347.

The lord
D'obignie
died.

This was
the king him-
selfe.

Ambassadozs
sent.

The archb.
shop of Glas-
cow died.

A bickering.

An earth-
quake.

Horses sent
vnto king
James.

The archde-
con of saint
Andrews
came out of
France.

The earle
Bothwell
died.

1509.

King Henrie
the eight suc-
ceeded his
father.

Fr. Thin.
Lesleus lib. 8.
cap. 250.

1508.
An ambassage
sent vnto the
king.

The kings
answer.

Scots: but neither the king of Portugal nor his council, nor his people with their force, could at any time apprehend the Portuguese detained with the Scottish letters of marque: but that he would invade, invade came aboard the Portuguese ships, if he happened upon any of them. A warning which, in case it shall not seem to be a manifest warning by the Scots to the other, and not rather a manifest proof by the Portuguese, we have now received the letters of our king James the first as they be found amongst the records touching the Government of Portugal for this matter. For which it shall not suffice to appear, whether the same were not granted in the Portuguese to us.

James the first, King of Scotland,
to the King of Portugal.

Whereas your grace and I have some time since past a Scotch ship laden with merchandise, as having from the port of Shetland in Flanders, was invaded by some armed ships, commanded by Portuguese, amongst the one was called John Walque, and the other John Peter. Whence ship after capture of his merchandise, many of his men were taken prisoners, and the rest cast into aether-bowes to be let on land at the next hour: was by them carried into Portugal: all which was done in the hope of the rest of the Lincan ships which at the same time did also land out of their haven to pass into Portugal. The full trust wherof, Charles the Duke of Burgundy, and Duke of Flanders, underhanding and moved not in much for the singular matter done in the Scots, as by the breach of the privilege, a right of his business did signify the same, and found by order of judgement, as the king of Portugal, admitting that, that article is some order for such wicked doing, and for the satisfaction of the hurt and loss that he would receive, that all the Portuguese which committed the matters of Flanders, should by license of judgement, receive all the damages which the Scots had suffered. But the business being of that sort and nature, did hinder all his determination.

The king also our grandfather, when he had in his letters complained of that murder in the king of Portugal, and had not much profited, gave much letters of marque, that is, he gave authority to John Robert Barton, his brother's son, called John, which was master of that ship, to invade, as to receive in much of the Lincan. Before the execution wherof, my grandfather died: after which, my father being yet some young, the whole force of the estate did suppose well to do nothing in further cause, until he came to full age. At that time being of full age, he did suppose to grant the use of the letters of marque, till he had first consulted with the king of Portugal. Signatures. Whereupon, (discovering

an ambassador unto him) our father also died (before we could againe receive answer from thence) leaving me a child not past three years old. For which cause, the government of the kingdom was committed to him (during our minority) so that the letters of marque, which we came to expect years, should never be, not without great power and commandment of those considerable and great men.

Whereupon, we also for these last three years (being now grown to perfect age) nothing so possible, that almost the other merchants which in that sort of business, have lost their goods and landed, as also to persons the heirs of the said John Barton by way of letters of marque before granted, may have power given them, as we do take in much recompense of the Portuguese. Wherof yet, we thought it more, that they should not see any of them, until we had first by the same Signatures our father had before you, made the whole value of the matters, which is the natural knowledge of the private, the value of the loss, and the cause of our long silence, suffering hoping that you will not do any thing, in respect of your humanity and beneficence, but that which shall be good and just. The which, if you desire as yet to be deferred, we require your wisdom to consider, that we cannot but have our business affected with in great manner, without respect to the loss of all nations, for recovery of their goods which ship, which thing might not to be in some sort (by some means) to be the bringing of friendship, league, or amity, which we have been much affected, when that same shall happen. We desire your excellence to take the same in good part: most humble salute and commendation being to whom I wish long and happy life. From Edinburgh, the day before the Ides of April, in the year, 1547.

The king about this time gave liberal instructions to Robert Barton, a notable artificer in making of fish peeces and other guns, to be made therefore, in which made certain great peeces at the castle of Edinburgh, where there are many great pieces in Scotland, with this instruction:

This summer the king went in pilgrimage into some Duths in Rome, and he there remaining in Rome some time, was brought to bed of a son, the twelfth day of October, the which the third day after was baptised and named Arthur. This great loss came both of France to the king, brought with him, beaver, and all other kind of munition for wars. Alexander, which came to the king, mentioned the death of his brother, which was long in Germany, and then in the islands with his famous uncle Erasmus Reinboldus, and his good brother well, came from Flanders by his wife Scotland, and was with him received, he could be his husband his time to well in service and learning.

The lord of Falkland came over with him, the first travelled through a great part of Christendom: and now being passing into Lucca, came to the same place.

The king, before that, was in Rome.

The king went in pilgrimage.

A son with him.

The same brother, Reinboldus.

The lord of Falkland, before that, was in Rome.

Prince Arthur deceased.

Two scorpions found in Scotland.

Strope gallant a sickness.

Katharine Gordon.

The Trumbils with other are taken by the king.

1511.

An ambassage from the king of England.

1511. Lesle.

1512.

Two ships taken by the Englishmen.

perour of Turkie at the citie of Catre, who retained him in seruice, and gaue him good intertainment, so that he remained with him, till he heard that the lying of fall castell was fallen to him by lawfull succession; notwithstanding that when he departed out of Scotland, there were eight seuerall persons before him to succeed one after another, which in the meane time were all deceased. The 14 of Iulie, Arthur prince of Scotland and the Isles, departed this life in the castell of Edenburgh. Two scorpions were found, the one quicke, and the other dead, in the orchard of the castell of Cragmiller, which thing was reputed for a maruellous great wonder, that anie should be seene within the Ile of Britaine. In the moneth of September, an vniuersall sicknesse reigned through all Scotland, whereof manie died. It was verie contagious, and they called it Strope gallant.

There came also a passing faire woman into Scotland about the same time, naming hir selfe Katharine Gordon, wife to Perkin Warbecke, that had named himselfe duke of Bozke, but at length being brought to the king, she confessed what she was, and so auoided the realme. In which meane while, the ladie Katharine Gordon hir selfe remained in England, and had right good maintenance, so that she liued there verie well and honorable manie yeeres after. Furthermore, the king upon the eighth day of Nouember comming from Edenburgh to the water of Kile, took diuers misgouerned persons, & brought them to Jedworth, where the principall of the Trumbils, with naked swords in their hands, and withs about their necks met him, putting themselves in the kings mercie, which were sent to sundrie places to be kept in ward, with diuers other of those countremen, whereby the marches were more quiet after wards: and from thence the king passed to saint Johns towne, where iustice were holden the residue of the winter.

The next yeere in the beginning of Maie, the quene went from Dunfermling toward saint Dunthois in Kosse, and was all the way right honorable bled and interteined. About the tenth of Iulie, she returned to Edenburgh, where she found the lord Dacres, and sir Robert Durie knight come thither as ambassadors from the king of England hir brother, who were honorable receiued. In the yeere next ensuing, in June, Andrew Barton being on the seas to meet the Portugals (against whom he had a letter of marque) sir Edmund Halward lord admerall of England, and the lord Thomas Halward, some and heire vnto the earle of Surrey, were appointed by the king of England to go likewise to sea with certeine ships, and met with the said Andrew as he returned homewards nere to the Dolones, hauing with him onelie one ship and one barke.

The Englishmen at the first made signe vnto the Scots as though they ment none euill, saue onelie to salute them as friends; but getting within them, they set vpon them right fiercelie, and the Scots for a while did as valiantlie defend themselves, so that manie were slaine on both sides: but in the end the Englishmen got the upper hand, wounded Andrew Barton the chiefe capteine of the Scots, that he died of the hurts that he there receiued, and the ship called the Unicozne, and the barke called Jennie Peruine, were both taken, with all the Scottisshmen that remained alieue in the same, which were had to London, and staid as prisoners in the bishop of Bozke his house for a time, and after sent home into Scotland. King James was sore offended with this matter, and there vpon sent an herald with letters, requiring redresse for the slaughter of his people, and restitution of his ships, sith other wise it might seme

to giue occasion of breach of the peace. But the king of England denied, that the slaughter of a pirat (as he toke Andrew Barton to be) ought to breake anie bond of peace, yet neuertheless he promised to send commissioners to the borders, that should intreat of that matter, and other enozmities chanced betwene the two realmes.

About this time was Alexander Hume the onlie gouernor of all the marches of Scotland (which before were accustomed to be diuided into three parts) verelie beloued to king James, being a man of a fiercer disposition than was conuenient for the profit of the common-wealth. This man promised to the king (troubled with the cares of warre, and carefull to wipe awaie the reproch of late receiued by the English) that thortlie he and his folowers with their kindred and aliances, would so bying the matter about, that the English should as greatlie lament for their losses, as they had now conceiued ioies of their victories. To the performance whereof, he gathered three thousand souldiers, wherewith he entered England, and there spoiled seuen towne before anie succour might come to rescue them: but as he returned backe laden with booties of all kinds, his men (being accustomed to pilfries and robberies) impatient of delate, presentlie diuided the pzele in the host, euery one departing home to his owne as it was nereest vnto him. Yet Alexander did not disperse such as he might keepe together: but assembling as manie of them as would tarie, with a small companie abode the end of all things, alwaies hauing an eye to see if anie pursute were made after them. But when he perceived no bodie to followe, and that there was no doubt of danger (passing the time more careless than before) he fell vntowares into the hands of three hundred English laid in wait for him, who (taking the opportunitie of the time) did set vpon him and his, and (driving them into extreme feare) they killed and put to flight all such as they incountered. In which tumult diuers of the Scots were slaine, and two hundred taken, of whome George Hume, brother of the said Alexander (exchanged for Comarch, Heron, and Ford, taken prisoners, and long retained in Scotland for reuenge of the death of Robert Carr) was one, and the chiefe, whereby he departed quietly into Scotland.)

The French king and the duke of Gelderland, perceiuing that the king of England was minded through procurement of the pope & others, to make them warres, either of them sent ambassadors into Scotland vnto king James, requiring his assistance against England: but king James minding to mainteine peace and concord betwixt the parties, sent an ambassadoe vnto the king of England, desiring him in brotherlie and most louing wise to liue in peace and quietnesse, and not to make anie wars against his confederat friends, offering himselfe to agree and compound anie difference that was fallen betwixt the king of England and the said princes. The king of England, who had already sent aid vnto the ladie regent of the low countries against the duke of Gelderland, made such faire answer hereto vnto as he thought good with reason, and so dispatched the ambassadour backe againe to his maister, without anie more adu in that matter, about the which he came for that time.

Much about these daies, there was called a prouinciall synod of bishops, abbats, and other religious persons at Edenburgh, in the monastrie of the Dominicke friers, Basomarie the popes legat being present. In which by the common voice of them all (although against the will of manie of them) it was ordeined that heretics or priests liuing (whose reuenues did yettly exceed the value of 40 pounds) should pay

Fr. Thin. Buchanan. lib. 12.

The king of France required aid against England.

King James perswaded to peace.

Fr. Thin. Lesleus. lib. 9. pag 316.

pay a pension of the tenth to the pope; and should give to the king (when he required) such summes as he liked to demand: which unto this day is called the Balomanie monie or tax. John lord Gordon, sonne and heire to Alexander Gordon erle of Huntley, returned out of France, and was married unto the kings bastard daughter, in November following, in this present were 1512, of whome the house of Huntley is descended.

Shortlie after came the bishop of Murray home, having bene at Rome, in France, and England, bringing with him from the pope, and the kings of France and England, manie good and pleasant letters: and with him came a cleark of Spaine in ambassage unto the king. This yere the eleventh day of Aprill, the quene was deliuered of a yong prync in the palace of Luthgo, who was shortlie after baptised, and named James the first prync of Scotland, and of the Isles, that after succeeded his father in the kingdome. The lord Dacres, and doctor West came in ambassage from the king of England, and Monsieur de la Mot came with letters also from the French king, to perswade king James to make warre against England, promising him monie, munition, and all other necessarie prouisions of warre. In his waie as he passed the seas towards Scotland, he had drowned thre English ships, & brought seuen awaie with him unto Lieth for prizes, in the which were but thre Englishmen left aliue. Shortlie after, maister James Ogilvie abbat of Dalburgh came south of France with letters of the like effect. After this Robert Barton went to the sea, and in Julie brought into Scotland 14 prizes of English men which he had taken.

About this season, the lord of Dumfries was slain in Edinburgh by two persons, which took sanctuary in Holie rood house, and so escaped. John erle of Atholl deceased the nineteenth of September, & Lion Harold king of armes deceased the first of October. Great misrule was exercised on the borders in this season, and therefore the king assembled the lords in Edinburgh for reformation thereof; and while they were there, the quene was brought to bed of a child, which died shortlie after it was christened. There came a great ship into Scotland, which the king of France had sent unto the king, laden with artillerie, powder, and wines, & then was the league and band renewed betwixt Scotland and France. The same ship landed at Blackness the nineteenth of November. King James sent a pursuivant called Unicorne into France, and another into England called Flaie, which Flaie required a safe conduct for an ambassado: to be sent from the king his maister unto the king of England: but this would not be granted.

Upon the said Flaies returne, Monsieur de la Mot was sent backe into France, and with him sir Walter Ogilvie, and a messenger whome the pope had sent into Scotland. On the sixteenth of March next ensuing, doctor West came as ambassado: into Scotland from the king of England, appointing that certaine commissioners should meet on the borders for redresse of all quarrels betwixt the two realmes, in the moneth of June next ensuing. And this appointment was kept, but no good could be done, as after shall appere. The king sent forman bishop of Murray into France, to signifie unto the French king the message of the said doctor West, and other things. In the moneth of Maie, there came certein ships out of Denmark laden with guns, powder, armour, & other kind of munition. Also Monsieur de la Mot landed in the west part of Scotland the first day of Maie, with foure ships fraught with wine and flower, and returned againe the nineteenth

of the same moneth.

The great Odonell of Ireland came to king James at Edinburgh, the first of June, offering his friendship and service to him before all other princes, and speciallie against the king of England; whereupon he was thankfullie receiued, honorable intertained, & richlie rewarded. And so the band of friendship being with him concluded, he returned into his countrie. The king prepared a great naue of ships, the principall whereof were the Michaele, Margaret, and James. They made saile towards the sea the twentieth seventh of Julie; and the king sailed in the Michaele himselfe, till they were past the Island of Maie, James Gordon son to George erle of Huntley being one of the captains of the same ship.

The commissioners met on the borders in June, according to the appointment: but because the Englishmen would not consent to make anie redresse or restitution, till the fifteenth of October next, thinking by that delaie and continuance of time, they should understand the state of their kings proceedings in France, and in the meane time retaine in their hands the Scottishmens goods which they had taken both by sea and land (as the Scottish writers affirme) the king of Scots being thereof aduertised, sent Lion king of armes unto king Henrie then lying at siege before Teruine, with letters of complaint, commanding him that if king Henrie refused to accomplish the contents of his said letters, he should denounce warre unto him. Whereupon Lion arriving in the English armie with his cote of arms on his backe, about the middelt of August, desired to speake with the king, and was within a short space by Carter chiefe king at arms of England brought to the kings presence, having his nobles and counsellors about him, where, with due reuerence, & some good words first uttered, he deliuered his letters, the tenor whereof insueth.

The tenor of the king of

Scots letters.

Right excellent, right high, and mightie prince, our dearest brother and cosine, we commaund vs unto you in our most hartie manner, and receiued fra Rast Heralde your letters, wharvntill ye approue and allow the doings of your commissioners latelie being with ours at the borders of bathe the realmes, for making of redresse quhilk is thought to you and your counsell should be continuat and delat to the fifteenth day of October. As ye write flatters by sae ought not compare personallie, but by their attowneys. And in your letters with our herauld Flaie ye aduertaine vs ye will naught enter in the treur taken betwixt the most christian king and your father of Aragon, because ye and others of the hale liege nether should nor may take peace, treur, nor abstinence of warre with your common enimie, without consente of all the confederats. And that the emperor, king of Aragon, pea and euery of you be bound to make actual warre this instant summer against your common enemy. And that is to do is concluded and openlie sworn in Paules kirke at London, upon S. Markes day last by pass. And farther haue denied safe conduct upon our requests that a scruto: of ours might haue resorted to

The kings
bastard
daughter.

The bishop of
Murray came
home.

A yong prync
borne in
Scotland.

The French
king sent to
perswade the
king of Scots
to warre.

fourteen
prizes of
Englishmen
taken.

Spittle exer-
cised.

The quene
brought to bed
of a child.
1512. Lesle.
The league
renewed with
France.

Pursuivants
sent into
England and
France.

1513. Lesle.
Doctor West
sent into
Scotland
ambassado:.

1513.

Munition for
warre sent out
of Denmark.

Munition sent
out of France.

A naue sent.

The English
men proce-
ed the time.

A king of
armes sent
unto R. Hen-
rie of Eng-
land.

to your presence (as our herauld Flaie reports.

Right excellent, right high, and mightie prince, our dearest brother and cousing, the said meeting of our and your commissionners at the borders, was peremptorily appointed betwixt you and vs after diuerse diets, for reformation before continueth to the commissionners meeting, to effect that due redresse shuld haue bene made at the said meeting, like as for our part our commissionners offered to haue made that time. And for your part, no malefactor was then arrested to the said diet. And to gloze the same, ye now write that slaars by law need not compare personallie, but by their attourneis, quhilk is again law of God and man. And get in criminall action all slaars shuld naught compare personallie, na punitive shuld follow for slaughter, and then bane it were to seke farther meetings or redresse. And hereby apperes (as the deed shewes) that ye will nouthur keepe gud waies of iustice and equitie nor kindnes with vs.

The great wrongs and unkindnes done before to vs and our lieges we ponderate, quhilk we haue suffred this long time in bybearing, mainfowering, roundrelling of attemptates, so as the bill of the taken of inhalding of ballard Heron and his complices in your contrie, quha slue our warden under trust of daies of meeting for iustice, & thereof was filat & ordeint to be deliuerd, in slaying our liege noblemen, under color by your folks, in taking of others out of our realme prouenet and chanet by the crags in your cuntrie, withhalding of our wiues legacie promist in your diuerse letters for despite of vs, slaughter of Androbo Barton by your awn commaund, quha than had naught offended to you nor your lieges unredress, and breaking of the amity in that behalfe by your deed, and withhalding of our ships and artillarie to your vse.

Wharbypon, eft our diuerse requisitions at your wardens, commissionners, ambassadors, & your selfe, ye wrote and als thew by others vnto vs, that full redresse shuld be made at the said meeting of commissionners, and sa were in hope of reformation, or at the lest ye for our sake wald haue desisted fra inuasioun of our friendes and coussings within their awne countries that haue naught offended at you, as we first required you, in fauour of our tender coussing the duke of Gelder, quham to destroy and disinherit ye sent your folks, and dud what was in them. And right sa we lately desired for our brother & coussing the maist christen king of France, quham ye haue caused to tye his countrie of Millaine, and nobo inuades his selfe, quha is with vs in second degree of blude, and hale bene vnto you kind without offense, and more kindar than to vs.

Notwithstanding, in defense of his person we mon take part, and thereto ye haue caused of others, haue giuen occasion to vs

and to our lieges in time by past, nouthur doing iustlie nor kindlie toward vs, procuring alwaies to the utter destruction of our nearest friendes, quha mon do for vs quhan it shall be necessarie; in euill example that ye will hereafter be better vnto vs, quham ye lightly fauour, manifestlie wronged your sister for our sake in contrarie our wits: and saieng to our herauld that we giue you faire wordes, and thinke the contrarie, in deed such it is, we gaue you wordes as ye dud vs, trusting that ye shuld haue emended to vs, or worthin kinder to our frends for our sakes, and shuld naught haue stopped our seruitors passage to labour pear, that they mought as the papes halines exhorted vs by his breuites to do. And thereupon we were contented to haue ouersene our harmes, and to haue remitted the same, though other information was made to our halie father pape Julie, by the cardinall of Poike, your ambassador.

And sen you haue now put vs fra our gude beleue through the premisses, and speciallie in denieng of safe conduct to our seruants, to resort to your presence, as your ambassador doctor West instantlie desired we shuld sende one of our councell vnto you vpon great matters, and appointing of differences debatable betwixt you and vs, furthering of pear if we might, betwixt the most christen king & you, we neuer hard to this purpose safe conduct denied betwixt Infidels. Herefore we write to you this time at length plainesse of our mind, that we require and desire you to desist fra farther inuasioun and utter destruction of our brother and coussing the maist christen king, to quham by all confederatioun, blude and alie, and also by new band quhilk you haue compelled vs latelie to take through your iniuries & harmes without remedie done dailie vnto vs, our lieges and subiects, we are bounden and oblist for mutuall defense ilk of others, like as ye & your confederates be oblist for mutuall inuasiouns and actual warre.

Certifieng you, we will take part in defense of our brother and coussing the maist christen king, and will do what thing we trust may cause you to desist fra pursute of him, and for deuit and postposit iustice to our lieges we mongiue letters of marque according to the amitie betwixt you and vs, quhart to ye haue had little regard in time by past, as we haue ordaint our herauld the bearer hereof to say, gif it like you to heare him and gif him credence: right excellent, right high & mightie prince our dearest brother and coussing, the trinitie haue you in keeping. Seuen under our signet at Edenburgh the twentieth first day of Julie.

King Henrie having read the letter, and considered thereof with aduise of his councell, sent for the herauld againe, and told him that he had read and well perceiued the contents of the letters which he had deliuered to him, and would make him answer with condition,

The herauld is sent for

condition, that he would promise to declare the same to his maister. Whereunto Lion made this answer: *The heralds collector.* Sir, I am his naturall subiect, and he is my naturall lord, and what he commandeth me to say, I may boldly say with fauour; but the commandements of others I may not, nor dare say vnto my soueraigne lord. But your letters sent by me, may declare your maisters pleasure, albeit your answer requireth doings and not sayings, that is, that you immediatlie should returne home. Then said the king: I will returne at my pleasure to your damage, and not at thy maisters summons. And herewith he caused an answer to be written to the king of Scots, in forme as followeth.

King Henrie his answer.

Right excellent, right high & mightie prince, &c. We haue receiued your writing dated at Edinburgh the twentieth day of Iulie, by your herald Lion this bearer, wherein after rehearfall and accumulation of manie furnished iniuries, griefs and dangers down by vs and our subiects to you and your lieges, the specialities whereof were superfluous to rehearse, remembering that to them and euerie of them in effect reasonable answer founded vpon law and conscience, hath tofore bene made to you & your counsell; ye not onelie require vs to desist from further inuasion and vtter destruction of your brother and cosine the French king, but also certifie vs that you will take part in defense of the said king, and that thing which ye trust may rather cause vs to desist from pursute of him, with manie contriued occasions and communications by you causelesse sought & imagined, founding to the breach of the perpetuall peace passed, concluded, and sworn betwixt you and vs, of which your imagined quarrels causelesse deuised to breake to vs, contrarie to your oth promised, all honor & kindness, we can not maruell; considering the ancient accustomed manners of your progenitors, which neuer kept longer faith & promise than pleased them.

Howbeit, if the loue and dread of God, mightinesse of bloud, honor of the world, law and reason had bound you, we suppose ye would neuer haue so farre proceeded, specially in our absence. Wherein the pope and all princes christened may well note in you dishonorable demeanour, when ye lieng in wait, seeke the waies to doe that in our said absence, which ye would haue bene well aduised to attempt, we being within our realme and present. And for euident approbation hereof, we need none other proofes nor witness, but your owne writings heretofore to vs sent, we being within our realme, wherein ye neuer made mention of taking part with our enimie the French king, but passed the time with vs till after our departure from our said realme. And now percase ye supposing vs so farre from our said realme, to be destitute of defense against your inuasions, haue vttered the

old rancour of your mind, which in couert manner ye haue long kept secret.

Neuerthelesse, we remembering the brightness of your promise, & suspecting though not wholly believing so much broken faithlesse, thought it berie expedient and necessarie to put our said realme in a readiness for resisting of your said enterprises, hauing firme trust in our Lord God, and the righteoulnesse of our cause, with the assistance of our confederats & allies, we shall be able to resist the malice of schismatics and their adherents, being by the generall counsell expresse excommunicate and interdicted; trusting also in time conuenient to remember our friends, and requite you and our enimies, which by such unnaturall demeanour haue giuen sufficient cause to the disherison of you and your posteritie for euer, from the possibilitie that ye thinke to haue to the realme, which ye now attempt to inuade.

And if the example of the king of Nauarre, being excluded from his realme for assistance giuen to the French king, can not restraine you from this unnaturall dealing; we suppose ye shall haue like assistance of the French king, as the king of Nauarre hath now, who is a king without a realme, & so the French king peaceably suffereth him to continue, whereunto good regard would be taken. And like as we heretofore touched in this our writing, we need not to make anie further answer to the manifold griefs by you furnished in your letter: forsomuch as if anie law or reason could haue removed you from your sensuall opinions, ye haue bene manie and oftentimes sufficientlie answered to the same: except onelie to the pretended griefs touching the denieng of our safe conduct to your ambassadoz last sent vnto vs.

Whereunto we make this answer, that we had granted the said safe conduct: and if your herald would haue taken the same with him, like as he hath bene accustomed to solicit safe conducts for merchants and others heretofore, ye might as soone haue had that, as anie other: for we neuer denied safe conduct to anie your lieges to come vnto vs and no further to passe, but we see well, like as your said herald had heretofore made sinister report contrarie to truth, so hath he done now in this case, as it is manifest and open. Finallie, as touching your requisition to desist from further attempting against our enimie the French king, we know you for no competent iudge of so high authoritie to requite vs in that behalfe. Wherefore (God willing) we purpose with the aid and assistance of our confederats and allies to prosecute the same, and as ye doe to vs and our realme, so it shall be remembered and acquitted hereafter by the helpe of our Lord & our patrone saint George, who right excellent, right high and mightie prince, &c. Dated vnder our signet in our campe befoze Wirwine, the twelfth day of August.

This

This letter being deliuered vnto the Scottish her-
 rald, he departed with the same into Flanders,
 there to haue taken ship: but for want of readie pas-
 sage he staied, and returned not into Scotland till
 Flodden field was fought, and the king slaine. For
 king James perceiuing all the Englishmens doi-
 ings to tend vnto war rather than to peace, hauing
 taken order for the assembling of his people, imme-
 diatlie after he had sent forth his herald with com-
 mandement to denounce the warre, he determined
 to invade the English confines, and first besoge his
 maine force was come together, the lord Humes that
 was lord chamberlaine and warden of Scotland, the
 thirtieth day of August, hearing that the English-
 men had fetched a bottie within the Scottish ground,
 assembled a power, & followed them into Forthum-
 berland, but yet he could returne he was forelaid [in
 Bowne house, or Bowne field] by the Englishmen,
 which breaking out of their ambushes, put the Sco-
 tishmen to the worse, and of them toke and slue ma-
 nie.

Englishmen
 fetched a bottie
 in Scotland.

Fr. Thin.

Buchan. lib. 13.

These wars thus begun, the king determined to
 go to his armie (as it seemeth) not yet fullie assem-
 bled. Whereupon comming to Linclud, he went to
 the church to heare euen song; as the maner was.
 So whome, after he had entered the chappell, there
 came an old man, whose heare was somewhat yel-
 low with red, hanging downe vpon his shoulders, his
 forehead high with baldnesse, bare headed, hauing
 his bodie couered with a blewish garment, girded
 with white, and verie reuerent in his countenance.
 This man seeking the king, passed through the com-
 panie standing there, and drew nere to the king.
 Who being now come vnto him (and with a certeine
 rude behauiour, leaning vpon the seat wherein the
 king was placed) in homelie sort saied vnto him:
 "King James sent vnto thee, to giue thee admonish-
 "ment that thou hasten not forward to the place which
 "thou hast determined: which warning if thou dost
 "despise, it shall succed ill with thee, and with all such
 "as shall attend vpon thee. Further I am comma-
 "ded to giue thee intelligence before hand, that thou es-
 "chue the familiaritie, custome, or counsell of women,
 "and if thou dost otherwise, it shall succed to thy
 "hurt and reproch. After which thus spoken, he ming-
 led himselfe with the other companie, neither could
 after be found (the euen song being ended) when he
 was sought for by the king: for he was neuer seene
 after that he had thus deliuered his message. Which
 seemed the more strange, because that manie which
 stood nere him (marking all his order, and desirous
 to haue heard more things from him) could not per-
 ceieue his departure; amongst which persons (of
 those that meant to haue asked him further ques-
 tions) David Lindsay (a man of approued credit and
 vertue, verie well learned, and whose life was far
 estranged from lieng and falshood) was one, who told
 this same to me (saith Buchanan) as a thing most
 certeine; or else I would haue ouerpassed it as a fa-
 ble caried about by common report.]

King James
 approached
 nere vnto
 England
 with his
 power.

The king of
 Scots made
 too much
 haist.

Forham.
 The Whites.

In the meane time was the whole power of Scot-
 land assembled, with the which king James appro-
 ching to the borders, and nothing abashed with the
 euill lucke thus at the beginning chanced to his peo-
 ple, purposed with greater aduantage of victorie to
 recover that detriment; and hereupon he made such
 haist, that he would not staie for the whole power of
 his realme, which was in preparing to come forward
 vnto him; but comming to the borders, he passed o-
 uer the water of Tweed the two and twentieth of Au-
 gust, and entered into England, lodging that night
 at Westham nere to the riuer of Tisell, and the
 next day laid siege vnto the castell of Forham, and
 within thort space wan the Whites, ouerthrowe the

Barnekin, & slue diuerse within the castell, so that
 the capteine and such as had charge within it, desired
 the king to delate the siege, while they might send to
 the earle of Surreie alreadie come with an armie
 into the north parts, conuenanting if they were not
 rescued by the nineteenth day of that moneth, they
 should deliuer the castell vnto the king. This was
 granted: and because none came within the time to
 the rescue, the castell was deliuered at the appoin-
 ted day; a great part of it was ouerthrowne and
 beaten downe. After this he wan the castells of
 Forth and Etell, & diuerse other places of strength,
 of which part were ouerthrowne. He also toke ma-
 nie prisoners, and sent them away into Scotland,
 and diuerse he assured: and thus he abode an eigh-
 teene daies within England, till two parts of his
 armie were scaled & departed home from him, which
 they did vpon this occasion.

The king was determined & perswaded to haue
 besieged Bertolke (beyond which he was now pas-
 sed) since the same alone was more honor (than
 all the other places besides) if they wan it; the taking
 whereof they supposed not to be verie hard, because
 they were sure that the towne and castell were in-
 furnished of all things for the defense thereof.
 Whereupon, the king (deeming nothing too hard for
 his armie, especiallie, since the English were set on
 worke as much as they might in the French wars)
 being nourished in that vanitie (by his flattering
 courtiers) did leaue the same vndone at this time,
 meaning in his returne easilie to haue obtained it.
 But as they were yet at Forth, a herald of the Eng-
 lish came vnto them, requiring that they would ap-
 point a day and place, where and when both the ar-
 mies might ioin in battell. Whereupon, there was
 a counsell called amongst the Scots, in which it
 was agreed by the greater part, that the Scots
 should returne home into their countrie, least with
 so small a companie they might hazard the state of
 the whole countrie; especiallie, since that they had al-
 readie sufficientlie obtained fame, glorie and riches,
 and to the uttermost satisfied the band of amitie with
 the French; for there was no iust cause, why they so
 number (so few) and for trauell (in ouerthrowing so
 manie forts) so much weakened, should now againe
 be laid open to so great a multitude of the English
 daile increasing with succors. For it was said at
 that time; that Thomas Howard brought into
 the field (besides the rest of his armie) 6000 of chosen
 and valiant souldiers from the English campe (in
 France) before Turweine.

To which perswasion (to make the matter more
 strange) it was further added, that if the king did
 depart; the English host of necessitie must be dissol-
 ued, and could not that yeare againe be repaired, be-
 cause their souldiers were set from the furthest parts
 of the realme; and that if the king would needs fight,
 that he then should do it in his owne realme, kee-
 ping the time & place in his power alwaies to be ap-
 pointed. But when the French ambassadoz (and cer-
 teine other, sed with the French pensions) labored to
 the contrarie; the king being by nature fierce, and
 greedy of warre, was easilie perswaded to abide his
 enimie in that place. In the meane time, when the
 English came not forth (at the day appointed to
 them by the herald, which before had bene with the
 Scots) the noblemen of Scotland, taking occasion
 thereof, did astreight go to the king, declaring that
 their not comming to battell was onelie a traine
 and deceit, deferring the matter from day to day,
 to the end that their force might be increased, and
 the Scots diminished.

Wherefore said they, we should be the like policie
 against them. For since they haue not attended the
 time

Barnekin.

Forth and
 Etell taken.

Fr. Thin.

Buchan. lib. 13.

time prescribed vnto them, it is no shame to the Scots to returne into their countrie without battell, or to fight within their owne limits. Of both which the surer counsell were to follow the first; which if it be not liked, then is there god occasion offered to execute the other. For since the riuer of Till (hauing his banks) is not passable, but at certein miles hence (except it be by a bridge) some few may there resist a great multitude. Besides which, when a part of the English armie is passed the bridge, the same bridge made easilie (by engines placed there) be cut in funder; so that there shall not be passage for anie more: by means whereof, the one part of them shall be subdued on the one side of this riuer, before that anie aid can come vnto them from the other banke. The king liked neither of these deuises and persuasions; but answered, that he would not suffer the English to depart (vnsoughten with) although there were an 100000 against him. At which rash answer, the whole nobilitie was greivously offended.

Whereupon Archibald Doolglas earle of Angus (which farre excelled all the others both in paires and authoritie) laboured to turne the kings mind with all gentle persuasions, and began to make a more ample discourse vpon the two former counsels given by the nobilitie. For he shewed that the king had fullie satisfied the request of the French, in that he had now turned the greatest part of the English armie before bent against the French, against himselfe and his owne people; and had so wrought, that those great armies should neither hurt France nor doe anie iniurie vnto the Scots, sith they were not able long to remaine in campe in those cold places, and in a barren countrie vnfurnished of all things (by the calamities of the last warres) and in which there was no come; and if there were, it could not be ripened (the winter comming on so fast) in those northerne parts of the realme.

And where the French ambassador doth so much bge vs vnto the battell, I suppose that the same should not seeme either new or strange vnto vs, that a strange man (which doth not respect the common euill of the realme, but the priuat commoditie of his owne nation) be ouer lauidy in poysoning out the blood of other men. Besides which, his request is ouer impudent, to demand of the Scots that which the French king (a man of singular experience and wisdom) doth not iudge conuenient for his owne kingdom or dignitie, if we be ouerthrowne. Neither should the losse of his host seeme more light vnto him (although we are few in number) because that all they of Scotland (which excell in force, authoritie or counsell) are assembled here together, who being slaine, the rest of the realme would some be a preie to the victor. What? Is it more safe for vs, and more profitable to the escheewing of all danger, for him to fight at this present? No trulie. For if let vs suppose, that the English (by imagined means) may be either made needie of monie, or else wried by de laie; what can be done more necessarie for the present state of things, than to compell the enimie to diuide his armie, to the end that we may ease the weight of warre against the French by one part of the host to be sent against vs, and still to hold them plaie as it were alwaies to keepe them readie to set vpon vs, & by removing to giue them cause to follow vs: For so I suppose shall the glorie and shew (which these men I feare rather valiant in words than deeds, do with their rashnesse so much pretend) be fullie answered. For what can happen more honorable to the king, than that we (by the overthrow of so manie castles, by the spoile of so manie countries with sword and fire, and by the drying home of so great boties and preies) haue done that iniurie to them,

as that their countrie shall not by the peace of manie paires recouer his former estate: What greater profit may we looke for by warre, than in so great tumult of warres, with great paine and honor to vs, and with shame and reproch to our enimies, to obtaine quiet, ioined with gaine and glorie for the refreshing of our selues? Which kind of victorie (that is gotten more by words than by swords) chieflie belongeth to men, and of men speciallie to the leaders and capteins, as such a glorie thereof the common souldiours may not challenge anie part.

Which being thus spoken by earle Doolglas, although all they which were present seemed (by their countenance) to giue consent thereto: yet the king (who had with other bound himselfe to fight with the English) receiued these counsels with contrarie cares; and in heat commanded Doolglas to depart home, if he were afraid of the enimie. Whereupon he conceiuing some unkindnesse, and inwardly beholding wherewith all these things would come by the kings rashnesse forthwith burst out in teares. After which (as soone as he could settle himselfe thereto) he spake these few words. If (said he) my former life did not cleare me from the reproch of a coward, I know not with what reason or persuasion I might cleare or defend my selfe. For trulie so long as this my bodie was able to susteine anie labor, I neuer spared to spend the same in the defense of my countries helpe, and my soveraignes honor. But since I see their eares to exclude my counsell (which is the onelie thing wherewith I can now be profitable) I here leaue my two sonnes (who next vnto my countrie are most deare to me) and the rest of my kindred (of whom I greatly account) as a certaine pledge of the truth and loue of my mind towards thee, and the common helpe of my countrie. And I pray God that he make this feare of mine to be false, and that I may rather be counted a lieng prophet, than behold those things which I feare will happen vnto vs. Which words when the Doolglas had said to the king, he departed thence with his companie. The rest of the nobilitie (because they saw they could not draw the king to their mind) took that place for battell which was next vnto them, to the end (seeing they were much inferior in number to their enimies, for there were 26000 fighting men in the English armie, as it was knowne by the scouts) to defend themselves with the benefit of the place, and thereupon got the hill next vnto their campe.)

In which meane time, the earle of Surrie, lieutenant to the king of England, hauing raised all the poluer of the north parts of England, came with the same towards the place where he heard that king James was incamped, and approaching within three miles of the Scottish campe in full sight of the Scottishmen, pitcht downe his tents, and incamped with his whole armie. Although king James had great desire to fight with his enimies thus lodged in full view of his campe; yet because he was incamped in a place of great aduantage, so as the enimies could not approach to fight with him, but with great losse and danger to cast themselves away, he thought good to keepe his ground, speciallie because all those of the nobilitie, who were knowne to be of experience, did not hold with their aduise that counselled him to giue battell.

At what time the earle of Surrie had sent an officer at armes vnto him, requiring him to come forth of his strength vnto some indifferent ground, where he would be readie to encounter him, & name the earle of Huntley, a man for his high valiancie ioined with wisdom and policie, had in most reputation of all the residue, affirmed in plaine words [besides that which Doolgasse had before said] that

The power of the north countrey raised.

The English campe in sight of the Scottish campe.

King James was minded to keepe his ground.

Paulus Iouius.

The earle of Huntley his counsell.

Fr. Thin. nothing

His persua-
sions.

nothing could be either more fond or foolish, than to fight at pleasure of the enimie, and to set all on a maine chance at his will and appointment, and therefore it should be good for them to remaine there in place of advantage, and with prolonging the time to trifle with the enimie, in whose campe there was alreadie great scarcitie of vittels, neither was it possible that they should be vittelled from the inner parts of the realme, by reason of the cumbersome waies for cariage to passe now after such abundance of continuall raine as of late was fallen, and not like as yet to cease, so that in sitting still and attempting nothing rashlie without aduiselement, the king should haue his enimies at his pleasure, as vanquished without stroke stricken through disadvantage of the place, and lacke of vittels to susteine their languishing bodies.

Forle weas-
ther.

And suerlie beside the want of vittels, the foule and euill weather soe annoied both parties; for there had not bene one faire day, no scarce one houre of faire weather of all the time the Scottish armie had lien within England, but great cold, wind & raine, which had not onelie caused manie of the Scots to returne home, but also soe bered the Englishmen, as well in their iourne thitherwards, as also while they lay in campe against the Scottish armie. There was sending of messengers betwixt them to and fro, and the king had sent his quarell in writing vnto the earle of Surrie by his herald Blaie the night before the battell, containing as followeth.

King James his quarell vnto the earle of Surrie.

Where it is alledged that we are come into England against our bond and promise, thereto we answer: that our brother was bound as farre to vs as we were to him, and when we swaie last before his ambassadors in presence of our counsell, we expressed speciallie in our oth, that we would keepe to our brother, if our brother kept to vs, and not else. We sweare that our brother brake first to vs, and of his breach we required him diuers times of amends: and latelie we warned him, as he did not vs yet we brake. And this we take for our quarell, and by Gods grace shall defend the same at your affixed time, which with Gods helpe we shall abide. Thus was the king verie desirous to trie the matter by battell, although the wisest sort of his nobles wished not that he should doe anie thing ouer rashlie.

Prodigious
chances.

In hare.

The buckle
leather of his
helmet gnawed
with mice.
The cloth of
his tent of
bloudie colour.

There chanced also manie things taken (as ye would say) for warnings of some great mischance to follow, which though some reputed but as vaine and casuall haps; yet the impression of them bred a certefine religious feare and new terroz in his heart. For as he was in counsell with his lords, to understand their opinions touching the order of his battels, there was an hare start amongst them, which hauing a thousand arrowes, daggers, and other kind of things bestowed at hir, with great noise and shouting, yet the escaped from them all safe and without hurt. The same night also, mice had gnawed in sunder the buckle and leather of his helmet where with he should fasten the same to his hed. And moreover, the cloth or velle of his inner tent (as is said) about the breake of the day, appeared as though the deawie moisture thereof had bene of a bloudie colour.

Hereupon the king keeping himselfe within his tent, the earle of Surrie constrained by necessitie to take all waies whereby to traine the king downe from the hill where he was lodged, remoued his campe towards the hills of Floddon, where the king of Scots late incamped: and on the ninth day of September passed the water of Till at Twissell bridge; the rereward going ouer at Milford, putting themselves as nere as they could betwixt the Scottish campe and Scotland. King James perceiving the Englishmen to passe the water, iudged that they had ment to win an hill that laie betwixt them and his campe, and therefore to preuent them, he caused his field to be raised, and fier to be set on the litter & cabins which they had made of boughs, and so with all speed remoued to the other hill, being gotten thither per the Englishmen could perceue him to be remoued out of his former lodgings, because the smoke of the fiers which the Scots had made, covered all the countrie betwixt the two armies.

In the meane while were the Englishmen aduanced to the foot of Floddon hill, hauing thereby gotten double aduantage: for the Scottish ordinance could not much annoie them in marching vnto wards vnder the leuill thereof, and they againe might gall the Scots in shooting off at them, as they came downewards vpon them. For king James hauing disappointed the Englishmen of the hill, thought verelie it should be an easie matter for him to ouerthrow them, which being put beside the place where they intended (as he thought) to haue camped, would neuer abide the countenance of his puissant armie, if he might attaine to ioine with them. Therefore the Scottish armie [after they had appointed the same into three wards, whereof (as saith Lesleus) the earle of Huntlee and the lord Hume led the right wing, the left had the earle of Crawford and Montrose; and the king himselfe kept the middle ward, with the earles of Argile and Lennor] making downewards, encountered with the English host nere to the foot of the mountaine called Branston, and first sir Edmund Hatward leading one of the out wings of the English armie, hauing with him three thousand men, being fiercelie assailed by the Scots on foot, hauing speares and long weapons, and also by certefine horsemen, was in the end discomfited, and his people beaten downe and put to flight, so that being of them forsaken, he was constrained to follow. But yet he and diuerse other which escaped, ioined themselves to the next battell as well as they might. This so prosperous a beginning, who would thinke should haue turned to the losse of the Scots part, and aduancement of the English side. But so it came to passe, for king James no sooner saw that wing of the English host ouerthrowne and discomfited, but that he deemed how all the whole power of the Englishmen had bene fleeing away: and therefore alighting beside his horse, and commanding those that were about him to follow, prepared himselfe to pursue the chase.

His capitains did what they could by words to remoue him from his purpose, declaring to him the dutie of a prince: which is not rashlie to enter the fight, but to prouide and see that euerie thing be done in order: and whereas comming to trie the matter by hand blowes, he can doe no more than another man; yet keeping his place as appertineth to his person, he may be worth manie thousands of other. The king nothing moued with these exhortations, breaking his arrais of battell, with a companie of noble men, rushed forward into the fore ward, where accomplishing the office of a footman, he found the Englishmen not fleeing, but manfullie standing at resistance,

The English
campe remou-
ed by the
earle.

The Scots
campe remou-
ed also.

Aduantage
gotten by the
ground.

King James
his practice.

Fr. Thin.

Sir Edmund
Hatward was
fiercelie as-
sailed.

A good begin-
ning had an
euill ending.

King James
deceived him-
selfe and alight-
ed from his
horse.

The capitains
good counsel
not regarded.

The kings
hardinesse
marred all.

resistance, so that there was a right hard encounter, and manie arrowes shot on euerie side, and great hurt done therewith.

At length sir Edward Stanlie with the rereguard of the Englishmen came tiercelle downe from the hill of Banrton, upon the backe of the kings armie, wherein they fought cruellie on both parts for a long space; but at length the victorie inclined to the Englishmen. For the king himselfe was there beaten downe and slaine, with all that whole battell which first entered the fight. The other part of the Scottish host, whereof Alexander Hume lord chamberlaine had the gouernance, although he saw where the other Scottishmen were in danger, and closed in on euerie side, yet would he not once remoue one foot forward out of the place (where he stood) to aid them. Moreover, the lacke of discretion in the king, which would needs run upon his owne death, amazed the minds of all men, and brought them into such perplexitie, that they knew not what to doe; but looked one upon another without stirring to or fro, as those that were in despaire now after the death of their king to recover the victorie, which by so strange a chance seemed as it were slipped out of their hands.

Howbeit, the lord chamberlaine bare the most blame, for that he did not cause a new onset to be giuen. But it happened well for the Englishmen: for if king James had ordered himselfe wiselie in this battell, so that after he was slaine, a new furie had moued the Scots to haue renewed the fight in reuenge of the kings death, as had bene expedient, the victorie vndoubtedlie had bene theirs (as was thought by men of great vnderstanding.) Whereupon the Englishmen remeimbryng how manifestlie Gods goodnesse appeared towards them in this battell, confessed themselves long after bound to God for their safetie and deliuerance out of that present danger. The fight began about foure of the clocke in the after noone, and continued three houres, in the which fiftene thousand men were slaine on both parts: and of that number a third part at the least was of Englishmen (as was credible reported) but (as our English writers affirme) there died of Englishmen not past fiftene hundred.

But yet the Scottishmen hold, that there died more of the Englishmen than of their nation at this field, and that manie thought it was not the bodie of king James which the Englishmen found in the field, and toke it for his; but rather an other Scottish mans corps, called the lard of Bonehard, who was also slaine there. And it was affirmed by sundrie, that the king was seene the same night aliue at Belso: and so it was commonlie thought that he was liuing long after, and that he passed the seas into other countries, namelye to Ierusalem to visit the holie sepulchre, and so to dyue forth the residue of his daies, in doing penance for his former passed offences: but he appeared not in Scotland after as king, no more than Charles duke of Burgognie did appeare in his countries after the battell of Panceie, although his people had the like vaine opinion that he escaped from that discomfiture aliue.

But now to retorne to the truth of the matter where we left. In the night folowing after this terrible battell, the residue of the Scottish armie returned homewards the same way they came, waiking and spoiling the English borders as they passed. At their comming home, euerie man spake euill of them, for that as cowards and naughtie persons, they neither sought to reuenge the death of their noble king, nor yet to succour their fellowes that were beaten downe and slaine before their faces. But namelye Alexander Hume lord chamberlaine was reprimoued, as cause of all that mischief, which beha-

ued himselfe not as a captetie, but as a traitor; or enimie to his countrie. * Upon the honor of this victorie, Thomas Howard earle of Surrie (as a note of the conquest) gaue to his seruants this cognisance (to weare on their left arme) which was a white lion (the beast which he before bare as the proper ensigne of that house) standing ouer a red lion (the peculiar note of the kingdome of Scotland) and tearing the same red lion with his pawes.]

Thus haue you heard how thorough rashnesse and lacke of skillfull order, the Scottish armie was overcome, and that worthy prince king James the fourth brought to his fatall end, on the ninth day of September, in the twentieth and fift yere of his reigne, and thirtieth and ninth of his age, which was in the yere from the incarnation 1513. For his politike gouernment and due administration of iustice, which he exercised during the time of his reigne, he deserved to be numbred amongst the best princes that euer reigned ouer the Scottish nation. All theft, reffe, murder, and robbrie ceased in his daies, by such rigorous execution of lawes penall as he caused to be exercised through all the bounds of Scotland: insomuch that the sauage people of the out Isles soyled themselves through terror and dread of due punishment to liue after the order of lawes and iustice, where otherwile of themselves they are naturallie inclined to sedition, & disquieting of each other. To conclude, men were in great hope, that if it had pleased the hie determinate power of almighty God to haue lent to him longer life, he should haue brought the realme of Scotland to such a flourishing estate, as the like in none of his predecessors times was yet euer heard of.

There died with him in that infortunate battell, of noble men (beside others of the meaner sort) the archbishop of saint Andrews his bastard sonne, the bishop of the Isles: the abbats of Inchaffreie and Killwenne: the earles of Montrose, Crawford, Argyle, Lennor, Glenear, Cathnes, Castelles, Bothwell, Arrell high constable of Scotland, Adell, Atholl, and Morton: the lords Louet, Forbois, Clueffon, Ross, Anderbie, Saintclare, Marwell, and his three brethren, Daunlie, Sempill, Bothcliffe, Bogornie, Arskill, Blackater, and Cowin: knights and gentlemen of name, sir John Douglas, Cuthbert Hume of Fast castle, sir Alexander Seton, sir Davie, maister John Grant, sir Dunkin Catwells, sir Sander Lotoder, sir George Lotoder, maister Marshall, maister Key, maister Elliot, maister Catwell clerke of the chancery, the deane of Ellesker, Spacke bene, Spacke Cleue, with manie others.

* This James the fourth was of a firme bodie, of iust stature, of most comelie countenance, and of sharpe wit, but altogether vnlearned, as the fault of that age was. But he did diligently applie himselfe to an old custome of the countrie, cunninglie to cure wounds, the knowledge whereof in times past was a thing common to all the nobilitie, being alwaies vsed to the warres. He was easilie to be spoken vnto, gentle in his answers, iust in his iudgements, and so moderat in punishments, that all men might easilie see he was vniwillingly drawn vnto them. Against the detraction of the euill, and admonishment of the good, there was such worthinesse of mind in him (confirmed by the quiet of a good conscience, and the hope of his innocencie) that he would not onelie not be angrie, but not so much as vse a sharpe word vnto them. Amongest which vertues, there were certeine vices crept in by the ouermuch desire to please the people, for whilst he labored to auoid the note of couetousnesse (objected to his father) and sought to win the fauour of the common sort (with sumptuous feasts, gorgeous shewes, and large gifts) he fell into

Fr. Thin.
Buchan, li. 13

The sauage
people refoz-
med them-
selues.

Fr. Thin.
Buchan, lib. 13.

Mr Edward
Stanlie was
on the backe
of the rere-
guard.

King James
slaine.

The lord
chamberlaine
was kill.

The lord
chamberlaine
bare the
blame.

The English
men thanked
God for this
vaine victorie.

1000. Buchan.
1000 men
slaine.

The Scottish
armie returned
home againe.

They were re-
primed of their
vaine people.

that pouertie, that it seemed (if he had liued long) that he would haue lost the fauor of his people (wome in old times) by the imposition of new taxes. Wherefore his death was thought to haue timelie happened vnto him.)

*James the
fift.*

An assemble
at Striueling
1513.

The king
crowned, and
the quene ap-
pointed re-
gent.
Fr. Thin.
Buchan. lib. 13.

After the death of that worthy prince king James the fourth, slain at Bannton (as before ye haue heard) his sonne James the fift succeeded him: for after the returne of those that escaped from the said field, the quene assembled the lords and estates of the realme together at Striueling, where the 27 day of September 1513, his sonne the foresaid James the fift, a child of one yere, nine moneths, & ten daies of age, by vniuersall aduise and consent was crowned king, and his mother the quene appointed regent of the realme, vsing the counsell of the reuerend father James Beton archbishop of Glasgowe, the earles of Huntlie, Angus, and Arrane. * This gouernement the quene obtained by reason of his husbands testament, who making his last will (before that he went to the warres) did appoint thereby that the whole administration of all things should remaine with him, so long as he continued a widower: the which though it were against the custome of the countrie (being the first example of a womans gouernement amongst the Scots) yet it seemed tolerable to most men (giuen to peace) especiallie since there were not men sufficient at that time for honor and experience to take that charge in hand, by occasion of the great slaughter of the nobles at Flodden field, which gouernement she did not long inioy.]

A debate.

The duke of
Albanie is
sent for.

Monsieur de
la Bautie is
sent into
Scotland.

An assemble
had at Stri-
ueling.

The great
disquietnesse
reigning in
Scotland dur-
ing the mi-
noritie of
James the
fift.

Fr. Thin.
Buchanan.
lib. 12.

For shortly after they fell at variance amongst themselves, about the bestowing of those benefices which were vacant by the deaths of those persons which had bene slain at the field; by reason whereof, some of them wist letters secretlie into France to John duke of Albanie, willing him to come into Scotland to be tutor to the king, and gouernor of the realme, as he that was next of blood to the king, and next to the crowne, in case the kings children deceased without issue. He therefore sent monsieur de la Bautie into Scotland, who in companie of the earle of Arrane, the lord Fleming, and Lion the herald (which long had bene in France) landed on the west coast the third of Nouember. And shortly after, the said monsieur de la Bautie deliuered his letters to the quene and lords, who thereupon met at saint Johns towne, and there by vniuersall consent it was accorded, that the duke of Albanie should be admitted tutor and gouernor to the king & realme, and that the same should be confirmed in parlement by the three estates which should be kept at Edinburgh, the thirtieth day of March next, for the same intent.

To rehearse the troubles and great disquietnesse that chanced, during the minoritie of this king, thorough lacke of due administration of iustice, and by discord & variance dallie rising amongst the lords & peeres of the realme, a man might haue iust cause greatlie to wonder thereat, and in weighing the same throughlie, no lesse lament the oppression done to the poore commons in that wicked and most miserable time, when iustice seemed to sleepe, and rapine with all the other sorts and rabble of insatiable violence inuaded his emptie seat, triumphing ouer all as a conqueror. * During the times of which disorder, there was (amongest those which preyed and spoiled others) a great captain of the same faction, called Macrobert Struan, who (ouerrunning Atholl and the adioining places) was accompanied for the most part with eight hundred theues, and sometime more. Which Struan was at length (whilest he spoiled euerie man at his owne pleasure, and at that time remaining with his uncle John Creichton) taken by

wait laied for him, and enforced to depart with his life.]

The quene sent louing letters vnto the king of England his brother, requiring him of peace. Whereupon a truce was taken betwixt the two realmes of England and Scotland, for the space of one yere and a day. In the beginning of February, the king of England, hearing that a parlement should be holden in Scotland, for the bringing in of the duke of Albanie to be tutor, wrote to his sister that she should in anie wise impeach and staie his coming thither; declaring how dangerous it was, not onelie for him, but also for his sonne to haue him gouernor, which was to succed, if his son were once out of the way. But the chiefest cause that moued the king of England to labour, that the duke should haue nothing to do in Scotland, was (as manie thought) for that he knew how the duke, in fauour of the king of France, would shew himselfe an enimie against England, with all the force he might make or procure.

Now shortly after that the peace was concluded betwixt him and the king of France, he sent a letter also, requiring him not to suffer the duke to passe into Scotland, for the reason first alleged. But notwithstanding the labor that king Henrie made to the contrarie, it was concluded by the states in parlement assembled in Edinburgh, at the time prefixed, that sir Patrike Hamilton, and Lion king of armes should be sent into France, to procure the duke to come into Scotland, being now confirmed tutor and gouernor, according to the lawes of the realme in such cases prouided. Whereupon, in Aprill then next following they took the seas, and passed into France, accordinglie as by the states had bene desired.

This yere came a legat into Scotland from the pope, with certeine priuileges granted to the king and realme. The thirtieth of Aprill was the quene deliuered of a prince in the castell of Striueling, which was baptised by the postulat of Dunfirmling, and the archdeane of saint Andrews, and instantlie confirmed by the bishop of Cathness, by the name of Alexander. During the time that the quene lay in childbed, great discord fell out betwixt the lords of the west parts, and the other lords of the realme: but shortly after the quene called an assemble at Edinburgh the twelfth of Iulie, where they were all well agreed. And herewith two of the cleargie were sent into England for peace. And the 28 of the same moneth, maister James Ogilvie abbat of Dunburgh, and sir Patrike Hamilton, and Lion the herald came forth of France with articles in writing from the king there, and the duke of Albanie, by the which the dukes coming was excused, because the king could not want him, till some end were had touching the warres betwixt him and the king of England, which was concluded in October next ensuing.

This yere, the first of August, the quene married Archembald Dologlasle earle of Angus, and immediately after in saint Johns towne took the great seale from the bishop of Glasgowe, that was chancellor of the realme. Whereupon the said bishop got him to Edinburgh, where manie lords assisted him, and kept out the quene and his new husband, so that they might not enter there: whereof great discord rose within the realme amongst the nobles and peeres of the same. In the peace contracted betwixt Lewis the twelfth of that name, king of France, and Henrie the eight king of England, no mention was made of the realme of Scotland: for the which the Scottishmen thought great salt in the French king, seeing that for his cause the warre had bene attempted betwixt them and England. The same yere, about

The king of
England writ-
teth to his sis-
ter.

The duke of
Albanie con-
firmed tutor,
by parliament.

1514.
A legat from
Rome.
The quene
deliuered of
her second son
Alexander.

The marriage
of the quene
mother.
The great
seale taken
from the bi-
shop of Glas-
gowe.

A peace con-
clude bet-
twixt Eng-
land & France

The decess
of the bishop
of Aberdeen.

about the twentieth of October, William Elphingston bishop of Aberdeen, and lord keeper of the priuie scale departed this life at Edinburgh. He had bene a faithfull counsellor to James the third & to James the fourth, by whose helpe he founded and endowed the college in the old towne of Aberdeen, for the increase of learning & vertue, which hath flourished with good wits of students euer since, till these our daies.

1514.
The castle of
Dunbarren
taken.

The 20 of Nouember, Le sire de la Baunie receiued the castell of Dunbar in the name of the duke of Albanie, at the hands of the deane of Glasgow brother to the bishop of Murray, called Forman. Shortly after, John Hepborne the prior of saint Andrewes then elect archbishop of that see, besieged the castell of saint Andrewes, and won it by force from the keepers of it, which were appointed to defend it in the name of Galwin Dologlasse, wherewith the quene and the earle of Angus were highly offended. The twelfth of Ianuarie, being a verie darke & windie night, the earle of Lennor, and the maister of Glen carne undermined the nether groundsoile of the castell gate of Dunbarton, & entered thereby into the castell, & so toke it, putting out thereof the lord Erskin. Shortly after (that is to say) the fifteenth of that moneth, a great assemblie was made betwixt the earles of Angus and Arrane, the one to haue fought with the other, which was the cause and beginning of great trouble that ensued.

The popes
bulls publi-
shed.
1515. Lelleus.

Contention
about the in-
hering of the
is of saint
Andrewes.

The same day in Edinburgh were the bulls published, which Forman the bishop of Murray had purchased at Rome, for the obtaining of the archbishopricke of saint Andrewes, the abbacies of Dunfermling, and Arbroeth, through supplication of the quene and duke of Albanie. From which bulls the prior of saint Andrewes appealed, pretending title to the archbishopricke by election and generall gift of the lords of the realme; and herupon got together his friends in Edinburgh, as the maister of Hales and others. And on the other part, the lord chamberleine, and diuerse of the bishop of Murreys friends got the kings letters, by vertue whereof they proclaimed the said maister of Hales, and the prior of saint Andrewes rebels, with all their assistants, putting them to the hozur: whereupon they were constrained to depart out of Edinburgh. And in Aprill following, the prior went vnto Rome, there to iustifie his appeal.

1515.
Truce be-
twixt Eng-
land and
Scotland.

The duke of
Albanie his
arrival in
Scotland.

The foure and twentieth of Februarie, a parlement was assembled at Striueling; but because the lords could not agree amongst themselves, it was proroged till the coming of the duke of Albanie, which was looked for to be in Scotland, in Aprill; or at the furthest in Aprill next ensuing, as he had sent word by sir John Striueling of the Keir, that was lately come from him with letters vnto the lords and pères of the realme. The fifteenth of Aprill, truce was proclaimed betwixt England and Scotland, to indure for thre yeares, or thre moneths (as saith Lelleus) but the same day at six of the clocke in the afternoon, the Englishmen entered the borders of Scotland vpon the water of Rule, and forraied the countrie, doing great hurt therein, notwithstanding the truce. The seventeenth day of Aprill, John duke of Albanie, tutor and gouernor of Scotland, arrived at the towne of Ayr, with eight ships well appointed, and furnished with men and all kind of necessarie prouision for his estate.

The duke of
Albanie recei-
ued into Ed-
inburgh.

From thence taking the sea againe, he sailed alongst the coast till he came to Dunbarton, and there came on land, & on the next day passed forth to Glasgow, where all the westland lords receiued him with great semblance of reioysing for his arrival. The six and twentieth day of Aprill, he was receiued into Edinburgh, a great number of lords meeting him on the way. The quene also came from hir owne lod-

ging and met him, to do him honoz. Sumptuous conceits, pageants, & plaies were shewed by the burgeses, to honoz his entrie in the best maner they could deuise. Shortly after his coming to Edinburgh, there came thither forth of all parts of the realme, the lords and barons, where they being assembled in counsell, he toke vpon him the gouernement of the realme, which he promised to vse by their aduise, so that they would assist him in setting forth of iustice and good orders, which they undertooke to do.

10
Hereupon was the parlement, which had bene proroged till his coming, summoned to be kept at Edinburgh the twelfth of Iulie, in the which diuerse acts were concluded and made; and the lord Dunsmond was adiudged in the dukes mercie, for striking Lion king of armes. The duke pardoned him of life and honoz, but his lands and goods remained in the kings hands: notwithstanding, he was afterwards restored to the same againe. In this parlement also, the duke of Albanie was confirmed by the three estates of the realme tutor and gouernor to the king, the scepter and sword being deliuered to him: his oth also was taken by the lords, and theirs giuen to him, that each of them should be faithfull to others, and namelie to their king and soueraine lord, and also should mainteine iustice to the uttermost of their powers, for the aduancement of his honoz, and suertie of the realme.

20
In the meane time, whilest this parlement was in hand, the gouernor was aduertised that the king should haue bene conueied forth of the realme secretly into England: whereupon he suddenly departed in the night time from Edinburgh, with his men of warre in good order, & came to Striueling, where the king, with his brother Alexander, laie with the quene; which castell, together with the kings person, and the other within it, were deliuered to him the third day of August: whereupon he committed them and the castell to the keeping of foure lords of the realme, whereof the earles of Eglington and Montrose were two. The lord Hume, because he had assisted the earle of Angus and the quene against the gouernor, was denounced a rebell; and the earles of Lennor & Arrane, with manie others, were sent to his houses to seise the same into the kings hands. In the castell of Hume was laid gunpowder by a traine, wherby diuerse of them that entered first into the castell were burned.

40
The lord Hume himselfe got him into England, and soze disquieted the marches, so that no day of truce was holden, neither on the east nor middle marches. The twelfth of August, the quene, the earle of Angus, and his brother George Dologlas, went from Temptallon vnto Berwik, and from thence passed to the nurrie of Caudreame; whereupon aduertisement being giuen to the K. of England, and his pleasure therein knowne, the six and twentieth of that moneth she was receiued by the lord Dacres, & conueied to Harbottell castell, where she remained till she was deliuered of a daughter, called Margaret Dologlasse, afterwards married to the earle of Lennor, as in place conuenient it shall further appeare. There was no Scottishman at this time receiued into England with hir. The gouernor perceiuing the rebellion of the lord Hume, passed to the borders with his Frenchmen, where the six of October, the said lord Hume came & submitted himselfe to the gouernors pleasure, and his brother Alexander shortly after did the same, and they were both deliuered to the earle of Arrane, who was appointed to keepe them in safetie within the towne of Edinburgh.

50
But the twelfth of October next ensuing, the said earle of Arrane departed from thence in the night
ff. ij. season,

The king de-
liuered to the
keeping of cer-
taine lords.

The lord
Hume de-
nounced a re-
bell.

The birth of
the countesse
of Lennor.

The lord
Hume sub-
mitted him-
selfe.

The earle of Arrane fled away.

The lord Hume and other countesse of Arrane purchaseth his sons pardon.

The old countesse of Arrane purchaseth his sons pardon.

A commotion betwixt the earles of Hurreie and Huntieie.

Lion king of armes slain by the lord Humes.

A truce concluded betwixt England & Scotland.

The earle of Arrane returns renoueth from the gouernor.

The earle of Lennox furnissheth Dunbarton.

The earles of Lennox and Arrane take a respite. For man re-

season, with those his prisoners, scaling their waies on foot. Hereupon, the gouernor causing the parlement to be holden that was summoned to begin the foure and thirtieth of October, the said lord Hume, maister William Hume, and David Hume, were count of treason by all the states, to lose their liues, lands, and goods. This parlement was proroged till fifteene daies after, within which time the earle of Arrane was appointed to make appearance, or else it was agreed that they should proceed against him in like manner. And in that meane space, the gouernor went to besiege the castell of Hamilton, where that noble aged ladie, the old countesse of Arrane, daughter to king James the second, & mother to the earle of Arrane, and aunt to the duke by his fathers side, caused not onlie the castell to be surrendered at the dukes pleasure, but procured also the earle of Arrans peace, which earle, the twelfth of Nouember next ensuing, came with the bishop of Glasgowe vnto Edinburgh, and there submitted himselfe to the dukes will.

About the same time, certeine lords toke part with the earle of Hurreie the kings bastard brother, and the earle of Erroll, against the erle of Huntieie, and raised a commotion; so that being got into Edinburgh, there was much ado, & the towne greatly disquieted. The gouernor lieng in the abbey, came into the towne, and toke the earles of Huntieie, Erroll, Hurreie, and others; and committed them to ward within the castell, while he tried the cause, and finding that maister William Haie being with the earle of Hurreie had raised that sturre, he sent the same Haie into France, there to remaine during his pleasure, and forthwith the said earles were set at libertie. Lion king of armes appointed to go into England with letters to king Henrie, was stopped at Caldstreame by the lord Hume, who toke his letters from him, and kept him prisoner, till Alexander Humes mother, that remained prisoner in Dunbar, was exchanged for him. The eighteenth day of December, Alexander duke of Holleie the kings brother departed this life at Striueling.

The seuenteenth day of Januarie, a truce was taken betwixt England and Scotland, till the feast of Pentecost next. This truce was agreed vpon at Colbington, by certeine commissioners, appointed on either part there, to treat for peace. For the realme of Scotland were these: Monsieur de Plaines the French ambassado, archdeacon of saint Andrews, maister Gawin de Dunbar, and sir William Scot of Baluerie knights. The Englishmen compassed for their part, the earle of Angus and the lord Hume within the compasse of this truce. In the meane time, the earle of Arrane departed from the gouernor againe, and repaired to the west parts, where he confederated himselfe with certeine lords, notwithstanding that sir James Hamilton, and the lord of Cauder remained pledges for his good demeanour within the castell of Edinburgh. The earles of Lennox, Glenearne, and other caused the castell of Dunbarton and diuerse other to be furnished, and toke the castell of Glasgowe with the kings great artillerie that laie within it, and spoiled the same.

The gouernor aduertised thereof, raised an armie & went to Glasgowe, where, by the laboz of the bishop of that place, an appointment was taken, so that the castell was deliuered into the bishops hands. The earle of Lennox came in to the gouernor, and toke a new respite, and about the beginning of March next following, the earle of Arrane and the lord Hume did the like. For man the archbishop of saint Andrews, against whome the prior of saint Andrews did stand (as ye haue heard) for that same benefice, to

the great disquieting of the realme, by such partakings as chanced thereabout among the lords, came now to the towne of Edinburgh, and resigned all the thre benefices, whereof he had purchased buls of the pope, that is to say, the archbishopricke of saint Andrews, the abbasies of Arbroth and Dunfermling in the gouernors hands; to bestow the same at his pleasure: who by the counsell of certeine lords, to satisfie such as claimed interest to the same, and pacifying of all debates, bestowed them as followeth.

First, the said archbishopricke he gaue to the said For man with the abbasies of Dunfermling, and to maister James Hepborne he gaue the bishopricke of Hurreie, and benefices worth a thousand marks by the yeare vnto the prior of saint Andrews for a recompense; the abbasie of Dunburgh he gaue vnto maister James Ogilvie, and the bishopricke of Aberdeen (then vacant) vnto Alexander Gordon, and to the archbishop of Glasgowe called Weston he gaue the abbasie of Arbroth; assigning to the earle of Hurreie a large pension out thereof. One of the Hamiltons was made abbat of Kilwinning, and George Dundasie was made prior of the knights of the roads. And thus he bestowed the benefices which had bene vacant euer since Floodon field, vnto diuerse lords, or to their kinsmen, that by such liberalitie bled towards them, all debates and discords might cease, which had happened amongst them, speciallie about the bestowing of the same benefices. This was done in the moneth of February.

Shortlie after, the gouernor, by counsell of the lords, to the end the realme might come to a perfect quietnesse, and the noble men vnited together, received into fauor the earle of Angus, & maister Patrike Pantoun secretarie, who for his cause had bene kept as prisoner in Insche galle. He likewise receiued the lord Hume, and his brother, pardoning them all their offenses past. And in parlement holden the first of Maie, they were restozed to all their lands, heritages, fees, and honours. About that time, the lord of Strathven in Atholl committed diuerse great offenses and crimes, for the which he was taken by the earle of Atholl, and beheaded at Logierath by the gouernors commission.

All this while, the parlement was not dissolved but vpon prorogation, and so the same began againe the first day of Iulie, at what time the king of England, at request of his sister the queene of Scotland, wrote letters to the lords now assembled in parlement, requesting them to expell the gouernor forth of the realme. But all the lords and states with vniuersall consent sent Albanie the herald with letters to the said king, excusing them, that they might not in anie wise satisfie his desire therein, the same being against reason and the lawes of their countrie.

In the moneth of September, the gouernor commanded the lord Hume, with his brother maister William Hume, and David Bar of Fernhurst, to be arrested and bestowed in seuerall places, that better rule might be kept vpon the borders: but they lieng now in ward, sundrie informations were giuen by against them: and thereupon, the eight of October, the said lord Hume and his brother were count of treason, for assisting and mainteining of the theues vpon the borders, and other crimes; for the which he was beheaded: and on the morrow after, his brother the foresaid William Hume was likewise beheaded, and their heads were set vpon the Tolbush in Edinburgh: David Bar was spared.

Alexander lord Hume left yet thre brethren in life, who were all by the iniuries of those times greatly afflicted with diuerse misfortunes. For George, being banished for the slaughter of a man, remained

signeth his title to the archbishops la.

Bestowing of benefices.

Fr. Thin.

1515.

The earle of Angus and others receiued into fauor.

The parlement began againe.

The king of England's letters to the lords.

The lord Hume and others arrested and committed to ward.

The lord Hume beheaded.

Fr. Thin. Buchan. lib. 14.

remained in England amongest his friends. John abbat of Jedburgh was banished beyond Lake. David the younger brother, which was prior of Colvingham two yeares after the death of his brethren, was (by James Hepburne, the husband of his sister) slain by a traine, under color of a meeting and parlie, whereunto he was called; whome all men did pittie, because he was a harmelesse yong gentleman, of a singular wit, and folowie betrayed by those of whom he ought not so to have bin intrapped.

The duke of Albany with the borders. Another parliament. The duke of Albany second person of the realme.

The gouernor altho he li- cence to go into France.

The earle of Lennox in ward,

Sponſeur de la Bantie made warden of the marches.

1517. Ambassadors from France.

2 Ambassadors into France.

The gouernor goeth into France.

Gouernors appointed to the kings per- son.

Shortlie after, the duke rode to Jedburgh with a great companie of men, & staied the great robbing & reauing which had bene vsed on the borders, & left there good wardens to keepe good rule in those parts, and so returned to Edenburgh. The third of Nouember, another parliament was holden, in which it was decreed, that the gouernor should be deemed and reputed for second person of the realme, notwithstanding the claime made by his elder brother Alexander Steward, that was begotten on the daughter of the earle of Mkeneie, which was alleged to haue bene first married to their father the duke of Albany, before he was married to the earle of Bullognes daughter, on whome he begot the gouernor. Whereupon this Alexander made protestation to be heire to his father; but they were afterward agreed, and Alexander renounced his title in his brothers fauor, and was made bishop of Gurte, and abbat of Secone. At this parlement, the gouernor required licence to go into France, and to be absent there six moneths; but this lute was not granted till April following.

At the same time was the earle of Lennox put in ward within the castell of Edenburgh, till he had caused the castell of Dunbzeon to be deliuered unto one Alane Steward in the constable name, & then he was set at libertie. In the moneth of December, Sponſeur de la Bantie was made warden of the east marches in stead of the lord Hume, and kept daies of truce: which procured such hatred, that it cost him afterwards his life. In the moneth of Ianuarie, the gouernor went to saint Johns towne, and there held his seat of iustice, where the lord Fleming for the time was made great chamberlaine of Scotland, with all the fees thereof. In the yeare 1517, there came ambassadors from Francis the new French king, to desire, that the ancient league might be renewed betwixt him and the king of Scotland, their realmes, dominions, and subiects.

For this cause, all the lords of the realme were assembled at Edenburgh, where, by them it was concluded, that the gouernor himselfe should passe the seas into France; and also that the bishop of Dunhelis, the secretarie, and the maister of Glencarne as ambassadors should go thither: the which the thirtieth of Maie, went a shipboard, and by the east seas sailed thither, and the gouernor toke ship at Petowmarke beside Dunbzeon the seuenth of Iune, taking his course by the west seas, and so passed into France, where it was agreed, that he should haue remained but onelie four moneths, he hauing appointed the bishops of saint Andrews and Glasgou, the earles of Huntlie, Argile, Angus, and Arrane, to gouerne in his place, whilste he was absent. Also he ordeined Anthoine Darcie, or Sponſeur de la Bantie lieutenant of the borders.

He also had caused the king to be brought into Edinburgh castell, within the which he should remaine in the keeping of the earle Sparshall, the lords Erskin, Bothwell, Keithen; of the which, two at least should be alwaies present. The queene that remained as then in England, after the vnderstand that the gouernor was departed towards France, returned to Edenburgh the seuenth of Iune, but

she was not suffered to see the king till August following: at that time, for feare of the pestilence to be crept into the castell, he was removed to Cragmiller, where the queene oftentimes came vnto him; but at length, through some suspicion conceived, least the queene might conueie him away from thence into England, he was effectually brought vnto the castell of Edenburgh, in which he was kept after, according to the order taken in that behalfe.

The king remoued.

The doubt which the Scots had in the queene.

Such about this time in the which these things were done, John Gordon (the eldest sonne of that Alexander earle of Huntlie, which for the praise of his singular godnesse obtained the surname of good) returning out of France (whither a little before he had sailed with the gouernor) was singularly welcommed and interteined of all men, who going vnto his otome people (in the north parts) was vexed with such grievous sicknesse that he died therewith, and by his father (to whom he should by course of nature erect the same office) shortly after buried in the abbie of Kilroffe, with a goodlie towne erected on him by his said father. The death of which John gaue (for manie causes) manie griefes vnto manie persons: but amongst other the chiefest to his father, who liued not long after his sonne. Which Alexander when he died, left the said earldome to his nephew, sonne of his sonne John; who because he was but ten yeeres old, was committed to the earle of Angus, to be instructed in all godnesse of maners answering to the excellencie of that wit therewith he was indued.

This earle Huntlie adorne with excellent sweetness of maners and pleasantnesse of wit, the earle of Angus would neuer or verie hardlie suffer to depart out of his companie. For which cause when the erle of Angus, for certeine suspicions of treason was banished Scotland into England, he attempted by all deuises and persuasions to intise the child to haue gone with him: but the yong boie could not be allowed with anie flatteries or persuasions to submit himselfe to the least note of reproch, in forsaking his king and countrie. Wherefore when the earle of Angus was departed into England, the child lifting vp his craning hands to the king, did grant himselfe and all he had to the king and his countrie, whome the king receiued with all kind of humanitie; and prouided that he should be instructed in euerie sort of vertue and learning, that was to be desired in such a prince; because the said child was borne of his sisters marriage.

The lords and other nobles highly offended (as well for the death of the lord Hume, as for that they saw Anthoine Darcie lord Bantie the French aduanced to greater credit than themselves, and not onelie to be made warden of the marches, but also capteine of Dunbzeon, the strongest fort of Scotland) began to raise tumults in the land. For William Cockburne (uncle of Comarck Landon) who (repelling the gardians of the papill) did keepe the castell of Landon, assisted with the helpe of David Hume lord of Woodburne (whose sister the said Cockburne had married) first began a commotion in those parts. For when they saw that all means were taken from them openlie to reuenge the same, and to set vpon Bantie, they determined to performe the same (with some secret deuise) by lieng in wait for him.

Buchan lib. 14

For the castell of Landon or Landon, being kept in the possession of Woodburne (and such as took his part against the king) he the said Woodburne appointed subtil fellows secretly to enter the castell, and to reteine it in the kings name. After which, this Woodburne feining a counterfeit anger (for he was a man full of all subtiltie) that this castell was so inturionlie taken from him, and kept to the kings

Fr. Thin. Lettens lib. 9. pag. 386.

Letlens lib. 9. pag. 387.

1517.

Monsieur de la Bantie slain by the lord of Woodburne.
Fr. Thin.

A parliament called.

The lord of Woodburne indicted.

The earle of Arrane cometh into the Mers.

The maister of Hales.

The bond of league betwixt Scotland & France.
Capteine Mores.

1518.

The abbat of Glenluce.

The Scots euill bled at the French kings hands.

The bishop of Aberdeen a builder.

kings behoufe, he laid siege to the castell (as though he went about to reconer the same with all the power he could) to the intent that Bantie might be intited to come thither to raise the siege. For which cause Bantie (supposing in truth that the castell had bene kept to the vse of the king) hastening the rescue thereof, came forth of the castell of Dunbar to assemble the men of the countrie to raise the siege, as lieutenant of the borders, he was chased by the said lord of Woodburne and other so fiercelie, that in the end he was slaine, and foure Frenchmen with him: his head was cut from the shoulders, and set vp in the towne of Duns [upon the castell of Hume] the nineteenth of Januarie.

The lords regents were herewith meruelouslie offended, & chose the earle of Arrane to be warden of the borders in de la Banties place, who was also chosen to be prouost of Edinburgh: wherewith the earle of Angus was highlie displeased. But the erle of Arrane, not seeming to passe much thereof, toke George Dologlas the said earle of Angus his brother, and Parke Har, committing them to ward within the castell of Edinburgh, because of the fauor he bare vnto the said lord of Woodburne & his complices. Moresouer, for due punishment of the murder of the foresaid de la Bantie, there was a parliament called the nineteenth of Februarie next, in the which, David Hume lord of Woodburne, and his three brethren, William Cockburne & John Hume, with diuerse other their partakers, were indicted for the besieging of the castell of Langton, the slaughter of monsieur de la Bantie, and for the setting vp of his head, intercommuning with the Englishmen, and diuers other misdoings.

Immediatlie after the end of this parliament, the earle of Arrane came into the Mers, with a great armie, and hauing with him the kings great artillery, ment to haue besieged such places as would haue resisted him. But at his being in Lotoder, the keyes of the castell of Hume were brought vnto him, which on the next morrow he receiued, and put men within it to keepe it, as he did in Langton and Woodburne, which he receiued at the same time. The maister of Hales was also sought for at that time, that he might haue bene apprehended to answer the slaughter of David Hume, prior of Coldingham, whom he had slaine traitorously. A litle before this parliament, the bishop of Dunkeld was returned from the French king with a bond of the league renewed betwixt Scotland and France. And at that same time was one capteine Mores a Frenchman sent forth of France, with a certeine number of men, to recouer the castell of Dunbar into his keeping, which accordingly he did, the same being deliuered vnto him.

The earle of Lennox, who had bene with the gouernor in France, returned home into Scotland, & with him came a French herald from the king with letters, and maister Walter Steward abbat of Glenluce came likewise from the gouernor. And about that time, because the queene and lords were aduertised that the French king had contracted new bonds of peace and amitie with the king of England, without making mention of Scotland, they thought themselves euill vsed, being his confederat friends, and therupon sent sharpe letters to the king of France, and to the gouernor, by Albanie the herald. In the moneth of June, maister Gaiwen Dunbar, archdeane of saint Andrews, and cleрке of the register, was preferred to the bishops see of Abberdeen that was vacant by the death of Alexander Gourdon.

This Gaiwen founded an hospitall in Abberdeen, and indowd the same with lands for sustentance of

twelue poore men, with a prouost to haue care ouer them. He also builded a faire bridge, with seuen arches ouer the water of Dae beside Abberdeen, and purchased lands for the perpetuall vpholding thereof. He also builded two steeles in the cathedrall church, with halfe of the crosse church, and a faire palace for the small prebendaries, called the chapleins. Moresouer, he bestowed manie rich & pretious ornaments vpon the same church of Abberdeen, as copes, chalices, and other such like things, which remained there long after. Manie right commendable works were accomplished by this diligent prelat, greatlie to his praise and high renowne; for he spent not the fruits of his benefice in vaine, but on such maner of buildings.

The seuenteenth of June, there rose great stir in Edinburgh, by the falling out of the earle of Rothes, and the lord Lindsey, about the inioung of the thiriftetoke of Fiffe, by reason wherof, they were put in ward, the one in Dunbar, and the other in Dunbarton. About the beginning of August, the queene remaining in Edinburgh, understood that the earle of Angus hir husband, as then flourishing in Dologlas dale, had taken a faire gentlewoman in those parts, and kept hir as his concubine; for the which at the conceived such hatred against him, that there was neuer no perfect loue betwixt them afterwards. In the beginning of Februarie, there came a cleрке as ambassadoe from the French king with letters, concerning the concluding of the truce betwixt Scotland and England, which message the lords made small account of, because the king had omitted to comprehend Scotland in the league which he lastlie made with England. The seuenth of June, a mad man in Dundee due in his mad fit a ladic of inheritance, a nun, with two other women, the one of them being great with child, and also two men.

The king of England wrote letters vnto the French king, desiring him to state the duke of Albany, that he might not come into Scotland; and furthermore, he laid ships of warre in the pafe vpon the seas to watch for his coming, and to take him by the wate as he should passe. In September the king was remoued forth of the castell of Edinburgh vnto Dalkith, for donbit of the pestilence, which was suspected to be in the castell of Edinburgh. And from Dalkith the earle of Arrane rode to Edinburgh to haue bin effones elected regent & prouost of that towne: but he missed his purpose, for the townesmen would not suffer him to enter, but repelled him backe, so that diuerse were hurt on both sides.

Here vpon, great dissention rose betwixt the said earle of Arrane, and the earle of Angus, because of his repulse in that sute: whereby the whole realme was diuided into partakings, so that sundrie slaughters thereof ensued, as of the prior of Coldingham, and six of his men murdered, by the lord of Woodburne at Lamerton, the first of October. About the same time, the king returned to the castell of Edinburgh, and in the towne there were remaining at the same time the earles of Angus, Erroll, and Craighford; the lord Clames, and other: the bishops of saint Andrews, Abberdeen, Dikenele, and Dublin, with diuerse abbats and other prelates. And in the towne of Glascol was the bishop of Glascolws chancellor, with the earles of Arrane, Lennox, Eglington, and Cassels; the lords Rolfe, Scrimpill, the abbat of Dalkith, the bishop of Calloway, and other noble men of the west. Thus the lords were diuided, and would not take anie order for the good gouernment of the common-wealth.

In December, monsieur de la Fafot, and a French cleрке called Cordell, with an English herald called Clarencour, came from the kings of France and

Contention betwixt the erle of Rothes and the lord Lindsey.

The cause of the hatred betwixt the queene and hir husband.

1519. Lesc.

1519. A mad man.

The king of England seeketh to keepe the duke of Albany forth of Scotland.

The earle of Arrane.

Dissention betwixt the earles of Arrane and Angus.

Monsieur de la Fafot.

and England, with an ambassado: also from the gouernor, with a conclusion of peace taken for one year, betwixt Scotland and England: who coming to Edinburgh, were received by the earle of Angus, and the other lords there with him, the which sent for the chancelor: & the earle of Arrane to come thither; but they would not come any nearer than to Linlithgo. The ambassado: therefore toke in hand to perswade, that an assemble might be had in Striveling: but the earle of Angus would not come there. Nevertheless, the said ambassado: went thither, where the earle of Arrane and his partakers, as the chancelor, and others, received them thankfullie, and proclaimed the peace, according to the treatie which they had brought, and so with courteous answer and great rewards licenced them to depart. But in their returne toward England, the earle of Angus with a great number of men met them at Carlauerok, reproaching them sharpelie for their demeanour, and for taking their answer of the chancelor, so that they were not a little afraid, least the earle in his displeasure would haue vsed some outrage towards them, which otherwise than in words it should appeere he did not.

The peace proclaimed.

1520.
Dissuance between the earle of Angus and the lord of Fernihurst.

In Januarie, about the keeping of a court at Jedburgh, there was raising of people betwixt the earle of Angus on the one part, and Andrew Bar the lord of Fernihurst; in whose aid, James Hamilton came with foure hundred men: but the lord of Sessford then warden, assisting the earle of Angus his part, met Hamilton at Bello with a great compaignie, and when they were lighted on foot, and should haue foughten, the others men left sir James Hamilton, the bastard of the earle of Arrane, in all the danger, with a few of his owne men about him, so that with much paine he was hoisted, and escaped in great danger unto Hume, with losse of foure of his seruants which were slaine: and on the other part, there was an Englishman slaine called Kase Bar, that came in aid of the warden. On the morrow after, the lord of Fernihurst, as baliffe to the earle of Arrane, of that regality, held his court at the principall place of the forest of Jedburgh, and the earle himselfe held his court likewise in an other part of the same land, three miles distant from the other.

The thirtieth day of Aprill, the lord of Woodburne, and maister William Dowglaiss, newlie made prior of Colbingham, with their partakers in great numbers, came to Edinburgh to aid the earle of Angus, who was within the towne, against the earle of Arrane, and James Beton the chancelor, who were also there. But now by the coming of these succors, which entered by force at the neather bowe, and slue the maister of Mountgomerie, forane of the earle Eglington, and sir Patrike Hamilton knight, the earle of Arrane, and the chancelor, were constrained to forsake the towne, & to passe through the north loch. [To reuenge this continuellie, the Hamiltons besieged the cell of Sparnoche (which is the castell of Curingham) but they shortly returned backe without doing any thing against them.]

Fr. Thin.
Buchan. li. 14.

The lord Hume's head taken downe.

The one and twentieth of Iulie, the earle of Angus being in the towne of Edinburgh, George Hume, brother to the late lord Hume beheaded, came thither with the abbat of Colbingham, brother to the earle of Angus, and David Hume of Woodburne, and a great compaignie of gentlemen, and others, and passed to the Tolbuth, where they remained, till the heads of the lord Hume, and of his brother William were taken downe before the place where they were fastened on a ianill, and this was done in presence of the prouost for the time being. The next day they went to Linlithgo, and from thence to Striveling, in hope to haue found the earle

celloz, and some other of that faction there. But missing of their purpose, they returned to Edinburgh againe, and causing solempne funerall obsequies to be kept in the blacke friers, for them that ought those heads, with offerings and bankets, they afterwards returned home to their owne dwellings, without attempting any other thing for that present.

In November, the duke of Albanie arrived in Scotland on the west parts, at an haven called Graywack, the nineteenth of the same month; and on the thre and twentieth he came to Edinburgh, accompanied with the quene, the archbishop of Glasgows chancelor, the earle of Huntlie, and manie other lords, knights, barons, and gentlemen; and within six daies after their coming thither, the prouost and bailiffes were depolled, because they had bene chosen in fauour of the earle of Angus, and other appointed in their places. Then was there a parliament summoned to be kept at Edinburgh, the six and twentieth of Januarie next following; and on the ninth of Januarie, a generall summons of forsaikere was proclaimed at the market crosse in Edinburgh, where were summoned the earle of Angus and his brother, the prior of Colbingham, the lord of Woodburne, the lord of Dalehouse, John Summerwell of Camdustrene, and William Cockburne of Langton, with their complices, to make their appearance in the said parliament, to be tried for sundrie great offenses by them committed.

The duke of Albanie returned into Scotland.
1521. Buch.

The prouost & bailiffes of Edinburgh depolled.
A parliament summoned.

1521.

After Gawin Dowglaiss bishop of Dunkeld, hearing of this proclamation, fled into England, and remained in London at the Sauoir, where he departed this life, and is buried in the church there. He was a cunning cleark, and a verie good poet: he translated the twelue booke of the Aeneidos, of Virgil in Scottish meter, and compiled also The palace of honor, with diuerse other treatises in the Scottish language, which are yet extant. The earle of Angus fearing the sentence of forsaikere to be laid against him at the parliament, procured his wife (although there was small liking betwixt them) to labor for his pardon to the gouernor. Whereupon it was agreed, that the earle and his brother George Dowglaiss should passe out of the realme into France, and there to remaine during the gouernors pleasure; and so they departed into France, and remained there all the next yeere following.

Gawin Dowglaiss bishop of Dunkeld fled into England.

The earle of Angus feared the sentence of forsaikere.

He and his brother banished.

The king of England, hearing that the duke of Albanie was arrived in Scotland, and had taken the rule vpon him, doubting least he should perswade the Scottishmen to assist the French king, against whom, by persuation of the emperor he meant shortly to make warre, sent his herald Clarencieux into Scotland, to require the duke to depart from thence, alleging, that it was promised by the king of France at the last entercours betwixt them, which chanced the summer before, that he should not come into Scotland. And moreover, whereas the king of England was uncle vnto the king of Scots, he considered with himselfe that by nature he was bound to defend his nephew, as he might so do; and therefore he thought it not reason, that the duke being next to the crowne so seated, if any came to the young king, should haue the gouernement of him, lest he might be made stowe, as other young kinges had bene. He further complained, that the earle of Angus should be sent out of the realme, so that he could not enter the compaignie of his wife, after vnto the same king of England. Whereupon the king of England had therefor given commandment, that if the duke refused to depart out of the realme of Scotland, he should intimate a defiance vnto him, declaring his message by the duke's own point to point

Clarencieux an English herald sent into Scotland.

The king of England doubteth to haue the duke of Albanie gouernor to the king his nephew.

warre denounced by Clarencieux against the duke of Albanie.

The dukes
answer.

point at Holie rood house, as he had in commande-
ment. To whome the duke answered, that neither the
king of France, nor the king of England should
steale him from comming into his countrie. And as
touching the king, who was as yet young in yeres, he
loved him as his soueraigne lord, and would keepe
him, and defend both him and his realme against all
other that would attempt to invade the same, accor-
ding to his conscience, honor, and dutie. And as tou-
ching the earle of Angus, he had bled to wards him
all clemencie and mercie, notwithstanding his euill
demerits, and that principallie for the queenes cause,
whome he would honor as mother to his soueraigne
lord. This answer being reported unto the king of
England, contented him nothing at all, and there-
fore prepared to make warre.

I 5 2 2.

The death of
the archbishop
of saint An-
drewes.
James Be-
ton succeeded
him.

It star in E-
denburgh.

The emperor
commeth into
England.
Scots and
Frenchmen
banished forth
of England.
The earle of
Shrewesburie
invadeth
Scotland.

Fr. Thin.
Lesleus lib. 9.
pag. 409.

The tenth of Aprill, there came seven great ships
into the Forth, unto Inchkeith, to have spoiled the
ships, and invade the coast there: but they were so
frowlie resisted and kept off, that they were not suf-
fered to do anie great exploit, and so they returned
without prey or prise. In this season, Andrew For-
man bishop of saint Andrews deceased, and bishop
James Beton archbishop of Glasgou, chancellor of
Scotland, was removed to saint Andrews, & made
abbot also of Dunfermling, and the archbishoppe of
Glasgou was given a young man one Gavin Dun-
bar, that was the kings scholemaster. In the mo-
neth of Maie, there was great ad in Edenburgh,
by the falling out of the servants of the earles of
Murray and Croll, with the servants of the earle of
Huntley, by reason whereof, the whole towne fell to
partakings; but the duke comming suddenly from
the abbete of Holie rood house, staid the matter, and
committed the said earles unto ward within the cal-
lell.

The emperor came into England, and persuaded
the king there to move warres against the French
king, and so not onlie the Frenchmen but also the
Scots were commanded to avoid out of England,
their goods confiscated, and they conveyed forth of
the land, with a white crosse sowed upon their byer-
most garment. In Julie, the earle of Shrewesburie
was sent by the king of England unto the borders,
with commission, to raise the power of the north
parts to invade Scotland, who upon the sudden en-
tered and came to Ileslo, where he burnt one part of
the towne; but the borderers of the Pers and Teu-
dale, not being halfe so manie in number as the o-
ther, let upon them, slue, and took manie prisoners,
and so constrained them to returne into England
with small honor.

The gouernor after this (when he saw the Eng-
lish overrun all the borders of Scotland) called a
parlement at Edenburgh, the 9 kalends of August,
to cure the same wound. Beside this, the French fear-
ing them selves (because of a prepared and well fur-
nished naute of the English which did everie waie
coier and keepe the sea) sent manie (and those wise
and of excellent knowledge) unto the gouernor, to re-
quest him that he should either by counsell persuade,
or by authoritie enforce his Scots to take arms a-
gainst the English. After which (the matter being
with great consultation and manie reasons tossed
in argument to and fro) it was decreed by common
consent of the parlement, that a chosen number of
souldiers should be prepared, to defend the borders
from the invasion of the enemy; & the more strong-
lie to repell the English force: it was concluded,
that the children of such as were slaine in that expedi-
tion, should be freed from all charges of troubles
that might light on them during their minority:
and further, that the wives of all such which had anie
lands (during their lives & sell in that sort) should

after the death of their husbands keepe the same for
the terme of five yeres.)

The duke of Albanie, hearing of the great prepa-
ration that the earle of Shrewesburie made, to raise
an armie of foure score thousand men to invade
Scotland, he likewise (as it was before decreed) sent
unto all the earles, lords, and nobles of the realme,
willing them to raise all such power as they could
make in defense of their countrie; which they did. And
so being assembled, the duke with a mightie armie of
Scottishmen and certeine Frenchmen, with great
artillerie, marched forward, till he came to the water
of Oke over against Carleill: and perceiving that
the English armie came not then forward, he did
what he could to persuade the noble men to enter in-
to England: but as they were in counsell together
about that earliest motion made to them by the duke,
a certeine graue personage said to them in this ma-
ner.

My lords, hither we be come by the commande-
ment of my lord gouernor duke of Albanie, and albe-
it we be ready to defend our atone native realme,
contrarie the invasion of our auld enemies of Eng-
land, yet neuertheless it seemeth not guid, nor for
the wele of our realme of Scotland, to passe with-
in England with our armie to invade the same at
this time. And the earnest persuasions quhilk the go-
uernor makes to us to do the same, proceeds ala-
nerlie for the pleasure of France. It appereth to be
sufficient inough for us so lang as the king our soue-
reigne lord is within age to defend our alon realme,
and not to invade: otherwise, we may put the haile
countrie and nobilitie thereof in hazard of tinfall:
for king James the fourth brought the realme of
Scotland to the best that it ever was, and by the
war it was brought to the worst almost that might
be: for by that warre, was he and his nobilitie tinte,
quhilk Scotland sore laments. Therefore by mine
advise, let us go to the gouernor, and know of him
the cause why he would persuade us to invade Eng-
land.

Then they all came to the gouernors tent, and the
earle of Arrane, an auncient wise man spake for
them all, and said: My lord gouernor, by your will
and commaundement, here is assembled the maist
of the nobilitie of Scotland with their power, by
on a pretense to enter within England. My lords
here would know the cause and quarrell why this
warre is begun, gif it might please your goodnesse, it
should well satisfie their minds. The duke studied a
little space, and said: This questoun would haif bin
demanded yer now, for well you know, that I for-
berie lase I beare to the realme of Scotland (of the
quhilk I haue my name, honor, and lignage) haif
passed the seas from the noble realme of France, in-
to this realme of Scotland. And great cause there
was for me so to do, to bring you to a unitie, when
ye were in dissoun, by reason whereof, your
realme was like to haue bin conquered and destrui-
ed. And also the king of France, by my suites and
intercessoun, will ioine with you in aid against the
English nation: and when this warre was deter-
minate in the parlement, you made me capitaine, as-
suring me to invade England with banner dis-
played. Then was no demanda made of the cause or
quarrell, and that I haif done, is by your assent and
agreement, and that I will iustifie. But to answer
your demanda, me think you haif iust cause to in-
uade England with fire, sword, and blood, gif ye be
not forgetfull: and without you will beare dishonor
and reproch for ever. For ye know that this realme of
Scotland is your inheritance, as a portion of the
good wallowed to our nation, and annexed to the
crown. Then there may there be better warre,
than

The duke of
Albanie rai-
seth an armie
to invade
England.

The sword
of a counsellor.

The earle of
Arrane decla-
reth to the go-
uernor the
mind of the
lords.

The dukes
answer to the
earle of Ar-
rane.

than to mainteine this our naturall inheritance: Is it not daile sene, the great inuasions that the Englishmen on vs make, the great manlaughters and murders, with thefts and spoiles that they do daile: Is not this one cause of warre? To defend the countrie is the office of a king, the honor of noble men, and the verie seruice of chualtie, and the dutie naturall of the communalitie: for I thinke it a iust quarrell, gif we might conquer the realme of England, and annex it to our owne realme, for the great iniuries and wrongs done by that nation to vs and our predecessors. For sene the begning of our habitation in this Ile of Britaine, the Englishmen and we haue euer bin enimies, and vs haif they euer hated, and yet haue we euer withstand them. Suppose, we at the last battell of Floddown field by chaunce lost our souereigne lard, & diuerse noble men, quibills was rather by treason of the lard chamberlaine, than otherwise, who would not relieue the kings armie when he might. And yet I thinke we wan the field, quibill murder all we noble men ought to reuerge. Therefore I would that you suld courageously aduance your selues in this quarrell to get honor, and to be reuenged.

1522.

The replic of
a wife coun-
ailor.

Then one wife man that was president of the counsell, answered the gouernor, saying: My lard, fortune of weir is led by him that all leides, and he strikes the fraike, we can warke na meracles, & heare are the lards of England readie to encounter vs. And gif we inuade their realme, suerlie they will fight, for their power fall increase daile, and ours will diminish. And gif God graunt vs the victorie (as I trust he fall) yet haue we not won the field, for readie coming is the earle of Shrewsburie a mikell dread in Fraunce (as ye knaw well) with an great puissant armie, and there is na doubt, but the king of England will send oʒ bying another armie gif we suld chance to get the first battell. And gif we get the secound field, that will not be without great losse of manie nobles, by reason thereof, the realme shall be weaker. And gif we be ouercomen how manie suld be slaine, God knawes. They that sxe are worthy to be reputed as traitors to the king, and so by wilfulness and fule hardnesse, the realme may be in iopardie to be vndone. I say, while the king is with in age, we aught to moue na weir, leass by weir we may bying him to destruction.

The gouer-
nor says wordes
to the presi-
dents replic.

Then said the valiant gouernor: Where is an puissant armie of Scotland, gif we returne, we fall incourage our enimies. Therefore sene you thinke it not gude to inuade, my counsell is that we campe still on the bordures, while we se what the Englishmen pretends to do against our realme. To the which the nobles consented, and laie still there in campe certeine daies after. After this conference had betwixt the nobles and the gouernor, the quene as then being not with them, but aduertised of all the proceedings and determinations, sent word to the gouernor, and desired him that there might be a treatie of peace had, and she promised to get the warden of the English marches to come to the gouernors campe, vpon pledges, wherunto the gouernor condescended. Wherevpon, the lord Dacres, warden of the west marches of England [with Thomas Pusgrau] came vnto the gouernors campe, and thither also at that time was the quene hir selfe come, and so vpon the eleuenth of September, an abstinence of war was taken and couenanted, that in the meane time the duke and quene should send ambassadoʒs into England, to treat and conclude a resolute peace.

The lords made
for peace.

The lord Dacres.

In the moneth of October next insuing, there were thre ambassadoʒs sent into England, according to the agreement in the last treatie, but there were so hard and extreme conditions proponed on

the king of Englands behalfe, that the same could not be accepted, as being contrarie to the honor and weale of the realme of Scotland, as the Scottishmen toke the matter. And so those ambassadoʒs returned without agreement or conclusion of peace: wherevpon followed great trouble betwixt them of the borders of both realmes. The earle of Northumberland was made warden of the whole marches, but hostlie after, he began to make sute to be discharged of that office, & ceased not till he obtained it: and then was the earle of Surreie made generall warden, and the lord marquisse Dorset, warden of the east & middle marches; the lord Dacres continuing still in his office of wardenship ouer the west marches.

The earle of
Northumber-
land made
lord warden.The earle of
Surreie.
The lord
marquisse
Dorset.
The lord Dacres.

About the first day of March, the said lords came to the borders, about which time, the duke of Albanie considering that the warres betwixt Scotland and England were irksome to the nobles of the realme, because the same wars were taken in hand chiefly to serue the French kings turne, therefore he passed by the west seas into France. And in the beginning of March, where he was verie hartlie and gladlie received of the king, his request was onelie to haue five thousand hoʒsmen, and ten thousand footmen of Almaines, to be transported into Scotland: and doubted not, if he might haue this granted, but that with that power, and the assistance of the Scots, he should be able to ouerthrow the king of England in battell, or else to drive him out of his realme. But the French king neither beleued this baime brag, nor yet might spare anie such power, hauing warre at that time both against England, and the emperor: neuerthelesse, he promised him some aid, wherevpon the duke abode and waited for the same a long season. In the meane while, the lords of Scotland caused certeine noble men to lie vpon the borders mo[nethlie, in defense of the same against the Englishmen, daile looking for support from France. Cuerie companie remained their moneths, and then departed home as the custome is, and thus they continued still till September following. Much hurt was done on either part, and diuerse houses were overthrowne and destroyed both in England and Scotland.

The duke of
Albanie goeth
ouer into
France.
His request.His baime
brag.

1523.

The borders
watched.

During which time, the king of France prepared certeine ships, with men, and munition, to passe with the duke of Albanie into Scotland. But the king of England, to catch him by the way, had laid a great nauie of ships in the pase on the seas, as he should make his course. But the duke imbarquing himselfe with his people at West in Britaine, sailed by the west parts of Scotland: and the one and twentieth day of September landed at Birkowbye in the west part of Scotland; he brought with him (beside a good number of Frenchmen) Richard de la Pole, a man of great parentage, boʒne in England, and banished his countrie. Whilest the duke was on the sea making saile toward Scotland, the earle of Surreie, with an armie of twentie thousand men, entered into Scotland, and coming to Edinburgh, burned the towne and the abbey. [But Lesleus, lib. 9. pag. 407. saith it was Jedworth which the earle burnt.] It was thought they ment to haue passed further, but the Scottishmen assembling themselves against their inuasions, they were constrained to returne with losse (as some Scottishmen haue written.)

The duke of
Albanie re-
turneth into
Scotland.

Fr. Thin.

The earle of
Surreie in
uaderth Scot-
land.

* In this place, Buchanan (before he cometh to the parlement assembled by the duke of Albanie after his returne out of France) writeth in this sort. We haue shewed (saith he) how miserable the state of Scotland was the last summer (through the dissention which was amongst the nobilitie) by the English (with all kind of slaughter) spoiling the places bordering nere vnto them, and besetting the

Fr. Thin.

Buchanan.
lib. 14.

the sea on euerie side, whereby we might be out of hope of all forren aid. For the deuile of the enimie tended to compell the fierce minds of the Scots (abated with such euils) to conclude a league with him; therewith the Scots were not behind (by reason of the French faction) that by the means of the quene there might be a perpetuall truce taken betwene them. For when the lord Hume was (by death) taken away, the Dowglaste banished, and all the rest of the nobilitie rather met for companions than leaders in battels; such as had withdrawen their mind from the French, applied themselves to the quenes faction.

Whereupon she (to gratifie hir brother, and to wrest all the gouernement into hir owne hands) did (dissembling hir greedie desire to rule) persuaade them, to deliuer their sonne (almost now past childish yeares) out of the hands of strangers, and themselves from the yoke of other mens bondage. For the quene did well foresee, that preparation and succor was made, and did come against hir husband, whome before she had begun to hate extreame. The king of England also did commend and prefer to the Scots the counsell of his sister, by manie letters sent, and with faire promises offered; because he had none other mind, but that a perpetuall friendship might alwaies remaine betwene the adioined kingdoms; the which, as he had at other times desired; so now he mostlie wished it, not for anie commoditie to himselfe, but to the end that all men might well perceiue that he would embrace, defend, and as much as rested within his abilitie, seeke the commoditie of his sisters sonne by all the means he might. And if the Scots would persuaade themselves to breake the league with the French, and soine in amitie with the English; they should shortly well vnderstand, that the king of England did not seeke after soueraintie, glorie, power, or honor; but onelie studied for a concord amongst themselves, & a league betwene their nations. For which cause, he would bestow his onelie daughter Marie vpon James the king of Scotland; by which marriage, the Scots should not be subiect to the gouernement of England; but contrarie, the English vnder the rule of the Scots. For by that means, besides the quenching of great hatred betwene the nations (and intercourse of merchandize, exchange of mutuall courtesies and ioinings in affinitie) there should be an indissoluble knot made for the honor of the whole Island.

And with this, they (for England) remembred the profit and disadvantage that might rise to the one from other, by the friendship or hatred of either kingdome, and the benefit that they might loke for from their English neighbours, more than by anie possibilitie they might obtaine from their French confederats. For on the one side, the English and they were borne in one continent, brought vp vnder the same influence of the heauen, and so like in all things, in tong, in maners, in lawes, in decrees, in countenance, in color, and in lineaments of bodie, as that they rather seeme one than two nations. On the other side, the French are not onelie different from them, by naturall soile and clemencie of the heauens; but more seuered from them in order and forme of liuing, being further such a people, as if they were enimies vnto them, they could not greatlie hurt them; and if they be their friends they can not greatlie helpe them. But the English are at hand with men, munition, and monie; when the French, being so far off, are onelie with allurements, inforcements, and for their owne commoditie drawen to take their part. Besides which, there can be no succor from France but by sea, which the enimie may easilie stop; and so the Scots not able

to be succored by them. But from the English they may haue aid by land with speed, and no man can hinder them thereof. Therefore they should consider how discommodious (for the dispatch of their affairs) and how vnapt (for the defense of themselves) it should be, to hang all the hope of their succor vpon the fauor of the wind; and to place the most suertie of their estate in the vnconstant friendship of the vn-certaine elements. For (if neuer before) yet at this time the Scots might not onlie perceiue in thought but see in deed what helpe is to be hoped (in present dangers) from absent friends, when that the English can not onelie helpe you now, but at this instant do also keepe away your promised and long expected aid, which they haue so besieged vpon the sea, that you can receiue no benefit or helpe from them.

After that these things were thus laid abroad for the knitting of the English league, as there were not a few which gaue consent to that motion, so were there manie that stillie argued to the contrarie. For in that assemblie, there were manie pensioners of the French faction, who (increasing their priuat commoditie by the publike detriment) did utterlie abhor from all peace; besides whome, there were also some, which suspected the facilitie of promise in the English: especiallie, since the whole estate of England did then chiefelie hang vpon the backe of Thomas Wolseie the cardinall, an euill and ambitious person, and who referred all counsels and consultations to the amplifying of his owne priuat authoritie and dignitie; and for that cause, applied that and all other things to euerie blasse of fortune. All our men although they were moued by diuerse reasons (as the varietie of diuerse wits bred diuerse minds) did yet with like censure tend vnto one end, which was alwaies to defend the French league; for they denied, that the same sudden liberalitie of the enimie, could anie way soe to their benefit; since this was not the first time that the English had used that policie to intrap vntowardie men: as did Edward the first, who (swearing and binding himselfe with all bonds of law, when he was chosen an arbitrator to cease the strife of the kingdome of Scotland) did with great iniurie make a king of Scots at his pleasure: and of late also, Edward the fourth king of England (when he had promised his daughter Cecillie to the sonne of James the third) did (the maid being readie for the marriage) dissolve the same, by taking occasion of warre through our ciuill dissensions. According to which, the English do now also seeke none other matter, than casting a vaine hope before vs to gouerne them, to bring vs into right seruitude; and (when we are destitute of all forren helpe) to oppresse vs with all the power of their kingdome.

Neither is that true also (wherein the chiefest strength of their speech consisteth) that the aid of our neighbors nere at hand, is better or surer to vs than further friendship. For how may we loke for anie god from those our neighbors, since commonlie amongst neighbors there neuer want occasions of dissention; which oftentimes chance bringing forth, and the stronger (hauing small or no occasion) will manie times seeke to offer: at what time, he which is greatest in armes, must & will appoint lawes of agreement as seemes best to his liking. Beside, there was neuer yet so sacred or firme a bond of amitie betwene adioining kingdomes, which was not oftentimes broken, either by offered or sought occasions of displeasure & breach: neither is it to be hoped, that the English will abstaine from offering violence vnto vs; that haue not spared the blood of so manie of their owne kings. For the sanctitie of leagues, & the religion of an oth, and the faith of compacts

where the English haue killed one, the Scots haue murdered ten as the course of their histories will shew.

and

and covenants, are in truth firme bonds of amitie amongst the god: but amongst the wicked, they are nets to intrap others, if occasion of commoditie be offered for breach of them. All which benefits and injuries, doe dwell in people, whose nearnesse of bounds, conuersation of language, and not unlike manner of life hath ioined together.

And if all these things should be far otherwise, yet there be two things which we ought speciallie to forsee and prouide for; whereof, the one is, that we spend not our time in vaine by chiding and disagreement, as persons diuven into diuerse factions; the other, that we reiect not our old friends (for this new alliance) before we haue heard what they can say; especiallie in such a cause (as this) which may not be determined, but by the consent of the parliament. Upon which, the French followers did earnestlie stand; that there should not any thing be done therein; and therefore sent certaine of the French aid as ambassadors about the cause. This thus ended, and the comming of the gouernour spread abroad, the same made manie glad, confirmed the doubtfull thereof, and withdrew others (that were inclined to the English part) from the same opinion they were of.]

The duke immediatlie after his arriual came to Edinburgh, where he caused all the lords of the realme to assemble in that towne, where he declared the great loue and affection that the king of France bare to the realme of Scotland, inasmuch as hearing of the slaughters, murders and burnings, practised by the Englishmen, he thought that he felt the same done vnto him, reputing himselfe one of their members. And for reuenging thereof, he would be partner with them as their member: for more credit whereof, he shewed the kings letter, confirming his declaration. He therefore exhorted them to assemble an armie, in reuenge of injuries & wrongs done to them and their countrie; for he had brought with him monie, men, and artillerie to the furtherance thereof. Hereupon it was concluded, that the armie should assemble at Dotsglas dale the eighteenth of October: the which conclusion they kept, and from thence they marched to Caldreame vpon Tweed, and sent ouer the water certaine of their great artillerie, with a companie of Frenchmen and Scots, by the guiding of David Carr; and being got ouer, they lay siege to the castell of Marke, which was kept by sir William Lile capteine thereof, hauing with him a strong garrison of English souldiers, and great ppointion of artillerie, and all things necessarie: yet at the first assault, the vtter barnekin was woone, and the said companie of Scottishmen and Frenchmen lay within the same, indamaging the castell in all they might.

The earle of Surrie and diuerse others of the English nobilitie, with an armie of fortie thousand men, were at Anwik, not far distant from Marke, and the marquesse Dorset was sent with a great companie to keepe the towne of Berwik, for doubt lest the same should haue bene besieged. Also in the meane time, a new assault was made to the inner barnekin of Marke, and the same woone likewise as the other had bene before. After this was the castell assailed, and part of it beaten downe with the artillerie lieng on the Scottish side of the water of Tweed. At which breach, the assault was giuen, and the same continued, till that through darknesse and lacke of light, the assailants were obliged to retire. Great slaughter was made at that assault on both sides, but especiallie of them within the house. The assailants went to haue giuen a fresh assault the next day, being the fourth of Nouember: but a foie and belement storme and tempest of raine chanced

that night, so that they were constrained to leaue off that enterprize, and to get themselves ouer the riuer againe vnto the armie, least by the rising of the water of Tweed, they might haue bene cut off by their enemies, before they could haue bene succoured.

In the meane time, whilst this siege continued, a number of Scottishmen made a road into the countrie of Glendale within the English marches, and burnt and spoiled diuerse townes, cast downe sundrie piles, and returned without any resistance: for the earle of Surrie would suffer none of his people to depart from the armie, nor breake order, for feare of more inconuenience. The duke of Albanie lieng on the Scottish side of Tweed, sent an herald vnto the earle of Surrie, willing him to call to remembrance, how in his absence he had invaded Scotland with fire and sword: for the which cruell dealing, he required him vpon his honor to come forward, and he would meet him in the confines of both the realmes, and giue him battell. To the which message the earle answered, that he had no commission to invade Scotland at that time, but it onlie to defend. And (as some haue reported) he caused a secret messenger to passe to the queene, as then lieng a good way distant from the armie, to moue for some abstinence and truce, and further to persuaade the duke to retire home; which he did, so that by his labor, a truce was taken for that instant, and afterward confirmed for a longer time: and thus the duke returned with honor (as the Scottishmen report.) This truce was well kept all the next winter following, and no inuasion made, till the moneth of Maie: and then was the erle of Surrie sent againe to the English borders, and the lords of Scotland on the other part monethlie late on their borders by quarters, for defense of their countrie, as the vse is.

On Trinitie sondaie, being the one and twentieth of Maie, five hundred Scots entered England, to surprize the English merchants, and others, going that day vnto Berwik, where perelle on that day the faire is kept, and so by reason thereof, they met with diuerse of them that went to this faire, and toke to the number of two hundred prisoners, whom they led with them into Scotland. But Hall faith, that by the comming of the young lord of Fulberie to the succors of the Englishmen, the Scots were chased, and lost two hundred of their numbers. On the fift of Iulie, sir William Fenwike, Leonard Pulgrane, & Ballard Heron, with diuers other, to the number of nine hundred Englishmen, entred into the shires, and began to spoile and rob the countrie: but they were shortly compassed about with Scottishmen, & so hardlie assailed, that although they fought valiantlie a good while, yet by fine force they were compelled to giue ground, and seke to saue themselves by flight, in which two hundred of them were taken prisoners, and Ballard Heron with diuerse other slaine. Amongest the prisoners, were sir Rafe Fenwike, Leonard Pulgrane, and diuers other gentle men of good calling.

On the seventeenth of Iulie, the lord Sparwell, and sir Alexander Fordein, with diuerse other Scottishmen in great numbers, entred England at the west marches by Caerleill, with displayed banners, and began to harrie the countrie, and burne diuers places. The Englishmen assembled on euerie side, so that they were farre more in number than the Scottishmen, and thereupon set fiercelie vpon their enemies, inasmuch that for the space of an houre, there was a fore fight continued betwixt them. But the lord Sparwell like a right politike capteine (as of all that knew him he was no lesse reputed) ceased not to incourage his people: & after that, by the taking of

Glendale
burned by
the Scots.

An herald
sent.

A truce.

See more of
this matter in
England.
1524.

Scots enter
into England

Englishmen
invade Scot-
land.

Englishmen
discomfited.
Ballard Heron
slaine.

1524.
Foure thousand
faith Hal.

The lord
Sparwell in-
uaded Eng-
land.

David Carr.
With castell
besieged.

The earle of
Surrie with
an armie of
four thousand
men.
The marquesse
Dorset appoin-
ted to keepe
Berwik.

Marke as-
sailed.

The Scots
and French
retire backe
ouer the
water.

of Alexander Forbein & diuers others, they had bin put backe, he brought them in araie againe, and beginning a new skirmish, recovered in maner all the prisoners, toke and slue diuerse Englishmen, so that he returned with victorie, and led about thre hundred prisoners with him home into Scotland.

An assemblee
of the lords.

After this iourneie, there was an assemblee of the lords in Edinburgh, with the duke of Albanie, where some of the lords were of mind that the warre should continue: other thought it not reason, that for the pleasure onelie of France, the realme should suffer such damage, as it had done by those thre last yeres wars now passed, and therefore they perswaded peace. Moreover, there was also much debating of the matter, touching the age and gouernement of the king; some of the lords holding that he was now of age to take the rule vpon himselve, and that the guardianship or tutorie of a king expired sooner than of another private person. The duke of Albanie perswading how the lords were diuided amongst themselves, and neither content with his gouernement, nor willing to mainteine the warres which he had so earnestlie perswaded for the pleasure of France, he declared to them that he wold returne into France, and so taking his leaue of the nobilitie, went to Strueling where the king was, of whom he toke leaue, also giuing vnto him such louing and faithfull counsell, as to his knowledge seemed expedient, and so went into the west countrie, where he toke the seas in September, and sailed forth into France, [never to returne into Scotland.]

The duke of
Albanie re-
turneth into
France,
Fr. Thin.

The king of England [before the rumoz of the departure of the duke of Albanie] hauing in the moneth of June sent ouer into France, vnto Archembald earle of Angus, that remained there vpon the commandement of the duke of Albanie, perswaded him to come from thence secretly into England, which accordingly he did; and being safely arrived in England, king Henrie procured him to passe into Scotland, that with the assistance of such lords as would be readie to take his part, he might raise war against the duke of Albanie, which sought by all meanes (as the king of England was informed) to destroy him & his: but per the earle could come into Scotland, the duke was departed toward France. On the six and twentieth of Iulie, the king by the aduise of his mother, and certeine young lords, came from Strueling vnto Edinburgh; and thre daies after, the queene toke the whole gouernment of the king vpon hir, and entered into the castell of Edinburgh with the king, where they sojourned the most part of the next winter. The prouost of Edinburgh was discharged, whom the towne had chosen, and the lord Marwell was appointed by the queene, prouost in his place. For the performance wherof, there was a parlement also summoned to be holden at Edinburgh the third day of Februarie next ensuing (and the bishop of saint Andrews and Aberdeen (as faith Buchanan li. i. 4.) were cast into prison, who after gathering armes (and cursing all others) within the space of a moneth following were reconciled to the king.)

The queene
taketh the go-
uernment in-
to hir hands.

A parlement
summoned,
Fr. Thin.

A truce taken
for one yeare.

The king of England glad to heare that the duke of Albanie was departed into France, sent into Scotland in ambassage one maister John Spagnus, and Roger Katcliffe esquier, to declare vnto the queene and lords, that he would be content that a truce might be accorded betwixt the two realmes of England and Scotland, now that the duke of Albanie was returned into France, who had bene the onlie procurer of the warres. Herevpon they agreed to take truce to indure for one yere, and in the meane time they appointed to send ambassadors into England to treat vpon a continuall peace, all

ance, and amitie to be had betwixt both the realmes. In this meane while, the earle of Angus came into Scotland: and because of the displeasure which the queene bare him, there ensued occasions of great diuisions within the realme. Notwithstanding the queene by aduise of certeine lords, sent the lord Gilbert earle of Cassels, Robert Cocksborne bishop of Dunkeld, and doctor Mille abbat of Cambuskenneth, ambassadors into England, in the moneth of December; the which were receiued at Greenwich by the king of England the foure and twentieth of the same moneth: where the bishop of Dunkeld made an eloquent oration in Latine, declaring the cause of their coming, the which in effect was for intreatment of peace, loue, and amitie betwixt the two realmes: and for the more sure establishment thereof, they required that a marriage might be concluded betwixt their king & the ladie Marie, daughter to the king of England.

Ambassadors
into England

This request was well heard by the king, who therevpon appointed commissioners to common thereof with the said ambassadors. Diuerse articles were proponed by the said commissioners on the king of England his behalfe, and in especiall one; which was, that the king of Scotland should renounce the league with the king of France; and that further he should come into England, and remaine there till he came to perfect age to be married. Because the ambassadors had not commission to conclude so farre, the earle of Cassels returned into Scotland, to vnderstand the minds of the lords and counsell in these points, the other remaining at London till his returne to them againe. * Upon All saints day there was a great motion of wind, with such stormes and tempests of thunder and lightning which suddenlie arose, that the same (ouerthrowing manie private houses in Edinburgh, and the pinnacle of the tower of David in the same castell) entered into the queenes lodging with a great flame, which burnt so vehementlie, and went so farre, that it had almost consumed the same; which storme (ouerthrowing the buildings about the chamber of the bishop of Whitchurch) the bishops lodging did yet remaine safe not touched with the violence of the flame.)

Fr. Thin.
1525.
Lellius lib.
pag. 414.

When the day of the parlement appointed to be holden in the Tolbuth of Edinburgh was come, the king, queene, and lords, fearing some tumult in the towne to be raised by the earle of Angus, would not passe forth of the castell, but kept the parlement within the same. Archembald Dologlas earle of Angus, and John Stewart earle of Lennox, with diuerse others, to the number of two thousand men, came in the night season vnto Edinburgh, because they durst not enter the towne in the day time, for feare of the gunnes that late in the castell. The next day, being the fourteenth day of Februarie, the said earles with the archbishop of saint Andrews, the bishop of Aberdeen, that by the queenes appointment had bene kept before in ward, the bishop of Dublane, Calene Campbell, the earle of Argille, and diuerse other lords and barons being in the towne, sent to the castell, alledging that the king was kept as prisoner by the queene, and iustice suppressed, with great damage of the common wealth; and therefore he desired, that the king might be deliuered vnto them, to be gouerned by the aduise of the thre states, and if they refused to deliuer him, they would besiege the castell, and if they won it, all their lines within should rest at their pleasures, the kings onelie excepted.

The earle of
Angus his
request.

The queene, by the counsell of the earles of Ardrane and Murray, refused not onelie to deliuer the king, but sent them word, that except they did depart the towne, they would shortly discharge all the artillerie

artillerie of the castell against them. Hereupon, great feare rose in the towne, speciallie among the burghes, but by the diligence of certeine persons that travelled betwene the parties, an assurance was taken on either side for certeine daies. In the meane time, the earle of Angus caused the castell to be fortified, that neither weat nor other thing might be suffered to be conveyed into it, except so much as might serve for the sustentation of the kinges one person. At length, all the parties were agreed, so that the foure and twentieth day of februarye, the king came vnto the parliament holden in the Tolbuth in most honorable wise, with the assistance of all the estates, having the crowne, scepter, and sword borne before him, and from thence he was brought to the abbey, where he remained.

In this parliament, there were eight lords chosen to be of the kings private counsell, the which took the government of the king and realme upon them, as these: the archbishops of saint Andrews and Glasgow, the bishops of Aberdeen and Dunblane; the earles of Angus, Argile, Arrane, and Lennor; the quene was aduised to them as principall, without whose aduise nothing should be done. From this parliament also was the earle of Cassels sent, with answer to the king of England; who came to London the nineteenth of aprell. But because the king had knowledge that the french king was taken at the battell of Pavia, he would not proceed in the treatie of marriage betwixt the king of Scotland and his daughter, till he had the emperors aduise, whome he affirmed to be his confederat friend: and so renewing the truce for three yers and six moneths, the ambassadors returned into Scotland about the beginning of Aprill next ensuing, without any contract of marriage at that time. The agreement betwixt the quene and lords continued not long, for anon after died the bishop of Dunblane or Dunkeld (as faith Lesleus) whose benefice the earle of Angus obtained of the king for his brother William Dowglas, without the aduise of the quene and other lords. Whereupon the quene departed and went into Striueling, leaving the king with the earle of Angus, who took the whole rule and government of the realme and king upon him, and made his uncle Archibald Dowglas treasurer of the realme, and bestowed benefices, offices, and all other things, by the aduise of his brother George Dowglas, and the earle of Lennor, who assisted him.

In this meane time, the archbishop of saint Andrews, and the earles of Arrane, Argile, and Spurrey, remaining with the quene at Striueling, alleged that the king was withholden from them by the earle of Angus fore against his will: and therefore they sent vnto the earle, requiring him to deliuer him. But the earle caused the king to give the answer himselfe, that he would not come from the erle of Angus, albeit he would gladlie haue bene out of his hands if he might; as by secret messages sent to sundrie of the lords, and likewise at that time it appeared, for he willed them by private meanes to assemble an armie, and to come & fetch him out of their hands that thus detained him. Hereupon shortly after, they raised a power, and coming therewith to Linlithgow, purposing to passe into Edenburgh, that they might get the king out of the earle of Angus his hands: the said earle, with the earle of Lennor and other his assistants being thereof aduertised, came to the field with the kings banner displayed, and brought the king with him, although partlie against his will.

The quene and such lords as were with hir there in the armie, for the reverence they bare vnto the kings person, and also fearing the danger that might

chance to them if they buckled together in a fough-ten field, they withdrew themselves to Striueling, and from thence the quene went into Spurrey land with the earle of Spurrey, and there remained a long time after. The earles of Arrane and Argile went into the west countrie, and the bishop of saint Andrews to Dunfermling: and then the earle of Angus took upon him more boldlie the government of the king and realme, and sent to the bishop of saint Andrews (who was chancelor) for the great seale, which was deliuered to them that were so sent for it. The nobles of the realme remaining thus at variance, and divided among themselves, there was small obedience of lawes & iustice. Diuerse slaughters in sundrie parts were committed, great thefts & robberies made by the borderers upon the inland countries. Moreover, aduise this yere (as some haue said) was sued before the archbishop of saint Andrews, betwixt the quene, and the earle of Angus his husband, and then afterwards she took to husband one Henric Stewart, sonne to the lord of Anandale, the which Henric was after created by the king lord of Methuen.

On the foure and twentieth of Iulie, the king being accompanied with the earle of Angus, the lord Hume, the kares & others, rode vnto Jedburgh, in purpose to haue reformed the misgouernance of the borderers; but after that they had remained there three daies with little obedience shewed towards them, they all returned. And upon the 29 day of Iulie, at the bridge of Melrose, the lord of Wocclough, accompanied with a thousand horsemen, began to shew himselfe in sight, whose principall purpose was to haue taken the king from the earle of Angus and his assistants, being requested and commanded by the king himselfe so to do. The earle of Angus incontinentlie sent an herald vnto the lord of Wocclough, to know what his intention was to do; who answered, that he came to do the king honor and seruice, and to shew to his friends and power as the vse is of the borderers.

The earle of Angus, with the lord Hume, and the rest, not being content with this answer, because of the great feud betwixt him and the Humes, and the kares, sent vnto him a commandement in the kings name to depart, and not to approach nere to the kings presence, vnder paine of high treason. Wherevnto he answered, that he knew the kings mind well enough & would not spare for this commandement to come to his graces presence. Which answer received from him, incontinentlie the earle of Angus, the lords Fleming and Hume, the kares, the lord of Sesselford, with their friends, alighted on foot; the king remaining on horsebacke, accompanied with the earle of Lennor, the lord Spurrey, George Dowglas, and Pinian Creighton, tutor of Sainquhar.

The lord of Wocclough lighted also on foot, but because the most part of his men were of the theues and outlawes of the borders, commonlie called broken men, upon their first coming to joining with their speares, they fled, leaving the lord of Wocclough with a small number of his owne seruants about him in all the danger: yet they defended themselves verie manfully, and slew the lord of Sesselford and diuerse other, on the earle of Angus his side: but finally, oppressed with multitude, they were put to flight, and foure score of Woccloughes men slaine in the chase. After this, the king returned to Jedburgh, and remained there the space of foure daies, and then returned to Edenburgh.

All this while, the king was gouerned and holden against his will, by the earle of Angus and his assistants, although he did not outwardlie shew so in countenance, but dissembled the matter as well as he might,

E.g. i.

The great seale deliuered

A diuorcie betwene the quene and the earle of Angus.

1526.

The lord of Wocclough his enterprise, to take the king from the earle of Angus.

The lord of Sesselford slaine.

The lord of Wocclough put to flight.

he lozeth the castell of Edinburgh.

The parties are agreed.

Counsellors appointed.

Emere-nored.

Lesleus Lib. p. 417.

The king not in his owne power.

The quene mother in armes.

The earle of
Lennox ga-
thereth a pow-
er.

The earle of
Arrane ga-
thereth a
power.

The earle of
Lennox flaine
Fr. Thin.
Buchan. lib. 14.

might, yet percelusing two enterpises to haue qual-
led that had bene attempted for his deliuerance, he
thought to assaie the third; and hereupon, procured
the earle of Lennox to assemble an armie, with as-
sistance of the quene and his friends, to helpe to de-
liuer him from the hands of his enemies. The earle
of Lennox did so, and came with such power as he
could raise from the west parts unto Linlithgo. The
earle of Angus being aduertised, that the earle of
Lennox was gathering men, sent to the earle of Ar-
rane for aid, requiring him to come with such power
as he could make, and to meet him at Linlithgo. The
earle of Arrane immediatlie herewith gathered a
power; and with the same came to Linlithgo before
the earle of Lennox came thither, who shortly after
coming with his people, approached that towne, but
to whome the earle of Arrane sent a messenger, re-
quiring him to turne and saue his enterpise, assu-
ring him; that albeit he was his sisters sonne, he
would not spare him; if he held forth upon his
fourth. The earle of Lennox herewith answered in
a great rage, that he would not spare, till he came to
Edenburgh, or else die for it by the waie. The earle
of Arrane therefore not staing for the earle of An-
gus his coming from Edenburgh, issued forth of
Linlithgo at the west end of the towne, and incoun-
tered the earle of Lennox and his companie, where
there was a cruel onset given on both sides, but sud-
denly the earle of Lennox his companie fled, and he
himselfe with the lord of Hunsdon and diuerse other
gentlemen were slaine.

The death of which Dowlglas the king did great-
lament, and hearing the clamor and noise that
was made in that conflict, did send forth (but all too
late) Andrew Wood (his familiar) to haue succored
the Lennox, if by any means he could. After this
victorie, the faction of the Dowlglases (to the end
that striking a feare in those that were enuious a-
gainst them, they might make them alwaies to be
in danger to them) began to moue questions and
sutes in law, against such as had borne armes a-
gainst the king: for feare whereof some bought their
peace with monie, some took part with the Dow-
glases, some followed the Hamiltons, and some
staid standing in the matter, were followed and cal-
led into the law. Of which number Gilbert earle of
Caillies (when he was earnestlie pressed by James
Hamilton the bassard, to yeld himselfe to the part of
the Hamiltons) being a man of great stomach, gaue
this answer, that the old league of friendship, which
was betwene their grandfathers (in which his
grandfather was alwaies the more honorable and
first named) should not make him now so forgetfull
of the honor of his familie, that he would seme to
degenerat from his ancestors, and willingly grant
to be under defense (which is the next degree of
seruitude) of them, whose head in making an equall
league and covenant was contented with the second
place of honor.

Wherefore, when the said Gilbert appeared in the
law at the day appointed, for the deciding of his
cause: Hugh Kennedy his kinsman answered for
him, that he was present in that battell, as sent thir-
ther by the king, and not as enemy to the king, and
he would (if need required) bring forth the kings let-
ters therfore, notwithstanding the Hamiltons brow-
ning and fretting against his boldnesse: for the king
had writtten as well to Gilbert (going home) as to
many others, to ioin with John Stewart earle of
Lennox, who seeing the battell at hand, and that he
had not time left to call together his friends and fol-
lowers, did with his present companie (taking his
iourne out of the waie) turne to Striveling. Where-
fore (the power of the Hamiltons in that cause some-

what suppressed) James Hamilton the bassard stirred
with great hatred against Kennedy, did procure
Hugh Campbell thir wife of Aire to dispatch him out
of the waie, which he shortly after did in his returne
home. Afterward this Hugh, to the end he might dis-
semble his conscience, or knowledge of this fault (the
execution whereof he had committed to his felowes)
was remaining at the day and time of the same
murder, with John Arskine, whose sister was the
wife of Gilbert Kennedy.

But he (as some as the hearer of that deed did with
mania bitter words lay the fault vnto him, because
by that fact the noble house of the Kennedies had al-
most bene thought to utter subuersion, had he not
left a young sonne behinde him. This young earle,
after the death of his father, had to his kinsman Ar-
chibald Dowlglas then the kings treasurer, to
whome he committed the defense of himselfe and his
familie. This done, Hugh Campbell was called in
to law for the fact, who being manifestlie con-
fessed therof, was banished into an other place. Short-
ly after the Dowlglases with lesse bitterness ex-
cuse their anger against James Isoton, for bringing
their power to saint Andrews, which they spoiled, as
after appeareth.)

In the meane time, the earle of Angus bringing
the king with him, arrived, and had come to the bat-
tell, but that the king was not willing to come forth
of Edenburgh in that quarrell (as some haue writ-
ten) and therefore made excuses, as he did also by the
waie, saying himselfe sicke: but George Dowlglas
droue and called upon his horse berie thar pelie, and
constrained him to ride forth with faster pale than he
would haue done, giuing him manie intirious
words, which he remembred afterwards, and would
not forget them. They went that night to Striv-
ling, and shortly after passed through fife, searching
for the quene, and the bishop of saint Andrews, and
because they were kept secretlie in their friends hou-
ses, so that they could not be heard of, they spoiled the
abbete of Dumfries, and the castell of saint An-
drewes, taking alwaie all the meueables which the
archbishop had within the same.

In the north parts also, the two families of the
Lelles and the Fozboises, intangled with mutuall
hatred, raised great flames of tumults and parts ta-
king: which enimities did after grow to be the grea-
ter, because there were daily manie slaughters of
the nobles & other people committed in Spar, Gar-
reth, and Aberdeen, whilest each faction labored to de-
send it selfe against the others. For which cause (when
the common-wealth was much deformed thereby,
and all iustice seemed almost bitterlie overthrowne in
those parts) the earle of Angus and other of the no-
bilitie (which were of the kings priue counsell) did
not ceasse, vntill they had made vnitie betwene those
two families. But in the end (the heire of the Foz-
boises, & the lord Lentrucke, hauing by wait killed the
noble baron Speldurme, which favored the Lelles)
those buried contentions began againe to be raised
from the dead; whose enimities being once againe
knowne to the nobilitie (and what hurt might issue
thereof to the common state) they attempted all pos-
sible means once more to quench that deadly flame,
and afresh to ioin their minds together in amitie,
with this prouiso, that the murderers of Speldurme
should (for punishment of their offense) be banished
into France, where the greatest part of them died,
after manie miseries and reproches suffered in their
pitifull life. Which last league so sincerele vnitied be-
twene the Fozboises and the Lelles, was embraced
with such faith each to other, by renewing thereof with
continuall marriages & other courtesies, that it conti-
nued most firme euen vnto this day.

The death of
the earle of
Caillies.

The quene
sought for.

Fr. Thin.
Lelles lib.
p2543.

1526.

1520.
John lib. 9.
ff. 433.
116. 86.

Bohmercolle

How tumultuous
in that fami-
ly.

The familie
of Spakintof
the raine sedi-
tions.

In which north parts also, the inhabitants (part-
lie following their naturall disposition, and partlie
excited by the example of the former times long suf-
fered so to be used) did in like sort overrun and spoile
all things, by reason of ouermuch libertie. But of all
other sturs raised in those parts, that was the great-
test and most troublesome, which was raised by the
Spakintofches. Of which unruly people, the one
familie was called the Clenchattens, and the other
was surnamed Spakintofches after the head of that
kindred; in which, the chiefe was called Lachlane
Spakintofche a man of great possessions, and of such
excellencie in singularitie of wisdome, that with
great commendation he did containe all his follow-
ers within the limits of their duties, more than o-
thers did. Which constraints (when they could hard-
lie beare (as loth to live in order) hauing so long pas-
sed their time licentiouslie) did withdraw the hearts
of manie men from him. Amongest whome was
James Spalcolmeson his kinsman (who thirsting
after the desire to rule) took occasion (by the insurie
of the time) traitorouslie with deceit to kill this
Spakintofche; after which (fearing further trouble to
insue towards him) he fled to the Isle (at the lake
Kothmurcolle) as a sanctuarie or defense for him.
But the rest of the familie of the Spakintofches did
pursue him with such eager minds, that by force tak-
ing him in the Isle, they worthilie killed him, and
manie of his confederats, guiltie of that wicked-
nesse. After which (because the sonne of Spakintof-
che, for his tender yeares, was not sufficient with
seare & punishment to brydle the minds of his fierce
subjects) by common consent they chose the baird
brother of the slaine man (called Hecto Spakintof-
che) to be head and leader of that familie, untill this
young nephew might grow to yeres, and might weeld
the gouernement of his owne tribe.

Now when the earle of Spurreie perceived
that if the sonne of Spakintofche were committed to
the rashnesse of a people somewhat fierce and cruell,
that he should (on euerie side) be oppressed with ma-
nie troubles; he did most gobbie (for the care he had
of him his nephew being his sisters sonne) prouide,
that he should be caried to an other place, to the
Ogiluies, the childs kin on the mothers side, where he
should be well instructed and imbued with the pre-
cepts of all learning and vertue. Whereat Hecto
was greatlie offended, to see that the child should so
subtilie be taken from him. Wherefore (affirming
that much of his authoritie was thereby diminished)
he attempted (euerie way he might) to get the child
againe into his possession, that thereby he might
salue and recouer his credit and authoritie. But
some there were, which supposed that the great care
and labor which he so much employed (for getting the
child into his hands) was to none other intent, but
that he might make him atwaie, and prepare a path
whereby to lead his owne sonne to the gouerne-
ment of that familie. Which conceipt being deeplie
grauen in the mind of the earle of Spurreie, caused
him to seeke the preservation of the child, that by no
means he might fall into the hands of Hecto.

Wherewith Hecto being highlie incensed (and
determining to spue out his choler, seeking reuenge
by anie kind of means) he did cause his brother Wil-
liam & other of his kindred, that joining their force,
they might stronglie ber the earle of Spurreie, and
spoile his possessions: which they did with so great fu-
rie, that ouerthrowing the fort of Dikes, and besie-
ging the castell of Tojnewaie, they executed manie
cruelties, slaughters, spoiles, burnings, and other
mischiefes vpon all sort of people, men, women,
and children, and all such as favored them. For their
battered not limited against the earle of Spurreie, ex-

tended further against the familie of the Ogiluies,
amongest whome the child was left in custodie for
educations cause. With which mind this Hecto;
and his complices placing their campe at the castell
of Bettens, which belonged to the lord of Durnens
(one of the familie of the Ogiluies) they did so fur-
ouslie besiege the same, as the people of the same
were in the end forced to yeld the fort: which when
they had entred, they killed foure and twentie of
the Ogiluies, whom they found therein. Whereupon
(their minds being now aduanced with spoiles and
happie successes) they became so proude, as (trusting
ouermuch to prosperous event in all their actions)
they neuer set end to their wicked crueltie, untill
the erle of Spurreie did with force execute iust iudge-
ment vpon them. For when the earle beheld them
immoderatlie reioysing, in spoiling his lands, and
committing other excessive evils; he obtained of the
king and his counsell, that he might be made the
kings deputie and gouernor in that battell, to bry-
dle the rage and boldnesse of those in that order spoil-
ing the common-wealth.

Wherefore the earle assembling an armie, did
with such speedie valure come vpon them and their
countrie, that at the first he took almost two hun-
dred of their capitains, and committed them to the
gallowes. All whose faith was so true to their cap-
taine, as (when life was feuerallie promised to eu-
rie one man as he was alone lead to the gallowes)
there would not anie one of them confesse where
their capitaine Hecto had hidden himselfe. For eue-
rie one answered (with bold spirit) that they knew
not where he was become; and if so be they did, that
yet they would not (by anie paine or terro of death)
be induced to breake their faith and to betraie their
maister. But hanging not being thought a sufficient
reuenge (for such capitains as the earle had taken)
there were more grauous punishments laid vpon
William Spakintofche (brother to Hecto) because
in the beginning he nourished those coles of cho-
ler for his brothers cause. For after that this Wil-
liam was hanged, his head was chopped off and fast-
ned vpon a pole at Dikes, and the other foure parts
of his bodie were sent to the towne of Elgin, For-
resse, Inuernesse, and Alderne, there to be set vp
publicklye to the reproch of them, and the example of
others.

Now, after all these sturs, Hecto (seeing his men
were thus dispersed and executed, and that himselfe
was excluded from anie other succor) fled to the
faithfull helpe of Alexander Dunbar deane of Spur-
reie, by whose aduise he goeth humblie and secretlie
to the king, beseeching his mercie and fauor: to be
extended vnto him: for he supposed it better, rather
to craue the doubtfull mercie of his lord, than to
make triall of the earle of Spurreies certeine re-
uenge. Whereupon the king (seeing his humble
submission) receiued him into his fauor; and did
with all his heart louingly after embrace him, be-
cause he was valiant and wise in warre, and in
counsell. But God, whose iustice is alwaies shewed
in punishing of wickednesse, would not suffer this
filthinesse of crueltie, theft, murder, & spoile (where-
with Hecto did wickedlie defile his life) to go un-
reuenged with most grauous paine vpon the said
Hecto. For in the citie of saint Andriew, sudden
death (than which there can be no greater punish-
ment) was laid vpon him by one James Spense a
priest, who was himselfe afterwards beheaded.

When the earle of Spurreie had shewed such re-
uenge vpon the friends of Hecto and their compa-
nions; the people of the prouince of Clencatten
did from thenceforth keepe themselves within the li-
mits of their dutie: untill that the sonne of Lach-
lane

Ed. 1. laue

wonderfull
faith of euil
men to their
captaine.

lane Makintolche came to mans estate and full age. Which young man was in his first yeares imbued with such learnings and policie of life conformed thereunto, that when he was imployed about the common-wealth, all the captains of them (who naturally speake first in the furthest part of Scotland) did embrace him as a perfect paterne of all vertue, and an excellent workemaster to frame a well ordered state. Wherefore certaine (not able to suffer the brightnesse of his vertue) did ioine in counsell with such as were nērest of blood unto him, and had before laid violent hands on his father, to take his life away by forceable means. Whereof we shall more liberallie intreat in an other place.

This yeare the king by counsell of the earle of Angus, Arrane, and others, went with eight thousand men unto Jedburgh, to set some order amongst the borderers, for the keeping of better rule: and so on the eight of June, the principals of all the surnames of the clans on the borders, came to the king, binding themselves, and deliuering pledges for their good demeanors. The seventeenth of Iulie, there was a great assemblie of the lords at Holie rood house, at that time, there came a simple fellow (to loke upon) seruant and hoiskeeper sometime to the earle of Lennox, who in the midst of a great companie of people in the abbey close, strake sir James Hamilton knight verie desperatlie with a short prage or dagger in the bellie three feuerall stripes by to the hilt, and yet the said sir James died not of those hurts.

The man being taken, by & by confessed the deed without repentance, saieing: Why on the feeble hand quillke wald not do that thing the heart thought, and was determinat to do. And being inquired what he was, and who caused him to do the same; he answered that he was a seruant of God, sent by him to do that deed. And albeit he was put to great torture and paines daillie by the space of a moneth, yet would he neuer giue other answer, and so he was hanged, and his head set ouer one of the gates of Edinburgh towne. About the same time, there came out of Germanie maister Patrike Hamilton, abbat of Ferne, brothers sonne to the earle of Arrane, who had bene scholer to Martin Luther, & others there. This man being conuiented and examined vpon certeine articles, as of iustificatiō, predestination, of free will, and such like, contrarie to the doctrine taught by the church in that time, because he did as-
sine, and constantlie defend them, he was declared an heretike and burned.

The abbat of Ferne burnt.

Edinburgh castell besieged.

1528 Lesle.

The king being seuentene yeares of age, refused to be longer under gouernement.

The eighteenth of March, the king besieged the castell of Edinburgh, the quene and hir husband Henrie Steward: with James his brother being within it. But as soone as the quene vnderstood, that hir sonne the king was there in person, she caused the gates to be set open, and vpon hir knees besought him of grace for hir husband and his brother; and would not rest, till she had obtained the same; but yet they were kept in ward within the castell, till the king afterwards released them. In the yeare following, the king being now come to the age of seuentene yeares, and of good discretion and wit for his time, would no longer remaine vnder the gouernement of the earle of Angus and his companie. Therevpon he assembled diuerse noble men of Striueling, & by their counsell sent an herald vnto the earle of Angus & his assistants resident as then in Edinburgh, commanding them on paines of high treason, that they should depart forth of that towne, & that none of them should come within foure miles of the court, wheresoeuer the same chanced to lie.

Shortlie after, the king himselfe with two thousand men, followed the herald: wherevpon the earle of Angus, both being charged by the herald, and ad-

uertised of the kings coming toward the towne, departed thence immediatlie. And shortlie after, the same herald was sent vnto him againe with commandment from the king, that he should remaine prisoner within ward in the countrie of Murray, till the kings pleasure were further knowne: which he would not obeye; wherefore both he and his adherents were summoned to appeare in parliament to be holden at Edinburgh, in September next following. In this parliament begun at Edinburgh the first of September in this yeare 1528, the earle of Angus, with his brother George Douglas, his uncle by his father Archibald Douglas, Alexander Drummond of Carnocke, and diuerse other, were by decree of parliament attainted, and forfeited for diuers offences, and speciallie, for assembling the kings people to haue assailed the kings person: and because he had detemned the king against his will with him the space of two yeares and more, all which time he stood in feare of his life.

In this parliament Henrie Steward the quenes husband was created lord of Methuen, and made maister of the ordnance. Besides which, in place of earle Douglas was Gavin Dunbar, the kings scholemaster made chancelor, a good and a learned man, and one in whome manie did desire more ciuill policie; and in the place of Archibald Douglas the treasurer was admitted Robert Carnicrue, more famous for his monie than his vertue. In this parliament there was onelie one found, called John Bannatine, who sauoring the Douglas, did boldlie there protest, that what soeuer was therein don, ought by no meanes to be hurtfull to the earle Douglas; since last feare of his appearance there, was a iust cause to force him to be absent from thence. Within a few daies after, a brother of the earles called William, abbat of the monastirie of Holirood died, partlie by sicknesse, and partlie by griefe of mind, being wearied with the present state of things; whose place Robert Carnicrue, a man of base birth, but well knowned, did obtaine of the king: who had granted vnto him the auoidance of the next spirituall liuing. At length, the Douglas out of hope of all good successe, burnt the townes of Constaundie and Cranfoune, and so fled to the castell of Tantallon.

In October following, the king assembled a great companie of men, with artillerie, and diuerse kinds of munition, to besiege the castell of Tantallon, which the earle of Angus did hold, who aduertised of the preparation made for the same siege, furnished the castell with men and all kind of necessaries, and went himselfe into England. When the siege then was laid about the castell, it was so strong and so well prouided, that it might not be wonne for all that could be done at that season: in so much that after Dauid Falconer, principall gunner of the kings side was slain, the king caused the siege to be raised; yet at length (though not till a long time after this) it was deliuered to the king by appointment. Before the deliuerie whereof, the king depelte sware that he would not leaue one aliue to succeed in the inheritance and name of the Douglasses, so long as he liued and was king.

Wherevpon he came to Edinburgh, where (to the end he might distress them the more) he determined by the aduise of his counsell to send a daillie companie (though no great number) to Colbitham, which should defend the husbandmen from the spoile. Which office appointed to Bothwell chiefe of Louthane, he did bitterlie refuse, either fearing the power of the Douglas (wherevnto all the other strength of Scotland did of late not seeme to be equal) or that he would not (being then young) imbue his hands with the destruction of so famous a familie. Wherevpon,

1528.
The earle of Angus forfeited.
The earle of Angus attainted by parliament.
Henrie Steward created lord of Methuen.

Fr. Thin.
Buchanan.
lib. 14.

The castell of Tantallon besieged.

Dauid Falconer slain.

Fr. Thin.
Buchanan.
lib. 14.

since the king durst not trust the Hamiltons (as friends to his enemies, & being offended with them for the death of John Stewart earle of Lennox, nor durst commit the matter to anie of the adioining nobilitie) at length the same came so about, that Calene Campbell dwelling on the furthest borders of the kingdome, being a man of good estimation for his wisdom, and approved experience in seats of warre, and for his iustice dærelie loued of the people was sent by the king (with great authoritie) to the rebels. Whereby the Dowglasses (being forsaken of the Hamiltons and their other friends) were brought to those extremities, that they were enforced to depart into England to H. Henrie the eight, who honorable and liberrallie received and entertained them. After this, the king (as is said) getting the castell of Tantillone by composition, did scarce keepe all the covenants of his grant thereof in writing; although he performed this, that Alexander Drumman at the request of Robert Bretton, had licence to returne home into his countrie, a litle before which (as it seemeth) when James Colville and Robert Carnicruse were removed from the court, as persons suspected to fauor the Dowglasses) their offices were bestowed upon Robert Bretton, then in great fauor with the king and courtiers, and aduanced to the gouernement of manie places.)

The eighteenth of Maie, in the yere 1529, the earle of Cathnesse and the lord of Sinclair, with a great armie by sea passed into Orkney, to haue taken that Ile into possession; but the people of the countrie assembled at the commandement of James Sinclair of Kirkwall their capteine, who gaue battell to the earle and his armie with such courage, that he discomfited the enemies: the earle with fūe hundred of his men was slaine, and drowned in the sea, vnto the which they were diuinen. The lord Sinclair and all the residue were taken. The Orkney men held oppinion, that their patron saint Magnus was seene that day to fight in the field on their side against their enemies. In the same moneth on the fiftenth day, there was a great assemblie of the lords in Edinburgh, where the king himselfe sat in iudgement. The lord of Humberland called Cockburne, and one Adam Scot of Tullislaw, who was named king of theues, were accused of theft, and of receiuing and mainteining of theues, slaughters, and other crimes; of the which being conuict, they lost their heads, which were set ouer the Colburth of Edinburgh.

On the same day, the earle of Bothwell was also conuict for maintaining them and their crimes, and his life, lands, and goods, were in the kings hands. He was therefore kept in ward within Edinburgh castell, and after sent into Murray land, & lastlie banished the realme during the kings daies [and remained at Venice.] Also, the lord Partwell, the lord Hume, the lords of Balguelth, Fernihurst, Dollort, Johnson, Marke Har [with the earle Bothwell] and other principall men of the borders, were conuict by assise, and put in ward: by reason whereof, the borders kept better rule euer after, during the kings reigne. [Few moneths after, the king commanded the noble men before imprisoned, and then to be banished, to be restored to libertie, taking pledges for their allegiance. Of which companie, one Walter Scot killing Robert Johnstone a theue of noted crueltye, therewith to gratifie the king, began deadly enimitie with that familie, to the great hurt of both those kindreds.]

About this season, a landed man named John Scot, that had trauelled abroad in the world [ouer England, France, Italie and the holie land, as saith Lelous] who now being returned into Scotland, (because it was bytred in other countries that he

had fasted 40 daies without either meat or drinke) was for trial therof put in Davids tower in Edinburgh castell, and diligent watch set vpon him to see that he had no sustenance to relieue him withall, and so kept for forty daies, he fasted all that time without anie kind of nourishment, to the great wonder of the people. In the summer of this yere 1529, Archembald Dowglas, that had bene forsald (as ye haue heard) came alone to the king while he was on hunting in Striueling parke, & besought his grace of pardon, which he had obtained fullie at his hands, because he fauoured him more than anie of that surname, if he had not bene (as he was indeed) altogether determined that none of them should remaine within the land at that time, and so he banished him into France, where shortly after through griefe of mind he departed this life.

In the moneth of June, the king with an armie went to the borders to set order there for better rule to be kept, and to punish such as were knowen to be most culpable. And here vpon he caused forty and eight of the most notable theues, with their capteine John Armstrong to be apprehended; the which being conuict of murther, theft, & treason, were all hanged on growing trees, to the example of other. There was one cruell theue amongst the rest, which had burned a house with a woman and his children within it: he was burned to death. George Armstrong, brother to John, was pardoned, to the end he should appeach the residue, which he did; so that they were apprehended by the kings commandement, and punished for their misdoings, according as they had deserued. In August following, manie interuallous fights were seene about Striueling, as candles burning on the tops of hills in the nights, and in the morning afore sunne rising. Diuerse armed men appeared fighting vpon the ground, which was taken to be a foretoken of some trouble to insue in those parties. The fiftenth day of August, a great number of people being assembled at the market in Campscenneth, fiftie & two persons were drowned in the ferrie bote; amongst the which were diuerse honest men and women of the countrie.

The first of March, in the yere 1530, the abbat of Calrosc called James Inglis, was cruellie murdered by the lord of Tullislaw and his seruants, amongst whom there was a priest called sir William Louthien, for the which they were apprehended, and the said sir William the twentieth and seuenth of the same moneth, vpon a publike scaffold in Edinburgh was degraded (the king, quene, and a great companie of people being present) and after his degradation, he was delivered to the earle of Argile high iustice, and the next day the said Tullislaw and the same priest were beheaded. This yere the college court of iustice called the sessions was instituted in Edinburgh by the king, with consent of the three estates in parliament assembled, and after confirmed in Rome; in the which are fiftene counsellors ordinarie, eight of them being spirituall persons, of the which the most ancient is president, and seuen temporall men, but so as by this number the chancellor of the realme is above the president, when he is present. There are also foure counsellors extraordinary, remouable at the princes pleasure. In the yere 1531, & fittle done to make account of, for the erle of Angus remaining in England, could not perswade the king of England in his fauor to breake the peace with Scotland, though the same earle earnestlie laboured to bring that to passe.

* The earle of Bothwell, for that he went privately into England (being supposed to haue had secret conference with the earle of Northumberland) he was the 16 kalends of Februarie committed to the castell

1529.

The earle of Cathnesse passed into Orkney.

The earle of Cathnesse slain. The blindness of the Orkney men.

Inassurable the loss.

King of theues.

Execution.

The earle of Bothwell conuict.

R. Thin. Banished the realme.

R. Thin. The borders calmed, and put in ward.

R. Thin. Buchan, lib. 14.

John Scot who forne was without receiving any fee. Buch.

1529.

Archembald Dowglas banished.

The king cometh to the borders.

Theues hanged.

The theue burnt to death.

Wonders seene in the firmament.

A ferrie bote drowned.

1530.

An abbat murdered.

The sessions instituted.

1531.

Fr. Thin. Buch, lib. 14. 1532.

castell of Edinburgh, & sir John Sandland knight was sent with authoritie to the hermitage (a castell in Liddelvale) to repress the spoiles and robberies committed there. When of ancient time there had bene no certeine daies and place appointed for the deciding of monie, contentions, or debts amongst the citizens and people of Scotland, John duke of Albanie obtained from the bishop of Rome, that a percelle summe of monie (as much as should be sufficient to paie the stipend of a few iudges that shuld be appointed therfore) should be leuied of the cleargie, of euerie one according to his estate and substance. Whereupon Galwin Dunbar bishop of Aberdeen for himselfe in the name of the cleargie, appealed to the said bishop of Rome. Which controuersie continued from the first Ihes of March, untill the tenth kalends of Maie, at which day the college of the iudges of Edinburgh was established, of whom in the beginning there were many profitable things done, and law was equallie ministred; but yet the same end did not follow which was then hoped amongst them. For since in Scotland there be almost no lawes but such as are decreed by parlement, which are not commonlie perpetuall, but made for a time; and that the iudges as much as in them lieth do hinder the making of such lawes: the goods of all men were committed to the arbitrement of fiftene men, which haue perpetuall power therfore, being in truth but tyrannicall gouernment, since their onelie arbitrements must stand for law. Thus much Buchanan.

But because Lesleus treateth in more ample and other sort of that matter; and for that I will not deprive the reader of the severall writings of them both touching one thing: I will also set downe Lesleus words, writing in this order. In this parlement (saith he) by the consent of the states, it seemed good that the forme of iudgement used by our ancestors should be taken away. For where certeine of the cleargie, of the barons, and of the citizens, were chosen euerie yere to trauell ouer the foure parts of the realme, to giue iudgement of ciuill causes (as they terme it) and of other things intangled with the controuersie of law: and that then it oftentimes happened either by the ignorance of the iudge that did not attaine to the perfection of the law, or by the malice of them which were corrupted with bribes, that the weaker part had vniustlie the upper hand against the righter; to which discommoditie this was also ioined, that no cause could be well examined to the uttermost by one man at one time, because the iudges were so often changed; whereby it must needs follow, that severall iudges (having severall minds and wits) must for one matter giue inconsistent & contrarie iudgements. Wherefore to take awaie this varietie of iudgements and other discommodities, wherewith the common-wealth was afflicted; it pleased the parlement by the persuation of the king, that a certeine defined number of senators (being persons of the greatest knowledge in law) should haue a permanent place at Edinburgh, to decide all matters of controuersie, the manner & order wherof we haue set downe in our former booke, saith Lesleus. And I for my part thinke not vnmeet for the more explaining thereof, to set it downe in this place out of the same Lesleus.

The companie (saith he) of these men (whom we call the senat of the publike wealth) receiue none but such, whose praise of vertue and sharpenesse of wit (speciallie in matters of law) doth aduance them to that place. This court is so apted of the cleargie and secular nobilitie (as a man may tearme them) that the one part of the laitie doth answer the other number of the cleargie. Which we thinke to be

done by the great benefit of God, that the religion and simplicitie of the cleargie may temper the singular wisdom of the tempozalitie, obtained by the experience of woollbie causes; and againe, the iudgement of the laitie may further and moderate the pure religion and ancient simplicitie of the cleargie. Duer all these is one chiefe and head (which is a spirituall man) who hath the highest place in sentence and pronouncing of iudgement; except the iudgement of the chancelloz of the kingdome happen to come in place; for then thereunto the Scots giue the chiefeest preheminance in all the affaires of the common-wealth. Thus much he.)

In the yere 1532, sir Arthur Darcie was sent to the borders, who being at Berwikke, by the counsell of the earle of Angus then being there, they made a rode into Scotland, and burned certeine places; whereupon the Scots assembling themselves to defend their countrie, made towards the Englishmen, who retired themselves to Berwikke againe. After this were diuerse inuasions made on euerie side by on the borders, and ships likewise taken by sea, and yet no warre was proclaimed. In September, in the yere 1533, certeine commissioners of either realme were at Newcastle, to treat for a redresse and recompense to be made for burning of townes and villages, taking of goods, casting downe of piles, taking of ships, slaughters of men, and diuerse other spoiles and injuries done, as well by the sea as by the land, from the 23 day of Aprill in the yere 1532, unto the day of the meeting of the same commissioners; which doings were little lesse in effect than had bene used in time of open warre, although the same was not proclaimed. Because therfore that the scathes & injuries fell out to be so great on both sides, that particular redresse could not be had, the order thereof was referred to the pleasure of both the princes.

Further it was agreed, that for a perpetuall peace to be concluded, certeine commissioners should be appointed to treat therof at London, as afterwards they did. For the king of Scotland there were sent as commissioners about this treatie, William Stewart bishop of Aberdeen, Robert Reid the abbat of Kinlos, and sir Adam Sterburie knight (as saith Lesleus li. 9. pa. 439.) Adam Otterburne (the which accompanied with diuerse other knights, barons, and gentlemen, came to London, and were there right honozable receiued the 25 of March. After they had bene before the kings presence, there were certeine commissioners appointed by him to treat with them of peace, the which agreed upon certeine conditions and articles for a peace to continue betwixt both kings during their naturall liues, and one yere after the decease of that prince which first chanced to depart this world: and so the commissioners returned into Scotland in the moneth of Maie next ensuing.

About the same time were sent into France, David Beton abbat of Arbroth, and James Erskin secretarie, as ambassadoz to require the duke of Wandalmes sister in marriage for the king: with which motion the ladie and hir friends were verie well contented. Heuerthelesse (as afterwards shall appere) the king himselfe passing secretlie into France in proper person, when he had once seene the ladie, he liked hir not; & so became a suter to the French king his eldest daughter Magdalen, whome he obtained: wherefore the duke of Wandalmes sister would neuer after match hir selfe with anie other in marriage, but professed hir selfe in a house of religion, where she remained the rest of hir life time. The king of England sent ambassadoz into Scotland, the bishop of Dureline, sir Thomas Clifford, the prior of Werelme,

1533.
Lesleus. lib. 9.
pag. 437, 438.

Lesleus. lib. 1.
pag. 79.

1532.
Sir Arthur
Darcie sent
to the borders.

He maketh a
rode into
Scotland.

1533.

1534. Lesle.

Fr. Thin.

A peace com-
cluded.

Ambassadors
into France.

The king him-
selfe passeth se-
cretlie into
France.

refine, and one doctor Maginus, who were honorable received in the moneth of Julie: and then was the peace before concluded by the ambassadoys at London, confirmed by the king himselfe, and the charter thereof interchangably sealed, with the great seales of both the realmes, during the liues of both the princes (as before ye haue heard.)

* The king in those daies did shew such hope of honorable vertue in him, that the wisest and the most valiant princes of the world did honor him with the ornaments of their orders: for first Henrie king of England adopted him into the order of the garter, the emperor made him a fellow of the golden fleece, and shortly after the French king clothed him with the order of saint Michell. In remembrance of all which (for a note to be left to posteritie) he caused the armes of Scotland, honored with these three orders, to be set vp ouer the gate of his palace of Lithquoe, with the ornaments of the honor of saint Andrew, which are proper to the kingdom of Scotland.)

The same yere, the king passed through the north parts of his realme, and caused iustice done to be ministered in places where he came, against offenders. Spozoner, in Edinburgh was great inquisition made, and punishment exercised against such as were detected to hold opinions against the religion then vsed, the king himselfe assistant thereto. Master Rowman Corleie that was abjured before, and Andrew Stratton that would not renounce his opinion, were burned. The shriffe of Linlithgow, and diuerse other, that were fled for feare of punishment, were conuict of heresie. Diuerse Englishmen that held against the diuorce betwixt king Henrie, and the ladie Katharine Dowager, fled this yere into Scotland, and were receiued.

* About this time (to conclude a league with Charles the sixt, emperor) this Charles sent Godescall Erlike (to the end the matter might be handled more secretlie) from Toledo (by Ireland) into Scotland, who when he had declared his message to him from the emperor, concerning the iniuries done to his aunt Katharine queene of England, & to his daughter by Henrie the eight, king of England: the calling of a generall councill: the ouerthrow of the Lutherans heresie (to vse Buchanans word) and for contracting of mariage] the said ambassadoy did deliver to the king the emperors letter, wherein was set downe the offer and choise of which of those three Maries the king would take to wife: which were Marie (the sister of Charles) a widow by Lodowike of Hungarie, his husband slaine by the Turke: Marie of Borlingale his nece by his sister Leonara: or Marie of England his cousine germane by his aunt Katharine. Wherevnto the king answered, that the mariage with England should be most profitable, but the same was a thing of uncerteine hope, of greater danger & labor, & of longer delate than his carefulnesse (being the onelie man left of that line) might well indure. Wherefore of all the emperors kindred, that mariage by manie reasons should be most beneficiall for him, to take to wife the daughter of Christern, king of Denmark, begotten vpon Isabel sister to the emperor. Wherevnto for deniall thereof, Charles did shortly make answer (at Madrid) that he was affianced to another.)

In the yere 1535, the pope sent a messenger into Scotland, requiring king James to assist him against the king of England, whome he had decreed an heretike, a schismatike, a wedlocke breaker, a publicke murtherer, and a sacrileger; and therefore he had declared him to be deprived of the said kingdom, the which he would bestow vpon him, and other catholicke princes. In the yere 1536, the king took the sea with sixe ships, without knowledge of the most

part of the lords of his realme, and sailed about the Isles of Skie and Lewes, and the other Isles, and by forme was directed to take land at saint Mians in Galloway, & so returned to Striueling, from whence he passed on foot in pilgrimage vnto our ladie chappell of Lauret beside Muskellburgh, and afterward sent for diuerse of his lords, and by their counsell took his boiage againe by sea with sixe ships, to passe into France, as he was minded to haue done the first time: but what caused him to alter his purpose then, we find not. This second time he embarked at Kirkcaldie the last of August, and with good and prosperous wind he shortly after arriued in France, there being with him in companie the earles of Argile, and Arrane, the lords Bold and Flenning, with diuerse other barons, knights, and gentlemen; and before him there were in France the earles of Murray, Lennor, and Castles, the lord Erskin, the abbat of Arbroth, and others.

Immediatlie after his arriual, he rode in secret manner disguised vnto Wandosines in Picardie, taking with him but one seruant named John Tennent, whome he caused to take vpon him as he had bene maister; and so comming to the duke of Wandosine his place, got sight of the ladie who should haue bene his wife; but not liking hir, he returned againe without talking either with hir or hir friends: and comming to Rouen where his companie were abiding for him, he passed from thence towards Paris, where the Dolphin of France was appointed by the king his father to meet him seven leagues from the citie, who brought him to the king, who receiued him in such hartie manner, as if he had bene his owne sonne, and with as much honor as might haue bene shewed to the greatest prince in earth. There were iustes, tourneys, and other princelie pastimes practised and set forth; in which iustes and other exercises of warlike feates, he shewed himselfe as hardie, cunning and valiant, as anie other person within all the realme of France, for the which he was passing great praise.

In the meane time, he caused his ambassadoys and the noble men that were with him, to declare vnto the king of France, that the cause of his comming was for mariage to be had betwixt him and the ladie Magdalen, eldest daughter to the king, whome he loued & fauoured aboue all other within his realme. The French king was glad hereof, that the ancient band betwixt Scotland and France might thus with new aliance be confirmed, and therefore declared that he would willingly giue him his daughter in mariage. But herewith he let him vnderstand, that his daughter was much subiect to sicknesse, and therefore he referred that vnto the king of Scotland his owne pleasure, whether he would haue hir, or his yongest daughter the ladie Margaret, who was after married to the duke of Sauoy. This offer of choise being reported to the king of Scotland, he continued in his former purpose, which was, to match with the ladie Magdalen, who was in deed a pleasant yong ladie, beautifull, of good fauour, lowelie countenance, and comelie manners, aboue all others within that realme.

Wherevpon the mariage was contracted betwixt them, and an hundred thousand crownes of the sun promised with hir in dowrie, with thirtie thousand franks of pension, during the life of king James: which monie was deliuered vnto him at his returne homewards, besides manie rich hangings, cupboards of plate, sumptuous apparell, and rich iewels giuen to him and his wife, farre aboue the summe of an other hundred thousand crownes, with two great ships (the one called the salamander) and great plenty of artillerie, powder, and other munition. Spozoner,

The kings boiage about the Isles.

The sixth inna to France.

He rideth to Wandosine.

He is receiued into Paris.

He is a tutor for mariage.

The mariage contracted betwixt the king of Scots and the ladie Magdalen.

The peace concluded with England.

R. Thin. Letters lib. 9. p. 439.

1534.

Justice ministered.

English fugitives receiued into Scotland.

R. Thin. Buchan. li. 14.

1534.

1535. The pope sends into Scotland.

1536.

uer, all his charges and expences were borne by the French king, during his being within the realme of France. At the same time also, was the ancient league and bond of amitie betwixt the two realmes of Scotland and France renewed, and the day of the solemnization of the marriage appointed to be holden the first of Januarie.

1539.
The marriage
contracted.

In the meane time, great preparation for the same was made, and all the nobles of France sent for to be there at that day. On the which within the church of Notre dame in the citie of Paris, the king of Scotland openly married the said ladie Magdalen, in presence of the king his father, the king of Navarre, seven cardinals, and diuerse great dukes, marshals, earles, lords, barons, bishops, & others. After the solemnization of the marriage, king James remained in France, till the moneth of Maie, passing the time with all kind of pleasure and disport that might be deuised for his honorable intertainment. Finally, the king and his wife quene Magdalen took their leaue of the king of France their father at Paris, about the latter end of Aprill, and so rode to Rouen, where they were receiued with great triumph, and from thence they passed downe the riuer to Newhauen where they imbarked, being accompanied by the admerall of France, and manie other noble men of the realme, appointed by the French king to attend vpon them into Scotland, & so they sailed forth with pleasant wind and prosperous weather, through the seas, till they came into the Forth, and there landed at the peare of Leith hauen, the 29 of Maie, in the yeere 1537, where a great number of earles, bishops, barons, & other noble men & gentlemen of Scotland were readie to receiue them with passing ioy and gladnesse, & from thence with great triumph they were conueied to the abbey of Holie rood house.

1537. Lesle.

The king
with his
quene retur-
neth into
Scotland.

This noble ladie with hir louelie countenance and seemlie demeanour, at hir first arrivall tooke the loues and hartie good wils of all the nobles & people of the realme, and withall contented so highlie the mind and fantasie of the king his husband, that there was neuer more hope of wealth and prosperitie to succed within the realme, than at that present. But fortune enuieing so great felicitie, would not suffer them to continue anie longer time together: for about the end of June she fell sicke of a vehement feuer, whereof she departed this life the tenth of Julie next ensuing, and was buried in the church of Holie rood house, for whose death the king was verie sorrowfull, & stirred not abroad of a long time after: [whose death (saith Buchanan) was so lamented of all men, that then (as he supposeth) began the first vse of mourning garments amongst the Scots, which yet at this day, not being past forty yeeres, is not verie common, though publicke orders and manners doe uerie day grow worse and worse.]

Quene Mag-
dalen depar-
teth this life.

Fr. Thin.

The ladie
Clames and
hir husband
conuict of
treason.

1537. Lesle.

In the summer of this yeere, Jone Dowglas the ladie of Clames, sister to the earle of Angus, was apprehended, and likewise hir husband David Lion, and both of them brought to Edinburgh, where they were accused and conuict by an assise, for conspiracie of the kings death: the said ladie was burned, and hir husband hanged. Hir son the lord Clames was also conuict for misprision and concealment of that crime, and therefore forsaiking all his lands, was condemned to die: but because he was young and of tender yeeres, the king pardoned him of life, and committed him to perpetuall prison, in the which he remained so long as the king liued. [This yeere was Bothwell, for that he was ouer familiar with the English, banished into France (as saith Buchanan.)] Shortly after, John maister of the Forbois, and eldest sonne to the lord Forbois, who had married a si-

Fr. Thin.

The maister
of Forbois
beheaded.

ster of the said ladie Clames, was at Edinburgh likewise indicted and conuict by an assise, by procurement of the earle Huntley, for the like conspiracie of the kings death, for the which he was beheaded and quartered, and his head and quarters set aloft vpon the gates of Edinburgh. His father the lord Forbois, vpon suspicion of the same conspiracie, was long after kept in prison within the castell of Edinburgh; but at length when nothing might be proued against him, he was released and set at libertie.

This yeere, the king in September caused iustices to sit in the north parts of the realme, and likewise in October; and in the winter following he caused the like to be done in the south and west parts. The king himselfe was often times present, assisting the lords whom he had appointed his commissioners for the furtherance of iustice, and maintenance thereof throughout all parts of his realme. The king appointed an assemblie of the nobles, by whose consent an edict was made to confirme the former law, in which all his grants made at Roane in his minority were voided and of no authoritie. At what time also by the said persons it was brought to passe by great labor, that the kings patrimonie should be augmented with manie possessions. Wherefore when they perceived that the kings charge and dignitie could not be maintained with so small reuenues, they advanced his fourre sonnes (borne of diuerse women) to the rich abbeyes & priories of Melrose, Kelso, Colvingham, Holie rood, and of saint Andrewes, whose reuenues they transferred to the kings coffers so long as he liued: by which (perhaps) there came no lesse monie (saith Lesleus) vnto his coffers, than did arise of his kinglie inheritance.)

Iustices ap-
pointed to sit
in diuerse
parts of the
realme.

Fr. Thin.
Buchan, lib. 14.
pag. 447.

The king by the aduise of these noble men of his realme, thinking it necessarie for him to match againe in marriage with some noble princeesse, sent into France vnto the earle of Spurrey, and David Beaton abbat of Arbroth [whome (as saith Lesleus lib. 9. pa. 447) Paule the third had made a cardinall, & they of France had made bishop of Tropezense] his ambassadors there resident, willing them by the aduise of the French king to treat for a marriage to be had betwixt him and the ladie Marie de Lozraigne, dutchesse of Longuile, widow, daughter to the duke of Guise. And being aduertised from his said ambassadors, that the king of France, the ladie hir selfe, and hir friends, were well contented therewith, he sent in the beginning of Maie the lord Robert Sparwell, and the maister of Glencarne, well accompanied into France, to ioine with his other ambassadors for the contracting of that marriage, the which according to their commission treated thereof, and concluded vpon resolute articles, and so espoused hir by procurators, as the vse is amongst such estates, with great triumph in the citie of Paris, whereat the king and manie noble men were present.

1538. Lesle.

The king is
sutor for ma-
riage to the
dutchesse of
Longuile.
Fr. Thin.

After this she was conueied to Newhauen, and there taking the seas, passed through the same till she came to Carrell in Fife, where she landed the tenth of June; and from thence she was conueied to the new palace in the abbey of saint Andrewes, being honorably prepared for the receiuing of hir. And there the king accompanied with manie noble men, openly solemnized and confirmed the fore said marriage with the said ladie in the abbey church, with great ioy and triumph. The king with his quene remained there the most part of that summer. And within a few moneths after the marriage, she conceived with child, to the great comfort of the king and the whole realme, for the hope of succession thereby; and therefore generall processions and publicke praiers were made throughout all parts of the realme, for the prosperous success of the same. After that the king had pacified the borders

The marriage
solemnized.

borders and all other parts of his realme, by erecting of iustice, and traueilling about the same in his owne person through all places (where had requir-
Great quiet-
ness in Scot-
land.

teine disobedient persons in the Isles.
The king therefore, to bring them to order, caused to prepare a good naue of ships, and in the moneth of Maye went aboard the same in the rode of Leth, ha-
1539.
The king sail-
eth north-
ward to the
Isle of Arber-
ne and others.

ving with him the earles of Arrane, Huntlye, Ar-
gyle, and diuerse other earles, lords, and baronis, with
whome he sailed forth by the coasts of Fife, Angus,
Aberden, Murray, Strath, Southerland, and Cath-
ness, till he came to Orkney, where he landing and
all his companie with him, were receiued verie ho-
norable by the bishop Robert Sparwell. Where they
furnished themselves with fresh vittels, and other
such things as were necessarie; and taking the seas
again, sailed to the Isles of Skie and Lewes, where
Mac Cleud of the Lewes, a principall clan of his
kin, was brought unto the king, who sent forth also
a companie to Mac Cleud Bangh, who came like-
wise out of his Ile, and presented himselfe to the
king.
From thence the king sailed by the coast of Rosse
& Huntlye, to the Ile of Tranternes, where diuerse
of the Macconiles, such as the lord Magarrie, John
Mogart, and others (who alledged themselves to be
of the principall blood, and lords of the Isles) were
brought also to the kings presence. From thence tra-
uelling through the residue of the Isles, Macclane and
James Macconile of Lintier, being the two principall
captains of the small Isles, came likewise to the king
who at length landed at Dunbjeton, and sent the
captains and ships with prisoners to passe the same
waie he came. round about the coast, so to come to
Edenburgh, where the same prisoners being arri-
ued, the chiefe heads of them were kept in ward as
pledges for good rule in their countries, and were not
suffered to depart so long as the king liued, whereby
there followed great quietnesse, and as good obedi-
ence to the lawes throughout all the Isles, as there
was in anie part of the realme; and as good account
and payment made to the kings controller in his ex-
chequer for the lands of the same Isles pertaining to
the crowne, as for anie part of the reuenues belong-
ing thereto within the maine land. [In this yere
(saith Buchanan lib. 4.) were manie taken for Lu-
theranisme, whos some were burnt; nine recanted,
and manie were banished: amongst whom, George
Buchanan was one, who escaped by a rope out of a
window of a chamber.]

Whilest the king was in this bondage, the quene
was deliuered of a sonne at saint Andriwes, where
of the king being aduertised at his landing, hastid
with all possible diligence to the quene, and shortly
after was the child baptised, and called James. The
archbishop of saint Andriwes, and the earle of Ar-
rane were godfathers, and the quene the kings mo-
ther was godmother. For the birth of this prince,
there were bounties made through all parts of the
realme, with great triumph and giuing of thanks to
God for the same. After this the quene, mother to the
king, returned vnto Orkney, where after she had
remained a certeine time, a sicknesse took hir, of the
which shortly after she departed this life, and was
buried in the Charterhouse church of saint Johns
towne, by the toime of king James the first. The
king himselfe and manie nobles of the realme were
present at the funerals, which were kept in most so-
lemne and pompous manner.

The same yere were burnt at Edenburgh for
heresie (as it was then taken) a regular canon, two

blacke friers, and a secular man. Also two priests
were degraded, and condemned to perpetual prison.
The same time there was a grate fier in the citie of
Glasgow burnt for the like cause, and manie other
summoned; and because they would not appeare,
they were denounced hereticks. About the same
time, James Beton archbishop of saint Andrius,
an man of great age departed this life, and was bu-
ried in saint Andrius. Before his departure, he
had prouided successors to all his benefices, first to
his archbishops see, and to the abbey of Arbroth,
maister David Beton, afterwards cardinal; and to
the abbey of Dunfermling maister George Dur-
rie that was archdeacon of saint Andrius. These
men, without anie gainesaying of the king, entered
with his good will into the same benefices, immedi-
atly after his deceasse. This James Beton builded
a great part of the new college of saint Andrius,
and left great summes of monie and treasure to go
through to make an end of the same worke.

This yere in the moneth of August sir James
Hamilton of Finhart knight, remaining as then
in the towne of Edenburgh, was arrested by Da-
uid Wood controller to the king; who charged him
in the kings name to go to ward within the ca-
stell of Edenburgh. Which commandement he wil-
lingly obeyed, thinking himselfe sure inough, as
well by reason of the good seruice he had done to the
king, specially in repairing the palaces of Struel-
ling and Linletgeto; as also for that the king had
him in so high fauor, that he stood in no feare of him-
selfe at all. Neuerthelesse, shortly after he was
brought forth to iudgement, and confit in the Cal-
buth of Edenburgh, of certeine points of treason
laid against him, which he would neuer confesse; but
that notwithstanding, he was beheaded in the mo-
neth of September next ensuing [after that he had
liberally confessed at the place of execution, that he
had neuer in anie sort offended the kings maiestie,
and that this death was yet worthilie inflicted vpon
him by the diuine iustice; because he had often of-
fended the lawe of God to please the prince, thereby
to obtaine greater countenance with him. Where-
fore he admonished all persons, that (moued by his
example) they should rather followe the diuine plea-
sure, than vniustlie seeke the kings fauor, since it is
better to please God than man.]

This summer the quene remaining at Struel-
ling, was deliuered of an other prince, which was
baptised in the chappell of Strueling, and called Ar-
thur; but within eight daies after, the said prince de-
ceased at Strueling aforesaid. On the verie same
daie, prince James the kings eldest sonne being at
saint Andrius departed this life also, in such wise,
that there was but onlie six houres betwixt the time
of their departures out of this world; which caused
no lesse lamentation through the whole realme, than
there was ioy at their births. After this, the quene
went vnto saint Johns towne, where she was hono-
rable receiued with great triumph made by the
towne. She was accompanied with the principall
men of the countrie, and from thence she roade to
Aberden, the king then being come vnto hir, where,
by the towne and vniuersitie they were receiued
with great ioy, triumph, pageants, verses, & plates,
set forth in the best manner for their pastime. They
remained there the space of fiftene daies, and were
highlie interteined by the bishop of that place.

There were exercises and disputations held in all
kind of sciences in the colleges and scholes, with
diuerse orations made in Greeke, Latine, and other
languages, to the high praise and commendation of
the maisters & students in that vniuersitie. From
thence the king with the quene returned to Dun-
dee,

1539. Lesle.
The death of
James Beton
archbishop of
saint An-
drius.

1540.
Sir James
Hamilton ar-
rested.

Sir James
Hamilton be-
headed.

Fr. Thin.
Lesleus lib. 9.
pag. 47.

The quene
deliuered of
another son.

The two
young princes
departed this
life.

The king and
quene at Ab-
berden.

The out Isles
brought to
good order.

Fr. Thin.

The quene
deliuered of a
sonne.

The quene
mother depart-
ed this life.

Certaine per-
sons burnt
for religion.

Captaine
Borthwicke
accused of he-
resie.

Fr. Thin.
Lesseus lib. 9.
pag. 453.

A small por-
tion in ded.

1541.
The king of
England sen-
derh to the
king of
Scots.

Fr. Thin.

dee, where a coslie entrie was prepared for them also, and after they had bene right princelie interteined there, they came to Falkeland. In the moneth of Maie, sir John Borthwicke, commonlie called captaine Borthwicke, suspected, defamed, and accused of heresie, was summoned to appeare in saint Andrews before the cardinall, and diuerse other bishops and prelats there present, where (notwithstanding his absence) the same being proued by sufficient witnesse against him (as was thought) he was conuicted and declared an heretike. An image was made to resemble him, and at the market crosse of the said citie, as a signe and memorie of his condemnation, it was burned, to the feare of others, but he himselfe escaped their hands and got into England, where he was receiued.

The king of Scots (hearing of the maner of the king of England, and how he honored himselfe) toke in euill part, that the king of England in all generall assemblies of the States of Ireland did call himselfe king of Ireland, when all his predecessors before were onelie intituled by the names of lords of Ireland. For by that new title, king James his authoritie did seeme to be diminished, when the king of England did write himselfe king of all Ireland: whereof a portion by manie ages was under the rule of the king of Scots. Yet at length k. James did yield thereunto; and that the rather, because the king of England under this title and authoritie, did not dispossesse the heires of the Scot Spakeconell; and other his Scots of those lands which they there inioied in that countrie.]

This yeare the king of England aduertised of the meeting of the emperor, the French king, and pope, at the citie of Pise, doubting some practise to be deuised there against him, sent to the king of Scotland the bishop of saint Dauides, & the lord William Howard, desiring him as his most tender kinsman and nephue, to meete him at the citie of Porke in England, where he would communicat such things with him, as should be for the weale of both the realmes. And therewith the king of England, trusting that the king of Scotland would haue fulfilled his desire, caused great preparation to be made at Porke for the receiuing of him. But albeit the king of Scotland was willing of himselfe to haue passed into England, to haue met and seene his uncle; yet after long reasoning and deliberation of his counsell and prelats [especially James Beton bishop of saint Andrews, and George Crichtoune bishop of Aberdeen (as saith Buchanan. lib. 14. assembled for that purpose, casting in their minds (as they toke it) what danger might fall to him and his realme, if he should passe into England, in case he should be strated and holden there, contrarie to his will, as king James his predecessor was, hauing no succession of his bodie.

And againe, for that it was certeinlie knownen, that the principall cause, why the king of England required this meeting or interuiew, was to perswade the king of Scotland to vse the like order in Scotland, as he had done within his realme of England, in abolishing the popes authoritie, making himselfe supreme head of the church, expelling religious persons out of their houses, and seizing the iewels of their houses, their lands and rents, and such like inuasion. And if it chanced the king should attempt the like, they should lose the friendship which was betwixt him, the pope, the emperor, and French king, that were his great friends and confederats. Whereupon they perswaded him to staie, and by their aduise sent pleasant letters & messages vnto the said king of England, desiring him to haue him excused, for that he could not come into England at that time,

hauing such lets and causes of abiding at home, as hostile he should vnderstand by his ambassadores, whom he ment to send to him, as well for this matter as other causes. And hostile after sir James Leirmouth was appointed to go as ambassadores into England, as well to make the kings excuse for his not comming to meet the king of England at Porke; as also to make complaint vpon certaine inuasions made by the borderers of England into Scotland, and also for the vsing of the debatable ground betwixt the two realmes.

But the king of England fore offended that the king of Scots would not satisfie his request, to meet him at Porke (as before is recited, would admit no excuse, but determined to make warre into Scotland, albeit as the Scottishmen allege, he would not suffer the same to be vnderstood, till he had prepared all things in a readinesse. In the meane time he sent commissioners to meet with the Scots commissioners vpon the debatable ground, to talke for redress to be made of harmes done vpon the borders, but no good conclusion could be agreed vpon by these commissioners, neither touching the debatable land, nor yet for repairing of wrongs done by the inuasions. ¶ But that the truth concerning the causes of this war, moued at this present by that noble prince king Henrie the eight, may the better appeare; I haue thought good here to set downe the same, as they were drawen forth and published in print to the whole world by the said king in a little pamphlet, vnder this title.

A declaration containing the iust causes and considerations of this present warre with the Scots, wherein also appeareth the true and right title that the kings most roiall maiestie hath to his souereigntie of Scotland, and thus it beginneth.

BEING now enforced to the war which we haue alwaies hitherto so much abhorred & fled, by our neighbour & nephew the k. of Scots, one who aboue all other for our manifold benefits toward him, hath most iust cause to loue vs, and to reioise in our quietnesse; we haue thought good to notifie vnto the world his doings and behauiour in the prouocation of this war, & likewise the meanes & waies by vs to eschew & auoid it, & the iust & true occasions wherby we be now prouoked to prosecute the same, and by utterance and disclosing of that matter, to disburden some part of our inward displeasure and griefe: and the circumstances knownen, to lament openlie with the world the infidelitie of this time, in which things of such enormitie do burst out and appeare.

The king of Scots our nephue & neighbor, whome we in his youth and tender age preferred and maintained from the great danger of others, and by our authoritie and power conduced him safelie to the roiall possession of his estate, he now compelleth & enforceh vs (for preservation of our honor & right) to vse our puissance & power against him. The like unkindnesse hath bene heretofore shewed by other in semblable cases against Gods law, mans law, & all humanitie; but the offender it chanceh, the more it is to be abhorred, and yet in the persons of princes, for the raritie of them, can so happen but sel dome as it hath now come to passe. It hath bene verie rarelie & sel dome seene tofore, that a king of Scots hath had in marriage a daughter of England. We cannot nor will not reprehend the king our fathers act therein, but lament and be sorie that it toke no better effect.

The king our father in that matter minded loue, & amitie,

Sir James
Leirmouth
ambassadores
into England

1542.
The king of
England
meaneth to
make warre
into Scot-
land.

A declaration
of the iust
causes of the
war
against the
king of
Scots.

amicie, and perpetuall friendship betwene the posteritie of both: which howe it failed, the death of the king of Scots, as a due punishment of God, for his uniuersall inuasion into this our realme, is and shall be a perpetuall testimonie of their reproch for euer. And yet in that present time could not the vniuersall of the father extinguish in vs the naturall loue of our nephue his sonne, being then in the miserable age of tender youth. But we then forgetting the displeasure that should haue wrought him to inuade that realme, nourished and brought up our nephue, to attaine his fathers possession and gouernement, wherein he now so vniuersally bleseth and behaueth himselfe towards vs, as he compelleth vs to take armes and warre against him.

It is speciallie to be noted, vpon what grounds, and by what means we be compelled to this warre, wherein among other is our chiefe grieue and displeasure, that vnder a colour of faire speech and flattering wordes, we be indeed so iniured, contemned and despised, as we ought not with sufferance to permit and passe ouer. Requests, writings, letters, messages, ambassages, excuses, allegations, could not more pleasantlie, more gentlie, nor more reuerentlie be deuised and sent, than hath bene made on the king of Scots behalfe vnto vs: and euer we trusted the tree would bring forth good fruit, that was of the one part of so good a stocke, and continuallie in appearance put forth so faire buds: and therefore would hardly beleeue or giue eare to other, that euer alleged the deeds of the contrarie, being neuertheless the same deeds so manifest, as we must needs haue regarded them, had not we bin so loth to thinke euill of our nephue, whome we had so manie waies bound to be of the best sort toward vs.

And therefore hauing a message sent vnto vs the yere past, from our said nephue, and a promise made for the repairing of the said king of Scots vnto vs to Pozke, and after great preparation on our part made therefore, the same meeting was not onelie disappointed, but also at our being at Pozke in the lieu thereof, an inuasion made by our said nephue his subjects into our land, declaring an euident contempt and despise of vs. We were yet glad to impute the default of the meeting to the aduise of his counsell, and the inuasion to the lewdnesse of his subjects, and according thereto gaue as benigne and gentle audience to such ambassadoers as repaired hither at Christmas afterwarde, as if no such cause of displeasure had occurred, speciallie considering the good wordes, sweet wordes, pleasant wordes, effionnes proponed by the said ambassadoers, not onelie to excuse that was past, but also to perswade kindnesse and perfect amitie to insue.

And albeit the king of Scots hauing (contrarie to the article of the league of amitie) receiued and intertained such rebels as were of the chiefe and principall, in stirring the insurrection in the north against vs; with refusall before time, vpon request made to restore the same; yet neuertheless, vpon offer made, the said ambassadoers to send commission to the borderers, to determine debates of the confines in the same, with so great a pretense of amitie, and so faire wordes as could be in speech desired, we were content for the time to forbear to presse them ouer extreamlie in the matter of rebels. Albeit we neuer remitted the same, but desiring to make triall of our said nephue in some correspondence of deeds, condescended to the sending of commissioners to the borders, which to our great charge we did, and the king of Scots our said nephue the semblable.

Where after great trauell made by our commissioners, this fruit ensued, that being for our part challenged, a peece of our ground plainlie usurped by the

Scots, and of no great value, being also for the same shewed such euidence, as more substantiall, more authenticke, plaine and euident, cannot be brought forth for anie part of ground within our realme: the same was neuertheless by them denied, refused, and the euidence onelie for this cause reiected, that it was made (as they alledged) by Englishmen: and yet it was so ancient, as it could not be counterfeited now, and the value of the ground so little, and of so small weight, as no man would haue attempted to falsifie for such a matter. And yet this deniall being in this wise made vnto our commissioners, they neuertheless by our commandement departed as friends from the commissioners of Scotland, taking order as hath bene accustomed, for good rule vpon the borders in the meane time.

After which their recess, the lord Hartwell warden of the west marches of Scotland, made proclamation for good rule; but yet added therewith, that the borderers of Scotland should withdraue their goods from the borderers of England; and incontinent the Scottishmen borderers, the fourth of Julie entered into our realme suddenlie, and spoiled our subjects contrarie to our leagues, euen after such extremitie as it had bene in the time of open warre, whereat we much marvelled, and were compelled therefore to furnish our borders with a garrison for defense of the same. Wherevpon the king of Scots sent vnto vs James Leirmouth maister of his household, with letters deuised in the most pleasant manner, offering redresse & reformation of all attempts. And yet neuertheless, at the entrie of the said Leirmouth into England, a great number of the Scots then not looked for, made a forraie into our borders, to the great annoiance of our subjects, & to their extream detriment. Wherewith, and with that vnseemelie dissimulation, we were not a little moued, as reason would we should; and yet did we not finally so extreamlie prosecute and continue our said displeasure, but that we gaue benigne audience to the said Leirmouth, and suffered our selfe to be somewhat altered by his wordes and faire promises, tending to the perswasion that we euer desired, to find the king of Scots such a nephue vnto vs, as our proximity of blood (with our gratuitie vnto him) did require.

In the meane time of these faire wordes, the deeds of the borderers were as extream as might be, and our subjects spoiled: and in a roade made by sir Robert Bowes for a reuenge thereof, the same sir Robert Bowes, with manie other were taken prisoners, and yet detained in Scotland without putting them to fine or ranome, as hath bene euer accustomed. And being at the same time a furlong made on both sides, at the sute of the said Leirmouth for a season; the Scots ceased not to make sundrie inuasions into our realme, in such wise as we were compelled to forget faire wordes, and onelie to consider the king of Scots deeds, which appeared vnto vs of that sort, as they ought not for our dutie in defense of our subjects, we could not in respect of our honor, be passed ouer vnreformed: and therefore put in a readinesse our armie, as a due meane whereby we might attaine such a peace, as for the safeguard of our subjects we be bound to procure.

After which preparation made, and knowledge had thereof, the king of Scots ceased not to vse his accustomed meane of faire wordes, which in our naturall inclination wrought effionnes their accustomed effect. euermore desirous to find in the king of Scots such regard & respect to be declared in deeds, as the correspondence of naturall loue in the nephue to such an uncle, as we haue shewed our selfe toward him, doth require. Wherefore vpon new request and sute made vnto vs, we determined to staie our armie

"mie at Worke, appointing the duke of Norfolk our
 "lieutenant, the Lord priue seale, the bishop of Dur-
 "ham, and the maister of our hostes, there to com-
 "men, treat, and conclude with the ambassadoz of
 "Scotland, for an amitie and peace, upon such condi-
 "tions, as by reason and equitie were indifferent,
 "whereby the warre might be eschewed, being by sun-
 "drye inuasions of the Scots then opened & manifest.

"In this communication betwene our and their
 "commissioners, after diuerse degrees of commission
 "shewed by the Scots, and finally one that was by
 "our commissioners allowed, matters were propo-
 "ned for conclusion of amitie, nothing difficult or hard
 "of our part, but so agreeable to reason, as the com-
 "missioners of Scotland said they doubted not, but
 "if it might be brought to passe that the king of Scots
 "our nephew might haue a meeting with vs, all mat-
 "ters should easilie be compounded and determined:
 "whereupon they left speaking of anie articles of a
 "mitie, and the ambassadoz of Scotland made much
 "outward shew in communication of meeting. They
 "shewed themselves in words, fashion, and behauior
 "much to delight in it, to reioice in it, and therewith
 "thought it easie and facile to be concluded and ac-
 "complished, and for their part they toke it then for a
 "thing passed, a thing concluded, and most certaine to
 "take effect, and onelie desired six daies to obtaine an-
 "swer from their maister, and our armie, from that
 "time to staie and go no further: wherevnto our com-
 "missioners then agreed.

"After these six daies was sent a commission out
 "of Scotland, with power to conclude a meeting pre-
 "cisely at such a place, as they knew well we should
 "not, nor could not in winter obserue & keepe. Where-
 "with when our commissioners were discontent,
 "the ambassadoz of Scotland to relieue that displea-
 "sure, and to temper the matter whereby to win more
 "time, shewed forth their instructions, wherein liber-
 "tie was giuen to the ambassadoz to exceed their
 "commission in the appointment of the place, and to
 "consent to anie other that by our commissioners
 "should be thought convenient. Which manner of pro-
 "ceeding when our commissioners refused, alledging
 "that they would not conclude a meeting with men
 "hauiing no commission therevnto: the ambassadoz
 "of Scotland upon pretence to send for a more am-
 "ple and large commission, agreeable to their instruc-
 "tions for appointment of the place, obtained a de-
 "laie of other six daies, to send for the ample commis-
 "sion without restraint of place.

"So to after these six daies they brought forth a
 "new commission, made in a good forme, and without
 "exception: but therewith also they shewed new in-
 "structions, containing such a restraint as the former
 "commission did containe, so as the libertie giuen to
 "the commissioners in the commission was now at
 "the last removed and taken away by the instructi-
 "ons, with addition of a speciall charge to the ambas-
 "sadoz, not to exceed the same. And thus, first the am-
 "bassadoz of Scotland seemed to haue a will and de-
 "sire to conclude on a place seemlie and conuenient,
 "which for want of commission they might not doe,
 "and at the last might haue concluded a meeting by
 "vertue of their commission; and then for feare of the
 "commandement in their second instructions they
 "durst not. And so they shewed their first instructions
 "partlie to excuse their king, who should seeme secret-
 "lie to will more than in the commission he did open-
 "lie profess.

"Then with an ample commission from the king,
 "they shewed their secret instructions for defense of
 "themselves, why they proceeded not according to
 "their commission, not caring how much they char-
 "ged therein the king, whose fault they disclosed to dis-

charge themselves, trusting that by the benefit of
 "the winter approaching, and the time lost in their com-
 "munication, their maister should be defended a-
 "gainst our power for this yere, without doing for
 "their part that by honor, right, law, and leagues they
 "be obliged and bound to doe. And in this meane time
 "our subiects being taken prisoners in Scotland, could
 "not be deliuered upon any rancome, contrarie to
 "all custome and vsage of the borderers in the time
 "of peace and warre: and in this meane time staied a
 "great part of our armie already pressed, and in our
 "wages to go forward.

"In this time ambassadoz (as ye haue heard) ap-
 "peared to make of an amitie, but concluded none.
 "The treating of amitie was put over by communica-
 "tion of a meeting. The communication of meeting
 "was so handled by alteration of commission and in-
 "structions on their behalfe, as it appeareth a plaine
 "deuise onelie inuented for a delaie, which hath giuen
 "vs light, wherupon more certainly to iudge the king
 "of Scots inward affection toward vs: whose deeds
 "and wordes well weied and considered, doe vs plain-
 "lie to vnderstand, how he hath continually labored
 "to abuse vs with sweet and pleasant wordes, and to sa-
 "tisfie the appetites of other at home and abroad with
 "his vnkind and displeasing wordes. In his wordes he
 "professeth an indissoluble amitie, he allegeth kindred,
 "he acknowledgeth benefits, onelie the fault is, that he
 "speaketh another language to all the world in deeds,
 "and thereby so toucheth vs in honor and denegation
 "of iustice, as we be enforced and compelled to vie the
 "sword, which God hath put in our hands as an ex-
 "treme remedie, whereby to obtaine both quietnesse
 "for our subiects, and also that is due to vs by right,
 "pays, and leagues.

"We haue patientlie suffered manie delusions,
 "and notable the last yere, when we made prepara-
 "tion at Worke for his repaire to vs. But should we
 "suffer our people and subiects to be so oft spoiled
 "without remedie? This is done by the Scots, what-
 "soeuer their wordes be. Should we suffer our rebels
 "to be detained contrarie to the leagues without re-
 "medie? This is also done by them, whatsoever their
 "wordes be. Should we suffer our land to be usurped
 "contrarie to our most plaine euidence, onelie upon a
 "will, pride and arrogancie of the other partie? This
 "is done by them whatsoever their wordes be. All these
 "be ouer presumptuouslie done against vs, and giue
 "such signification of their arrogancie, as it is neces-
 "sarie for vs to oppresse it in the beginning, lest they
 "should gather further courage, to the greater displea-
 "sure of vs and our posteritie hereafter. And yet in the
 "intreating of this matter, if we had not euidentlie
 "percelued the lacke of such affection as primum of
 "blood should require; we would rather haue remit-
 "ted these iniuries in respect of primum of blood, to
 "our nephew, than we did tofoze his fathers inuasion.

"But weeing that we be so suerlie ascertained of
 "the lacke thereof, and that our blood is there frozen
 "with the cold aire of Scotland, there was neuer
 "prince more violentlie compelled to war, than we be
 "by the vnkind dealing, vniust behauior, & vnprin-
 "cie demerit of him, that yet in nature is our ne-
 "phew, & in his acts and deeds declareth himselfe not to
 "be moued therewith, nor to haue such earnest regard
 "to the obseruation of his pays & leagues, nor such re-
 "spect to the intertainment of the administration of
 "iustice, as naturall equitie bindeth, & conseruation of
 "equitie requireth. Which we much lament & be sozie
 "for, & vse now our force and puissance against him,
 "not for reuengement of our priuate displeasure (be-
 "ing so often deliuered as we haue bene) but for re-
 "couerie of our right, the preseruation of our subiects
 "from iniuries, and the obseruation of such leagues
 "as

as haue passed betwene vs, firmelie trusting, that almightie God, vnder whome we reigne, will assist & aid our iust proceedings herein, to the furtherance and aduancement of the right, which we doubt not shall euer preuaile against wrong, falshood, deceit, and dissimulation.

Hitherto appeareth how this present warre hath not proceeded of anie demand of our right of our superiortie, which the kings of Scots haue alwaies knowledged by homage and fealtie to our progenitors euen from the beginning: but this warre hath bene prouoked and occasioned vpon present matter of displeasure, present iniurie, present wrong misfired by the nephue to the uncle most vnnatural, lie, and suppoſed contrarie to the deserts of our benefits most vnkindlie, if we had minded the possession of Scotland, and by the motion of warre to attaine the same, there was neuer king of this realme had more opportunitie in the minoritie of our nephue, nor in anie other realme a prince that hath more iust title, more euident title, more certeine title, to any realme that he can claime, than we haue to Scotland.

This title is not deuised by pretense of marriage, nor imagined by couenant, nor contriued by intution of argument, but lineallie descended from the beginning of that estate established by our progenitors, and recognised successiuelie of the kings of Scotland, by deeds, words, acts, and writings continually almost without interruption, or at the least intermission, till the reigne of our progenitor king Henrie the first, in whose time the Scots abused the ciuill warre of this realme, to their licence and boldnesse, in omitting of their dutie: which for the proximity of blood betwene vs, we haue bene slacke to require of them, being also of our selfe inclined to peace, as we haue euer bene alwaies glad, rather without prejudice to omit to demand our right if it might conferre peace, than by demanding thereof to be sene to moue warre, speciallie against our neighbour, against our nephue, against him whome we haue preferred from danger, and in such a time as it were expedient for all christendome to be in vnitie and peace, whereby to be more able to resist the common enimie the Turke.

But for what considerations we haue omitted to speake hitherto of the matter, it is neuertheless true, that the kings of Scots haue alwaies acknowledged the kings of England superior lords of the realme of Scotland, & haue done homage and fealtie for the same. This appereth first in histories written by such, as for confirmation of the truth in memorie haue trulie noted and signified the same. Secondly, it appeareth by instruments of homage made by the kings of Scots, at diuerse & sundrie times personages of Scotland, at diuerse & sundrie times sealed with their seales, and remaining in our treasure. Thirdlie, it appeareth by registers and records iudiciallie and autenticallie made, yet preferred for confirmation of the same. So as the matter of title being most plaine, is furnished also with all maner of euidences for declaration thereof.

First, as concerning histories, which be called witness of times, the light of truth, and the life of memorie, and finally the conuenient way & meane whereby the things of antiquitie may be brought to mens knowledge, they shew as plainlie this matter as could be wished or required, with such a consent of writers as could not so agree vpon an vntruth, containing a declaration of such matter as hath most euident probabilitie and apparance. For as it is probable and likelie, that for the better administration of iustice amongst rude people, two or more of

one estate might be rulers in one countrie, vntied as this Ile is: so it is probable and likelie, that in the beginning it was so ordered for auoiding dissention, that there should be one superior, in right of whom the said estates should depend.

According whereunto we read, how Britte, of whome the realme then called Britaine toke first that name (being before that time inhabited with giants, a people without order or ciuilitie) had three sonnes, Locrine, Albanact, and Camber, who determining to haue the whole Ile within the ocean sea to be after gouerned by them three, appointed Albanact to rule that now is called Scotland, Camber the parties of Wales, and Locrine that now is called England: vnto whom (us being the eldest sonne) the other two brethren should do homage, recognising and knowledging him as their superior. Now consider, if Britte conquered all this Iland, as the historie saith he did, and then in his owne time made this order of superiortie as afore; how can there be a title deuised of a more plaine beginning, a more iust beginning, a more conuenient beginning, for the order of this Iland, at that time speciallie, when the people were rude: Which cannot without continuall strife and variance conteine two or three rulers in all points equall without any maner of superiortie, the inward conscience and remorse of which superiortie should in some part dull and diminish the peruerse courage of resistance and rebellion.

The first diuision of this Ile, we find written after this sort, without cause of suspicion why they should write amisse. And according hereunto we find also in historie set forth by diuerse, how for transgression against this superiortie, our predecessors haue chastised the kings of Scots, and some deposed, and put other in their places. We will here omit to speake of the rudenesse of the antiquitie in particularitie, which they cared not dissimlie to commit to writing. But some authors, as Antonius Sabellicus, amongst other, diligentlie searching what he might trulie write of all Europe and the Ilands adioining, ouer and besides that which he writeth of the natures, manners, and conditions of the Scots, which who so list to read, shall find to haue bene the verie same in times past, that we find them now at this present: he calleth Scotland, part of England, which is agreeable to the diuision aforesaid, being in deed as in the land continually without separation of the sea, so also by homage and fealtie vntied vnto the same; as by particular declarations shall most manifestlie appere, by the testimonie of such as haue left writing for profe and confirmation thereof.

In which matter, passing the death of king Humber, the acts of Dunwald king of this realme of England, the diuision of Beline and Wzen two brethren, the victories of king Arthur; we shall begin at the yeere of our Lord, nine hundred, which is six hundred forty two yeeres past, a time of sufficient antiquitie, from which we shall make speciall declaration and euident profe of the erection of our right and title of superiortie euermore continued and preferred hitherto. Edward the first, before the conquest, sonne to Alured king of England, had vnder his dominion and obedience the king of Scots. And here is to be noted, that this matter was so notorious and manifest, as Marian a Scot, writing that storie in those daies, granteth, confesseth, & testifieth the same: and this dominion continued in that state three and twentie yeeres.

At which time Athelfane succeeded in the crowne of England, and having by battell conquered Scotland, he made one Constantine king of that partie, to rule and gouerne the countrie of Scotland vnder him, adding this princelie word, that it was more

“honorable to him to make a king, than to be a king.
 “Twentie foure yeres after that, which was the yere
 “of our Lord 947, king Edward our progenitor Athel-
 “stanes brother, took homage of Trise then king of
 “Scots. Thirtie yeres after that, which was in the
 “yere of our Lord 977, king Edgar our predecessor
 “took homage of Rinald king of Scots. There was
 “a litle trouble in England by the death of saint Ed-
 “ward king and martyr, destroyed by the deceit of his
 “mother in law. But yet within memorie, fortie yeres
 “after the homage done by Rinald to king Edgar,
 “that is to say, in the yere of our Lord 1018, Mal-
 “colme king of Scots did homage to Knute our pre-
 “decessor.

“After this homage done, the Scots uttered some
 “peece of their naturall disposition: whereupon, by
 “warre made by our progenitor saint Edward the
 “confessor, twentie nine yeres after homage done,
 “that is to say, the yere of our Lord 1056, Malcolme
 “king of Scots was vanquished, and the realme gi-
 “uen to Malcolme his sonne, by our said progenitor
 “saint Edward: to whome the said Malcolme made
 “homage and fealtie, within eleven yeres after that
 “William Conqueror entered this realme, whereof
 “he accounted no perfect conquest, untill he had like-
 “wise subdued the Scots. And therefore in the said
 “yere, which was in the yere of our Lord 1068, the
 “said Malcolme king of Scots did homage to the said
 “William Conqueror, as his superior by conquest
 “king of England. Twentie five yeres after that,
 “which was in the yere of our Lord 1092, the said
 “Malcolme did homage and fealtie to William Rufus
 “his sonne to the said William Conqueror: and yet
 “after that was for his offenses and demerits depo-
 “sed, and his sonne substitute in his place, who like-
 “wise failed of his dutie: and therefore was ordeined
 “in that estate (by the said William Rufus) Edgar,
 “brother to the last Malcolme, and sonne to the first,
 “who did homage and fealtie accordingly.

“Seuen yeres after, that was in the yere of our
 “Lord 1100, the said Edgar R. of Scots did homage
 “unto Henrie the first our progenitor. Thirtie seuen
 “yeres after that, David king of Scots did homage
 “to Mathild the emperesse, as daughter and heire to
 “Henrie the first. Wherefore, being after required by
 “Stephan, then obtaining possession of the realme, to
 “make his homage, he refused so to do, because he had
 “before made it to the said Mathild, and thereupon for-
 “bare. After which Davids death, which ensued shortly
 “after, the sonne of the said David made homage to
 “the said king Stephan. Fouretene yeres after that,
 “which was in the yere of our Lord, a thousand one
 “hundred and fiftie, William king of Scots, and Da-
 “uid his brother, with all the nobles of Scotland,
 “made homage to Henrie the seconds sonne, with a
 “reservation of their dutie to Henrie the second his
 “father. Twentie five yeres after, which was in the
 “yere of our Lord 1175, William king of Scotland,
 “after much rebellion & resistance, according to their
 “naturall inclination, king Henrie the second then
 “being in Normandie, William then king of Scots
 “knowledged finally his error, and made his peace
 “and composition, confirmed with his great seale, and
 “the seales of the nobilitie of Scotland, making
 “therewith his homage and fealtie.

“Within fiftene yeres after that, which was the
 “yere of our Lord 1190, the said William king of
 “Scots came to our citie of Canturburie, and there
 “did homage to our noble progenitor king Richard
 “the first. Fouretene yeres after that, the said Wil-
 “liam did homage to our progenitor king John, upon
 “a hill besides Lincoln, making his oth upon the
 “crosse of Hubert then archbishop of Canturburie, be-
 “ing there present, a marvellous multitude assembled

for that purpose. Twentie six yeres after that, which
 “was in the yere of our Lord 1216, Alexander king
 “of Scots married Margaret, the daughter of our pro-
 “genitor Henrie the third, at our citie of Porke, in the
 “feast of Whistmasse, at which time the said Alexander
 “did his homage to our said progenitor, who reigned
 “in this realme fiftie six yeres. And therefore betwene
 “the homage made by the said Alexander king of
 “Scots, and the homage done by Alexander, sonne to
 “the said king of Scots, to Edward the first at his co-
 “ronation at Westminster, there was about fiftie
 “yeres: at which time the said Alexander king of
 “Scots repaired to the said feast of coronation, and
 “there did his dutie, as is aforesaid. Within twentie
 “eight yeres after that, which was in the yere of our
 “Lord 1282, John Balioll king of Scots made his
 “homage and fealtie to the said king Edward the first
 “our progenitor.

“After this began Robert Bruce to stirre the
 “crowne of Scotland, and to move sedition therfore
 “against them of the house of Balioll, which made for
 “a season some interruption in the said homage; but
 “yet no intermission without the termes of memorie:
 “for within fortie foure yeres after, which was the
 “yere of our Lord 1326, Edward Balioll after a
 “great victorie had in Scotland against the other fac-
 “tion, and inteing the crowne of Scotland, made ho-
 “mage to our progenitor Edward the third. And
 “twentie yeres after that, which was in the yere of
 “our Lord 1346, David Bruce, who was euer in the
 “contrarie faction, did neuertheless in the title of the
 “crowne of Scotland, whereof he was then in possessi-
 “on, make homage to our said progenitor Edward
 “the third.

“Within nine yeres after this, Edward the third,
 “to chastise the infidelitie of the Scots, made warre
 “against them: when after great victories, Edward
 “Balioll, hauing the full and right title to the realme
 “of Scotland, surrendered clealie the same to our said
 “progenitor, at the towne of Norburgh in Scotland,
 “where our said progenitor accepted the same, and
 “then caused himselfe to be crowned king of Scot-
 “land, and for a time interteined it, and intied it, as
 “verie proprietarie and owner of the realme: as on
 “the one part by confiscation acquired, and on the o-
 “ther part by free will surrendered vnto him. And then
 “after the death of our said progenitor Edward the
 “third, began seditions and insurrections in this our
 “realme, in the time of our progenitor Richard the se-
 “cond, which was augmented by the alteration of the
 “state of the said Richard, and the deuolution of the
 “same to Henrie the fourth: so as the Scots had some
 “leasure to plaie their vagues, and follow their accu-
 “stomed manner. And yet Henrie the fift, for recou-
 “rie of his right in France, commanded the king of
 “Scots to attend vpon him in that iorneye.

“In this time, the realme of Scotland being des-
 “cended to the house of the Stewards, of which our ne-
 “phue directlie cometh: James Steward king of
 “Scots, in the yere of our Lord 1423, made homage
 “to Henrie the first at Windsor, which homage was
 “distant from the time of the other homage made by
 “David Bruce, thre score yeres and more, but farre
 “within the fresh memorie of man. All which homages
 “and fealties as they appere by storie to haue bene
 “made and done at times and seasons as aforesaid, so do
 “there remaine instruments made thereupon, and
 “sealed with the seales of the kings of Scotland, testifi-
 “fieng the same. And yet doth it appere by storie, how
 “the Scots practised to steale out of our treasure di-
 “uerse of these instruments, which neuertheless were
 “afterward recovered againe.

“And to the intent ye may know of what forme
 “and tenure the said instruments be, here is inserted the

the effect in word and sentence as they be made, which we do, to meet with the cauillation and contriued euasion of the Scots, alleging the homage to haue bene made for the earledome of Huntingtoun, which is as true as the allegation of him that is burnt in the hand, to say he was cut with a sickle. And therefore the tenure of the homage is this.

The forme of the homage.

Iohn P. king of Scots shall be true and faithfull vnto you lord Edward by the grace of God K. of England, the noble & superiour lord of the kingdome of Scotland, as vnto you I make my fidelitie of the same kingdome of Scotland, the which I hold & claime to hold of you. And I shall beare to you my faith and fidelitie of life and lim, and wooldlie honor, against all men; and faithfullie I shall knowledge, and shall do to you seruice due to you of the kingdome of Scotland aforesaid: as God so helpe and these holie euangelists.

Now for the third part, touching records and registers, we haue them so formall, so authenticall, so seriouse handled, and with such circumstances declaring the matters, as they be and ought to be a great corroboration of that hath bene in stories written & reported in this matter. For among other things we haue the solemne act and iudiciall processe of our progenitor Edward the first, in discussion of the title of Scotland, when the same was challenged by 12 competitors (that is to saie) Florentius comes of Holandie, Patricius de Dunbar comes de Berchia, Willielmus de Wesci, Willielmus de Soules, Robertus de Winkent, Nicholaus de Soules, Patricius Galighie, Rogerus de Spundenle, Joannes de Comin, D. Joannes de Hastings, Joannes de Balliolo, Robertus de Wule, Ericus rex Norwe-gie.

Finallie, after a great consultation and mature deliberation, with discussion of the allegations proponed on all parts, sentence was giuen for the title of Ballioll, according wherevnto he inioied the realme. But for confirmation of the dutie of the homage before that time obserued by the K. of Scots, it appeareth in those records, how when those competitors of the realme of Scotland repaired to our progenitor, as to the chiefe lord for discussion of the same, inso much as the authoritie of the iudgement to be giuen depended thereupon; it was then ordered that the whole parliament of Scotland, spirituall & temporall, & of all degrees assembled for that purpose, and considering vpon what ground & foundation the kings of Scotland had in times past made the said homages and recognition of superiourtie, the said parliament finding the same good & true, should (if they so deemed it) yeld and giue place, and by expresse consent recognise the same.

At which parliament was alleged vnto them, as appeareth in the same records, not onelie these acts of the princes before those daies, and before rehearsed: but also besides the testimonie of stories, the writings and letters of forren princes at that time reciting and rehearsing the same. Whereupon the said parliament did there agree to this our superiourtie, and insuing their determination did particularlie and feuerallie make homage & fealtie with proclamation, that whosoever witholdeth himselfe from doing his dutie therein, should be reputed as a rebell. And so all made homage and fealtie to our progenitor Edward the first. And the realme of Scot-

land was in the time of the discussion of the title ruled by gardians deputed by him. All castels and holds were surrendered to him, as to the superiour lord in the time of vacation. Benefices, offices, fees, promotions passed in that time from the mere gift of our said progenitor, as in the right of this crowne of England. Sherriffes named and appointed, writs, and precepts made, obeyed, and executed.

Finallie, all that we do now in the duchie of Lancaster, the same did our progenitor for the time of the contention for that title in the realme of Scotland, by the consent of an agreement of all estates of the realme assembled and consulted with for that purpose. At which time the bishops of saint Andrews and Glasgow were not (as they now be) archbishops; but recognised the archbishop of Yorke, which extended ouer all that countrie. Now if the Scots will take exception to the homage of their princes as made in warre, and by force, which is not true; what will they say, or can they for shame allege against their owne parliament, not of some but of all confirmed, & testified by their writings and seales; wherevnto nothing inforced them but right and reason, being passed in peace and quiet without armes & compulsion? If they say they did it not, they speake like themselves; if they say they did it, then do they now like themselves, to withold their dutie, not so much to be blamed, as to be amended.

Thus appeareth vnto you the beginning of the right of superiourtie, with a perpetuall continuance, without intermission within memorie. Certaine commissions before specified we denie not, whereby they haue many times sought and taken their oportunitie to withold the doing of their dutie in knowledge of our superiourtie ouer them; which to auoid, they haue not cared what they said or alleged, though it were neuer so vntrue, lieng alwaies in wait when they might annoie this realme, not without their owne great danger & perill, & also extreame detriment. But as they betrayed the doing of their dutie, so God granted vnto this realme force to compell them thereto within memorie, and notwithstanding anie their interruption by resistance, which vnto the time of our progenitor Henrie the first neuer endured so long as it made intermission within time of mind, whereby the possession might seeme to be empaiued. From the time of Henrie the first, vnto the seventh yeare of our reigne, our realme hath bene for a season lacerat and forne by diuersitie of titles, till our time; and since also by warre outwardlie vexed and troubled. The storie is so lamentable for some part therof, as were too tedious to rehearse.

Since the death of our progenitor Henrie the first, our grandfather Edward the fourth reigned, who after great trauels to attaine quietnes in his realme, finallie in the time of preparation of warre against Scotland died. Richard the third, then usurped for a small time in yeares, whome the king our father by the strength of Gods hand ouerthrew in battell, and most iustlie attained the possession of this realme, who neuerthelesse, after the great tempestuous stormes, finding all matters not yet brought to perfect quiet and rest, ceased and forbore to require of the Scots to do their dutie; thinking it policie rather for that time to assaie to tame their nature by pleasant conversation & conuersation of amitie, than to charge them with their fault, & require dutie of them, when oportunitie serued not by force & feare to constrain and compell them. And thus passed ouer the reigne of our father without demand of this homage. And being our reigne now foure and thirtie yeares, we were one and twentieth yeares letted by our nephew his minoritie, being then moze careful how to bring

Ph. 15.

him 2

him out of danger, to the place of a king, than to receive of him homage; when he had full possession of the same.

Wherefore being now passed, since the last homage made by the king of Scots, to our progenitor Henrie the first, 122 yeares, at which time the homage was done at Wundol; by James Stewart, then king of Scots, as before 56 of these yeares the crowne of this realme was in contention, the trouble wherof ingendred also some businesse in the time of the king our father; which was thre and thirtie yeares; and in our time one and twentie yeares hath passed in the minority of our nephew. So as finally, the Scots resorting to their onelie defense of continuance of possession, can onelie allege iustlie but 13 yeares of silence in the time of our reigne, being all the other times since the homage done by James Stewart, such as the silence in them (had they bene neuer so long) could not haue ingendred prejudice to the losse of anie right that may yet be declared and proued due. For what can be imputed to king Edward for not demanding homage being in strife for that estate, whereunto the homage was due? What should Richard the third search for homage in Scotland, that had neither right ne leasure to haue homage done vnto him in England? Who can blame our father, knowing the Scots nature neuer to do their dutie but for feare; if he demanded not that of them, which they would eschew if they might, seeing his realme not clearelie then purged from ill seed of sedition, sparkled and scattered in the cruell ciuill warres before.

Law and reason serueth, that the passing ouer of time not commodious, that the purpose is not allowable in prescription for the losse of anie right. And the minority of the king of Scots hath indured twentie one yeares of our reigne, which being an impediment on their part, the whole prescription of the Scots, if the matter were prescriptible, is thus deduced euidentlie to thirtene yeere, which thirtene yeere without excuse we haue ceased and forborne to demand our dutie, like as the Scots haue likewise ceased to offer and render the same: for which cause neuertheless we do not enter this warre, ne minded to demand anie such matter now, being rather desirous to reioice and take comfort in the friendship of our nephew as our neighbour, than to moue matter vnto him of displeasure, whereby to alienate such natural inclination of loue as he should haue towards vs; but such be the works of God superio: ouer all, to suffer occasions to be ministred, whereby due superiority may be knowne, demanded, and required, to the intent that according thereto all things gouerned in due order here, we may to his pleasure passe ouer this life to his honor and glorie, which he grant vs to do in such rest, peace, and tranquillitie, as shall be meet and conuenient for vs.

Scottish ships taken.

When therefore the king of England had set forth this declaration of the causes that moued him to make warre against Scotland, he prepared to prosecute the same both by sea and land, and hauing rigged and furnished diuerse ships of warre, he sent the same forth to the sea, that they might take such Scottish ships as were to returne from their voyages made into France, Flanders, Denmarke, and other countries, whether they were gone for trade of merchandise, with which the English ships incountred, took 28 of the principall ships of all Scotland, fraught with all kind of merchandise and rich wares, which they brought with them into the English ports.

The king of Scotland aduertised therof, sent with all speed an herald, desiring restitution of his ships, as he thought stood with reason, seeing no war was

proclaimed: but the king of England thought it no reason to depart with them so soon, till other articles of agreement might be concluded, and therefore refused not onelie to deliuer their ships, but also sent sir Robert Bolwes with men to the borders, giuing him in charge to invade Scotland, who according to his commission, with thre thousand men rode into Scotland, and began to burne and to spoile certeine small towne: whereupon the fraic being raised in the countie, George Gordon the earle of Huntley, who was appointed to remaine as lieutenant vpon the borders, for doubt of such sudden intrusions, immediately gathered a number of borderers, and set vpon the Englishmen, and put them all to flight: sir Robert Bolwes, and his brother Richard Bolwes, with diuers other, to the number of six hundred, were taken prisoners; and the said sir Robert Bolwes and other the principall landed men were kept still in Scotland till after the kings death. This victorie chanced to the Scots, at a place called Walden Rig in the Pers, vpon saint Bartholomewes day, which is the twentieth fourth of August.

After this, the king of England sent the duke of Norfolk with the earles of Shrewsburie, Warbie, Cumberland, Surreie, Hertford, Angus, Rutland, and the lords of the north parts of England, with an armie of fortie thousand men, as the Scots esteemed them, though they were not manie about twentie thousand, who entered into Scotland the one and twentieth of October, and burnt certeine towne vpon the side of the water of Tweed: but the earle of Huntley, hauing with him ten thousand of the borderers and other, so waited vpon them, giuing them now and then skirmishes and alarms, that they came not past two miles from the water of Tweed within the Scottish bounds at that season.

In the meane time, the king of Scotland being aduertised hereof, gathered a great armie through all the parts of his realme, and came to Southraie hedge, where they mustered, and were numbered to be thirtie six thousand men, with the which he came to Falla Pure, and there incamped, determining to giue battell to the Englishmen, as he pretended: howbeit, if the duke had taried longer, as it was thought he would haue done, if the time of the yeere and prouision of vittells had serued, the Scots would yet haue bene better aduised, before they had ioined with him in a pight field. But true it is, that after the duke had remained there so long as vittells might be had and recovered from anie part, he retired with his armie backe into England, not without some losse of men, hoeses, and spoiles, which the Scots vnder the earle of Huntley and others took from the Englishmen in that their retire, speciallie as they passed ouer the riuer of Tweed.

After the Englishmen were thus departed and withdrawing home forth of Scotland, king James being of an high and manlie courage, in reuenge of harmes done by the Englishmen within his countie, thought god that his whole armie should passe forward and invade England, himselfe to go there with in proper person. And herein he requested the consent of his nobilitie, who after long reasoning, and good aduicement taken in the matter, gaue answer [by the earle of Surrey] to the king in this sort, that they could not thinke it god that they should passe within England, and to seeke battell, the king himselfe being with them, considering that his two sons were lately deceased, so that he had no succession of his bodie: for in case that they lost the field, as in chance of battell is most uncerteine, then the king of England hauing great substance, might therewith follow the victorie, and put the realme of Scotland in great hazard.

Therefore

Sir Robert Bolwes invaded the borders.

The earle of Huntley gathered an overthrow to the Englishmen, 1542. Lellie.

Therefore they thought it sufficient to defend their owne borders, and to constrain the enimie for care to leane the inuasion thereof, as presently they had done; and declared that they were determined to haue giuen battell to their enimies, if they had continued within the realme, and doubted not by the helpe of God, they hauing so iust a cause, and being inuaded in their countrie, but that they should haue obtained the victorie. The king hearing their determination, albeit his high courage pressed him to invade, yet the approued wit of his nobles and counsellors dissuaded him, so follow to their aduise, and so returned with his armie backe againe, the first of November, the armie of England being first discharged, and the onlie of Scotsfolke in his returne towards London.

Shortlie after, the king of Scotland went himselfe in person to the west marches of his realme, where the lord Marwell was warden, whome together with the earles of Caillies, and Glencarne [the lord Fleming] and certeine other lords there with him, the king appointed to inuade the English marches on that side, taking with them the power of the borders, and sent also with them Oliver Sinclair the brother of Roseline Comarck, and the residue of the gentlemen of his household. These earles and lords entering into England on saint Bartholmes euen, being the foure and twentieth of November, began to burne certeine townes upon the water of Ouse. But as some as the fire was raised in the countrie, the lord Wharton warden of the west marches of England, suddenly raised the power of the countrie, and came to a little hill, where they shewed themselves in fight unto the Scottish armie.

The Scottish lords perceiving the Englishmen gathered, assembled themselves together, and inquired who was lieutenant generall there by the kings appointment; and incontinentlie Oliver Sinclair was holden by on two mens shoulders, where he sheweth forth the kings commission, instituting him lieutenant to the king of that armie. But notwithstanding that was read, the earles and lords there present, thought themselves imbolded so much, to haue such a meane gentleman aduanced in authoritie aboue them all, and therefore determined not to fight vnder such a captaine, but willinglie suffered themselves to be overcome, and so were taken by the Englishmen, not shewing anie countenance of defense to the contrary, and without slaughter of anie one person on either side.

This rode was called Solowate Horse, at the which were taken prisoners men of name, these persons following: the earle of Caillies and Glencarne, the lord Marwell, the lord Fleming, the lord Somerville, the lord Diphant, Oliver Sinclair, the lord of Craggie, and sundrie other gentlemen, the which were led prisoners to London, where they remained till after the king was dead. The king being in Calauerocke vpon the borders not farre from Solowate Horse, when this misfortune fell vpon his men: after he heard thereof, he was meruelouslie amazed, the more, in calling to remembrance the refusal made by his nobles, assembled with him in campe at Falla vpon his request to inuade England. Where with such an impression entered his mind, that he thought with himselfe that all his whole nobilitie had conspired against him, and therevpon took such a vehement and high displeasure, increased with a melancholious thought, that he departed suddenly from thence to Edinburgh, and after remained as a man desolate of comfort, being soe bereft in spirit and bodie, and would not permit anie manner of person to haue access to him, his secret & familiar seruants onelie excepted. Now, as he was thus disquieted, newes were

brought him that the quene his wife was brought to bed of a faire young prince the seventh day of December, the which newes he liked verie euill; and added the griefe thereof to his former displeasure, in somuch that he perceived the end of his life to approach, and withall said, that he foresaw great trouble to come vpon the realme of Scotland, for the pursuit which the king of England was like to make therevpon against the same, to the end he might bring it vnder his subiection, either by marriage, or by some other meane. It was reported that he was disquieted with some unkindlie medicine: but howe soeuer the matter was, he yielded up his spirit to almighty God, and departed this world the foureteenth of December, in the yere of our redemption, 1542, the thirtie thre yere of his age, and thirtie two of his reigne.

Shortlie after his departure, his bodie was conveyed into Ffalkland vnto Edinburgh in most honorable wise; the cardinall, the earles of Arrane, Argyle, Rothes, Sparrhall, and diuerse other noblemen being present, and with all funerall pompe (as was requisite) it was buried in the abbete church of Holyrood house, beside the bodie of quene Agnabalen, daughter to the king of France, his first wife. There was great lamentation and moene made for his death throughout all parts of his realme, for he was verie well beloued among his subiects. He was of sweet countenance and courteous speech, gratefully hauing a diuine mind in all whatsoeuer, neither certeine in doubtfull things, nor doubtfull in things of certentie, auoiding dangers with graue counsels, performing hard matters with great nobilitie of mind, and foreseeing what might follow with an incredible iudgement: in such sort that he was neuer vnprepared against the danger of anie thing, or was diuolued from it by the difficultie thereof, or was hindered by the obscuritie therein: where by he might incur the note either of a rash, fearefull, or slow person.

All which singular commendations seemed to flow out of this spring, that he did not by heat of youth (rashlie) but with great deliberation (soundlie) manage the whole affaires of the common-wealth. For as he did chieflie labor that his table might not exceed for gluttonie, nor be oversparring for miserie: so if his apparell were decent, he esteemed not the shew of womanly attire after the courtlie fashion. He was so farre from pride, that he alwaies shewed himselfe offended with the vles thereof. He was an obseruer of iustice, a defender of the law, and a sharpe shield for the innocent and poore: for which cause he was of the nobilitie called the king of the commoners. For he set at libertie the poore oppressed with the tyrannie of the rich, and repressed the rich from spoiling of the poore: all which he did with a certeine severity, but yet such, as in the same there appeared a wonderfull gentleness of his naturall disposition, because he seldom put anie of them to death, but did either by prison or mult punish the offense. For he was wont to say, that he would neuer take life from anie, but onelie to keepe the law sound, and for the example of others: and to keepe downe the boldnesse of such as dwelt about the borders. With these conditions he left the realme plentifully furnished with riches, and his owne treasure not empty, but abundantly stored with gold, silver and other furniture: for which cause it should not seeme strange, that his death was greatly lamented of his subiects, to whom he was a perfect patrone, and a louing father.

Of whome also Buchanan lib. 14 testifieth, that his vices did almost equall all his great vertues; but that they were rather to be imputed to the iniquitie of the time than the inclination of his nature, to his li.

The birth of the Scottish quene.

Fr. Thin, Celsus lib. 9, pag 460.

The king, (albeit) by no armie.

The king went to the west borders. 1541. Left.

Oliver Sinclair.

The lord Wharton.

The enimie of the lords against Oliver Sinclair.

The Scots taken by the Englishmen.

The griefe of the king for the overthrow of his men.

for the libertie of althings had then dissolved the public discipline, which could not be staied but by great severitie of correction. And this made him more covetous of monie, because that he was kept extreme hard when he was under the government of others. Whereby, when he came to be at libertie, he was anew to furnish all his courts with household stuffe, finding his houses emptie, and all things consumed awaie: for his tutors had consumed the kinglie patrimonie upon those whom he willinglie would not to have received it. Besides, for his excess of women the fault grew by such as were his tutors, who gave him libertie thereto, supposing thereby to keepe him the longer in their danger. The nobilitie did not greatly take his death grievouslie, because he had fined manie, imprisoned more, and caused no small feue (for avoiding his displeasure) to flee into England, and rather to commit themselves to the enemie than to his anger.)

Queen
Marie.

1542.

The lord Levingston.

David Beton
cardinall.

This forging
of a will.

The protestants
clipped the cardinals
craftie forging.

1542 Lelle.
Fr.Thin.

The eternall God calling to his mercie James king of Scotland, the first of that name, Marie his onelie daughter and heire began his reigne over the realme of Scotland, the eighteenth day of December, in the yere of our Lord 1542, Francis the first of that name then reigning in France, & Henrie the eight over the Englishmen. She was not passing seven daies old when his father departing this life, left unto him his kingdome, his mother lying in childbed in the castell of Lethington, of which place the lord Levingston being capitaine, had the charge committed to him, both of the daughter & mother, with the mothers good agreement and free consent.

Howsoever, immediatlie after the kings death (because he deceased without making anie will, or taking anie direction for the government either of the realme, or custodie of the yong queene his daughter) David Beton, cardinall and archbishop of S. Andrews, the speciall minister & sadoz of the French causes, to the advancement and continuance thereof, invented and forged [by Henrie Balfure] a will and testament of the late king now departed, in which (amongst other things) he established himselfe chiefe regent, adjoining with him the earles of Murray, base brother to the king deceased, Huntley and Argyle, not once mentioning the earle of Lennox then absent in France, nor yet James Hamilton earle of Arrane his cousine, being there present in Scotland.

Those that professed the reformed religion, being then called protestants, to whom the said cardinall was ever a cruell enemie and sharpe scourge, espied forth his uniuersall dealing in this behalfe, and trusting by the gentle nature and good inclination of the said earle of Arrane, to haue some libertie to embrace the gospel, let him againe the cardinall: so that by the helpe of his owne and their friends, he removed the cardinall and his adherents from the usurped come and authoritie, and therewith was the said earle of Arrane proclaimed gouernor and protectoz of the realme. [And thereupon shewing his authoritie, he entereth the kings palaces, as saith Lelleus lib. 10. pa. 464. and bseth the kings treasure, and calleth the officers of the treasure to account, whereof he retaineth some, and changeth others at his pleasure.]

This earle of Arrane made a title to haue and inioie that office and come, as next in blood to the yong queene, as descended from a sister of James the third, married to his grandfather lord Hamilton, in the yere 1475, by reason of which marriage he was created earle of Arrane, as by act of parlement holden the same yere at Edinburgh, it was agreed and ordeined. The king of England that noble prince Henrie the eight, aduertised of the death of the king of Scots, considered with good aduise, that

now there was offered a most reable means and inl occasion, whereby the two realmes of England and Scotland might be brought into one entier monarchie, without warre or bloodshed, by the marriage of his sonne prince Edward, being then little past six yeres of age, with the yong queene of Scotland.

The earle being resolved fullie to bring the same to passe, either by quiet meanes or by force, and sending for the earles of Castille, and Glencarne, the lords Sparwell, and Fleming, and other prisoners that had bene taken at Soloway mosse, caused them to be conueied into Hampton court, where the seuen and twentieth of December they being right courteouslie intertained, he made unto them an ouverture of his purpose and whole intent, propounding the whole matter unto them, requesting them for their parts, to helpe (with their consents) that a contract of marriage might be made betwene his sonne the prince, and their yong queene, promising to them libertie without ransome, besides other pleasures and benefits, if they would do their indenor to persuade the gouernor, and other the nobilitie of Scotland to be agreeable hereto.

The Scottish earles and lords accepted the kings offer, and withall promised to do their diligence to persuade the rest of the nobilitie in Scotland at their coming home: whereupon they were licenced to depart, and so coming to Newcastle, remained there with the duke of Suffolke, then the kings lieutenant of the north parts; till he had received forty of Scotland certaine pledges of the chieftest of these lords, for performance of their promises. Likewise the king of England sent with them the earle of Angus, and his brother sir George Dotalglas with his letters to the gouernor, requesting effectiounlie, that they might be restored to their homes, lands and possessions in that realme.

These lords arriving at Edinburgh, about the midd of Januarie, declared to the gouernor their message and proposition made by the king of England, with such efficacie, that the gouernor being persuaded thereto by their words, sent for the lords and nobilitie of the realme to come to Edinburgh, to a convention there, to be holden the seuen and twentieth of that present moneth: where they concluded that a parlement should be kept in March next ensuing. And doubting lest the cardinall (being there present) should go about to persuade the nobilitie not to consent to their desires, they caused him to be put in ward within the castell of Dalketh: the lord Beton being appointed to haue the custodie of him. About the same time, sir Robert Bowes, and all other the Englishmen that were prisoners, and had bene taken at Halbing rig on saint Bartholomewes day (as before ye haue heard) were sent home by the gouernor into England, and sir Rafe Sadler was sent ambassadour from king Henrie unto the said gouernor, and other the lords of Scotland, and came thither before the said parlement, to persuade the lords to agree unto the king his masters motions, travelling so diligentlie in the matters whereabout he was thus sent, that it was concluded by act of parlement, to send ambassadors into England, for the better satisfaction of king Henries desires.

And so the earle of Glencarne, sir George Dotalglas, sir William Hamilton, sir James Leimouth, and the secretarie being named and appointed thereto, departed in the moneth of March, and coming into England unto the king, remained there till the latter end of Aprile. In which meane time, such covenants, contracts, and promises were had and concluded, passed and sealed interchangeablie, as stood with the pleasure and good liking of king Henrie, so as the marriage

The king of
England tal
keth with the
lords of Scot
land prisoners
for a marriage
betwixt his
son and their
queene.

1543. Buch.

Duke of
Suffolke
Buchanan.

The earle of
Angus comes
home into
Scotland.

1543. Lelle.
1542.

A convention
of the Scottish
nobilitie.

The cardinall
committed to
ward.

Halbing rig.

Sir Rafe
Sadler.

Ambassadors
sent into
England.

The marriage confirmed.

marriage was fullie contracted, and a peace concluded for ten yeres, by authoritie of the aforesaid parliament. Hereupon also the lord gouernor thewed himselfe to embrace the reformed religion, causing one frier Guiliam to preach against images, and fruitlesse ceremonies, and gaue libertie that the bible called The new and old testament, should be had in English, & vniuersallie published through the realme of Scotland.

Fr. Thin. Lelcus. lib. 10. pag. 465.

Also he commanded not onelie the cardinall (as before ye haue heard) but also ordeined that the quene mother should remaine in Lithgow with the yong quene hir daughter, vnder some manner of safe custodie, and the cardinall to be removed vnto his owne castell of saint Andzevas, with warders about him to see him safelie kept. * Not long after, the cardinall was restored to vn hoped libertie, and the earle of Angus, George Douglas, and the lord Clames, the heire of James Hamilton, with manie others, by the content of the three estates, were wholie restored to all their goods, and deliuered from the sentence of banishment.

John Hamilton abbat of Passeleu, brother of the gouernor, returning out of France (where he had imployed himselfe to studie) did (with certeine learned men, as Dauid Banter, and others, whom he had in his companie) visit the king of England, of whome they were most courtesilie interteined. After which this Hamilton returning into Scotland, was made treasurer of the kingdome, which office he discharged with great commendation, so long as his brother kept the gouernement, whom he did not onelie helpe in counsell for ordering of the kingdome, but also thewed him selfe a valiant and industrious man in the warres against the English, for defense of the kingdome of Scotland. About this time, the earle Bothwell, which was banished, and had remained long at Venice, did returne into Scotland, whither he was honorablie welcommed, as a person much desired of his friends and kindred.)

The French king mistaketh of the march with England. Spatheo earle of Lennor.

The realme being thus brought in quiet, and vnder good gouernement, the French king for mistaking this new coniunction of the Scots with England, and doubting least the old former bond of alliance betwixt France and Scotland might thereby be bitterlie dissolved and shaken off, he sent for Spatheo Steward earle of Lennor, then abroad in his seruice in the wars of Italie, and vpon his coming backe from thence to the court, he declared to him the decrease of the late king of Scots, the intrusion of Arrane, and the attempts in that realme begun, with all the circumstances from point to point as he knew; and further discoursed with him what wrong he had to be set asse, and displaced from his right of gouernement; and therefore exhorted him to repaire home to reconer the same, offering not onelie to assist him with men, monie, and munition, but also to ioine his friends in Scotland with him in aid to attaine the place of regiment, and to remove Arrane and others from it.

Fr. Thin. Buchan. lib. 15.

The earle of Lennor hereupon with commission and instructions deliuered to him by the French king, had also letters from him directed to the lords that were of the French faction, wherein the said king requested them to remaine and continue in their former good meanings towards him, and to assist the earle of Lennor in all things, as should be thought expedient. * Now, before the earle of Lennor returned out of France, the cardinall had vied manie persuasions against the English, as well that the Scots set at libertie by the king, should breake their faith with him, as also to draw them to the French faction, and rather to suffer their pledges to receiue what king Henrie would vse vnto them, than by keep-

ping promise to the English, to conueie the yong quene vnto them.

Whereupon, when the greater part of those nobles (whome the matter touched, could easilie find anie color for the excuse of their fault) had consented to the cardinals perswasion, onelie one amongst the rest would not yeld thereto, which was Gilbert Kennedy earle of Cassiles, who could not be drawn from that constancie (in obseruing his faith) either by bribes, flatteries, or threats. For he (having two brothers pledges for him in England) did openlie protest, that he would returne to prison, and by no feare laid before him commit such a fault, as that he would redeme his life with the blood of his two brothers: for which cause he went forthwith to London, although euerie man spake against it. Whereupon, the king of England did singularlie commend the constancie of the yong man, and further (to the end that his vertue might be knowne to all men) did set him at libertie with his two brethren, and sent him home honorablie rewarded.

Now the realme of Scotland being thus in great vprores by means of the quenes and cardinals factions, whereof the last drew all (such as he could) to support the French league, they sent ambassadors into France, to request the French king to send home Spatheo Steward earle of Lennor, as one that was not onelie emulous against Hamilton, but also his deadie enemie for the slaughter of his father at Linmicho: which yong Steward (beside his beautie and comeliness of bodie, in the vertie flower of his youth; the memorie, carefulnesse, and dangers of his father, a verie popular man, and beloued of the people; the worthinesse of that familie brought almost to an end, and that the same was of great power, and linked in marriage with manie nobles) did win and draw the minds of manie men, desirous to helpe him, for the great fauor they bare vnto him.

To the which further procurement of the peoples loue also, there might be ioined, that he was next heire to the crowne by the kings appointment, if he died without issue male; the which king James, if he had liued, would haue established by parlement: besides which likewise, there wanted not flatterers, which did not onelie stirre by his noble mind (now gaping after great things, and vndefended against deceit) to the hope of gouerning of the kingdome for these one and twentie yeres and more, during the quenes minority, and to the rule and power ouer his enemies, whereby he might vse reuenge vpon them: but also they promised him to marrie the quene Dowager: and in the meane time (if anie thing happened otherwise than well to the yong quene) that he should obtaine the crowne, whereby he should both be king, and the next lawfull heire of James Hamilton latelie deceased, since the gouernor was a bastard, and could not onelie by law not loke or hope for the kingdome, but also not so much as hope to be heire to his owne familie. To all which were added the persuasions of the French before mentioned. Whereupon, the yong man (whose mind was credulous, being tickled and inticed with these hopes) determined to go into Scotland.)

The earle therefore fullie instructed by the French king, how to deale and proceed, took his leaue, and with all speed taking the sea, directed his course into Scotland, where (after his arrivall) he came to Edinburgh, in which towne all the lords being assembled together with the gouernor, he declared to them the effect of his commission from the French king, his request to them, & good affection to mainteine them against England, if in case they would continue the old league with him, and not seeke to make anie new alliance with the king of England.

The earle of Lennor passeth into Scotland.

But perceiuing that the gouernor, and his friends were minded to satisfie the king of Englands desires, he would not farrie for a resolute answer, but by the counsell of the earle of Argyle, William earle of Glencarne, and others of the French faction, he suddenly departed forth of Edinburgh toward the west countrie, highlie displeased (as should seme) with the gouernor, and taking Lithgow in his way, he conferred with the quene Dowager (as they termed hir) dealing how to assemble the noble men of the French side, to bring hir and hir daughter to libertie, out of the danger of the lord gouernor: because it was supposed that he ment to conuie hir into England.

The earle of Lennor conferreth with the quene Dowager.

1543. Lesle.

The castell of Edinburgh recovered to the gouernors use.

The young quene conuieced to Striueling.

About the same time, through practise of the abbat of Halesie, brother to the gouernor, and others, the castell of Edinburgh was got out of the hands of sir Peter Creichton, and the keeping thereof committed by the gouernors appointment vnto James Hamilton lord of Stanehouse. But the erle of Lennor, with the assistance of the earles of Huntley, Montrose, Pentife, Argyle, and others of the French faction in August following, conuieced the young quene with hir mother from Lithgow vnto Striueling. The cardinall also was there with them latelie before, hauing corrupted his keepers, & gotten abroad at libertie. Herewith was a day appointed and proclaimed for the coronation of the young quene. The earle of Arrane then gouernor, with the earles of Angus, Castles, the lords Haywell, Someruile, and diuerse others, called the English lords, remaining still at Edinburgh, aduertised the king of England of all the doings of Lennor, and other of that faction, requirng his aduise and counsell how to deale for disappointing of their purposes, that sought to continue the amitie still with France, to the preiudice of peace with England.

The king of Englands doubt.

The king of England aduertised hereof, as well thus from the gouernor, and other the Scottish lords, as also from sir Rafe Sadler, his maiesties ambassador there, doubted greatlie least these lords, in whose hands the quene then was, in respect of the fauour which they bare to the French king, should conuie hir ouer into France: whereupon he requested the gouernor, and the other lords that fauoured his side, so to deale, that she might be sent into England, there to remaine, till the mariage might be consummate betwixt hir and his sonne prince Edward: hauing in the meane time such lords of hir countrie about hir to attend vpon hir, and to see to hir bringing vp, as should be thought expedient. To conclude, his maiestie not onelie sent his princelie comfort by waie of counsell and good aduise, but also according to their desire, and as by the duke of Suffolke (his highnes lieutenant then in the north) it was thought expedient.

The lord Wharton. The lord Evers.

Thomas lord Wharton, with two thousand men from the west marches, and the lord Evers with other two thousand from the east borders, were appointed to enter Scotland, and to ioine themselves with the gouernor, and his friends, to assist them against their aduersaries. But as they were in a readinesse to march, through the secret labor of the cardinall, wishing the aduancement of the earle of Arrane his kinsman (whome he thought he should well enough frame to be at his appointment) rather than Lennor that was knowne to be of a greater stomach, the matter was so handled, what by the cardinall and the earle of Huntley of the one part, and the quene Dowager on the other, that the earle of Arrane revolting from the king of England, came in to the Dowager, and ioined himselfe with the cardinall, and other the lords of the French faction: by reason whereof, they all concluded to mainteine him

The earle of Arrane a faithfull speaker.

in the estate of lord gouernor, and not to place Lennor, as their purpose was to haue done, if Arrane had continued faithfull to the king of England.

Shortlie after, the young quene was crowned at Striueling, the cardinall taking vpon him to order things as he thought good, appointing the gouernor to beare the crowne as chiefe person, & next in blond to the quene, and the earle of Lennor to beare the scepter. After the coronation, a parlement was called and holden at Edinburgh, at the which, in presence of the patriarch of Apuleia the popes agent, and of the French kings ambassadors, monsieur la Brosse, and monsieur Penage, latelie before come into the realme, the earle of Arrane was newlie confirmed gouernor. And for the sure preservation (as they pretended) of the young quene, it was agreed by the gouernor and the estates, that she should remaine with the old quene hir mother in Sterling castell, during hir minority, and certeine rents of that seignorie were assigned for maintenance of such traine as was thought expedient to be attendant about hir: and further, the lords Leuington, Erskin, and Fleming (as faith Buchanan) the lord Grams, John Arskine, John Lindsay, & William Leinfion were appointed to abide continually with hir, for the better safegard of hir person.

Thus was euerie thing ordered as seemed to stand with the pleasure of the cardinall. Whereupon the earle of Lennor, perceiuing how vncourteouslie he was vsed, to haue his aduersarie thus confirmed in authoritie by the French side, and himselfe reiected, he first sent to the French king, informing him thoroughly of the injuries to him done, putting him in remembrance of the promises made to him when he departed from him; also the constantlesse of his seruice, the hazard he had put himselfe in for his sake: and notwithstanding how he was yet vnkindlie dealt with, that through trust of his promised aid and assistance, he was brought out of credit in his countrie, and subiected vnder the commandement and authoritie of his enimie, and wrongfully disappointed of his right, which he looked to haue recovered, and to haue bene mainteined therein by his support.

In consideration whereof, he renounced his seruice, willing him from thenceforth not to looke for the same anie more at his hands. Herewith Lennor ioining himselfe with the earles of Angus, Castles, and Glencarne, the lords Haywell, and Someruile, the shiriffe of Ayr, the lord of Dumlanrig, and other of that side, called the English lords, set himselfe against the gouernor, the cardinall, and others of that faction, so that the residue of this yere was spent in ciuill dissention betwixen them. And here is to be noted, that a little before that the earle of Arrane revolted to the French part, there was arrived in the mouth of the riuer of Cloide on the west coast, five ships, which the French king had sent to the aid of his friends in Scotland, vnder the conduction of James Stewart of Cardonold, and of the forenamed monsieur de la Brosse, & monsieur Penage, the French kings ambassadors.

There came with them also the patriarch of Apuleia, of whome ye haue likewise heard before. They had brought aboard in these ships fiftie thousand crownes, and munition to the value of ten thousand crownes. The earle of Lennor therfore, when he first resolved to turne to the English part, with the aduise of his confederats, seized vpon those ships, got the fiftie thousand crownes, and the most part of the munition into his hands, and brought it to the castell of Dunbarton, retaining it to his owne use, where it was sent to haue bene imploied to the maintenance of the French faction, against the king of England, and the lords that leaned to his side.

The coronation of quene Marie.

A parlement.

The patriarch of Apuleia.

Order for the custodie of the quene.

Fr. Thin.

The earle of Lennor his displeasure.

He renounceth his seruice to the French king.

Ciuitill dissention in Scotland.

French ships arriving in the riuer of Cloide.

The earle of Lennor seized vpon the French ships.

The

The earle of
Lennor rais-
eth an armie.

An appoint-
ment taken,
pledges deli-
uered.

The earle of
Lennor com-
meth to the
gouernor,
he departed
from him a-
gaine.
He fortified
Glasgow.
Fr. Thin.
Lellius lib. 10.
pag. 48.
1543. Lell.

The earle of Lennor therefore, raising a power of men of warre with the assistance of the lords of his faction, came with them unto Leith against the gouernor: that was then in Edinburgh: but through the diligent trauell of the cardinall, the earles of Huntly, Murray, and Argyle, the matter was taken up, and an appointment accorded: so that sir George Dowglas was deliuered as a pledge for his brother the earle of Angus; the maister of Glencarne for his father the earle of Glencarne, the abbat Cassaghole for his brother the earle of Castles, to remaine in safe keeping where it pleased the gouernor to appoint. The earle of Lennor came unto Edinburgh to the gouernor, but within six daies after, they went both to Lithgubo, from whence the earle of Lennor secretly departed from the gouernor without bidding him farewell, and comming to Glasgow, fortified the castell.

When the gouernor had receiued true intelligence that the earle had taken Glasgow, he assembled such power as he could make, as well of his friends and followers, as of others, especiallie of the lord Boyd went unto Glasgow, in which place the earle of Glencarne had before placed his armie, to the end there to trie the matter with his enemies. But before the battell, the earle of Lennor had withdrawn himselfe unto Dunbreton, to gather a greater assemblie, shortly after to returne to Glasgow. The earle of Glencarne, with Elbarne, Housstone, Buchanan, Macfarlane, Drumquhalile, and other barons and nobles of the Lennor, Kamsrie, and other places adioining, with the citizens, ecclesiasticall persons of all orders, and the other sort of common people, departed out of the towne to the plaine there of (being a mile from the towne) there to trie the event of battell (before the comming of the earle of Lennor) more in haste than god speed. Whereupon the gouernor (perceiuing himselfe to be drawne toward to battell) commanded the trumpets to sound to the alarmes. Whereupon the battels ioined, the hofs began to fight violently, and the conflict grew to be extreme on both parts: in which (with great slaughter) they long time fought with vncertaine victorie.

But in the end (that with the force of his armie, and the encouragement of the capteine) the full conquest fell to the gouernor, who put his enemies to flight. At what time, of the fauourers of the Lennor there were manie slaine, partlie of the nobles (as the sonne of the earle of Glencarne, and Monnepennie capteine of the footmen) and partlie of the common sort (as the citizens of Glasgow, and manie ecclesiasticall persons.) Besides all which, there had manie more perished, if the gouernor (through his naturall clemencie) had not (when the victorie began to leane towards him) giuen a signe of retreat, & with much speed saued manie of them. On the gouernors part were few missing, except Cambuskeith (the head of that familie) and the baron of Argentine. The gouernor pursuing this victorie, entered the towne of Glasgow, where he used (by the persuation of the lord Boyd) wonderfull fauour towards the citizens, (farre beyond their deserts) although that he depriued some (of the chiefest condition amongst them) from all the use and benefit of their goods.

The earle of Lennor remaining at Dunbar, receiued into the castell the earle of Glencarne, and others, which had escaped the battell, who sometime after did rest (being feared with the ouerthrow) from a nie further tumults or troubles. But in the end, they which fauoured the Lennor, doo after this him to take weapon against the gouernor: whereupon he doo strengthen the towne and steeple of Glasgow, determining to gather a new supplie, and once

more to cast the dice of war. But the gouernor (noting to prevent all his inuasions by hisse counsell) did (being accompanied with the cardinall) call to him about Glasgow, all the nobilitie of the south parts, and (bringing forth the hired souldiers) commanded the great peeces to be planted against the citie. Whereupon (entering the towne) he besieged the castell and steeple of the church (in which place were both Scots and Frenchmen) and in the end (after a slaughter of some of them) enforced the other to yield their forts. After that the castell was thus come into the gouernors hands, he hanged eightene of the chiefest and best loued vnto Lennor, and permitted the rest to depart at libertie. The earle of Lennor (vnderstanding that his affaires began to waier, and to obtaine such euill successe) doo send the earle of Angus and the lord Marwell to the gouernor, to treat of peace betwene him and the earle of Lennor, the which they laboured with great diligence, according to the trust reposed in them.

But the gouernor caused them both to be secretly conueied from the counsell by the backside of the blacke friers of Glasgow, unto the castell of Hamilton, and from thence the earle was sent to Blackenisse. The lord Marwell was kept still in hold at Hamilton, and George Dowglas, and the maister of Glencarne in Edinburgh castell. These persons thus imprisoned stood in great doubt of their liues (as some supposed:) but as diuerse other did suspect, they were rather committed for a colour, than for a nie euill that was meant towards them. Dowglas, uer it was with them, the earle of Lennor by the aduise of his friends sent the earle of Glencarne, and a gentleman called Thomas Bishop, unto the king of England with offer of his seruice, and request to haue in mariage the ladie Margaret Dowglas daughter to the Earle of Angus, and niece to the said king.

Hereunto the king granted. For the performance thereof (and the dispatch of other things) he sent the lord Wharton and diuerse others. And on the earles part, the bishop of Cathnes his brother and the earle of Glencarne were appointed, who met at Carleill to performe the agreement. The queene, the cardinall, and the other of the French faction, did helpe the gouernor all they might, with counsell, power, and monie; because they perceiued that he repented such friendship with England as he had taken in hand by the counsell of Angus and of others. In the meane time there was a parlement assembled at Striueling, in which by common consent, the earle of Lennor was condemned of treason; wherefore the sentence of banishment was executed against him, and all his goods with his patrimonie were confiscat to the queene. Whilst the French king was ascertained that Lennor had forsaken his faction, & committed himselfe to the king of England, he suddenly committed to prison John Stewart lord of Aubigne baron in France, brother to the earle of Lennor, and depriued the said John Stewart of all such honors and offices as he possessed in France. For he was generall capteine of all the Scotch lands in France, being either such as had gard of the kings bodie, or bowmen, or men at armes; for the king of France hath Scots in wages of all the orders.

But let vs now returne to the Patriarch, who was honorablie receiued by the cardinall and the bishop of Scotland into the citie of Glasgow: during whose abode there, great contention arose betwene the cardinall and the archbishop of Glasgow, who should in that citie be of greatest authoritie and honor. Which in the end came to this issue, that both families fell together by the eares, which of them should go before

The earle of
Angus and
the lord Mar-
well committed
to ward.

Angus opti-
ons for the
imprisoning
of the earle of
Angus.

1544.
The earle of
Lennor sent
death to the
king of Eng-
land.

Fr. Thin.
Lellius lib. 10.
pag. 470.

foze with his crosse bozne byright. For the cardinall archbishop of saint Andrews and pimat of the kingdome, did affirme that the archbishop of Glascolw should not haue his crosse bozne in his owne church, so long as the cardinall was present. Which the seruants of the archbishop of Glascolw toke in such disdain, that they plucked downe the cardinals crosse and threw it to the ground. Whereupon, the gouernor (vnderstanding the whole matter, and that it was now come from words to swordes) made hast to appease this factious commotion, & caused the Patriarch therewith to be brought to Edeburgh accompanied with the clergie, where he remained all the winter following. In which towne he was honozable entertained and feasted of the quene, the gouernor, and other of the nobles, whome he requited with the like courtesie.

Amongest these of the nobilitie, the earle of Murray had the Patriarch on a day to a banquet, in which this Murray did shew an honozable thing not accustomed amongst others. For where he abounded in store of silver vessels, yet he commanded his seruants to furnish a great cupbord with christall glasses brought from Venice, & that in the midst of dinner he should ouerturne the cupbord as it were by willinglie. Which the seruant at the time appointed did performe. The noise of breaking of which glasses did suddenly fill the eares of all the companie: and the Patriarch seeing the hurt, was somewhat moued. But the earle making no account of this thing, commanded his man afresh to furnish the same cupbord with as manie and fairer vessels of glasse than the former were, to the Patriarchs great admiration. For the Patriarch affirmed that the glasses of Muraoe and Venice did not anie way excell these. Cruelle this earle of Murray was honozable, wise, iust, and famous amongst manie princes for his manifold vertues, & manie ambassages most hapilie performed amongst them. Who shortly after this, departing the court, died of the stone at his castle in Turnwaie.

This Patriarch shewed to the gouernor (besides other priuileges that he had from the see of Rome) his great authoritie, in that he was legat from the popes side, amongst the Scots, as long as he remained there. Which office, when he departed to Rome, he procured to be transferred to the cardinall; at what time the Patriarch also in the name of the pope, did promise much helpe, and monie to be sent to Scotland against England. For he studied by all means he could, to hinder the marriage of those two kingdoms: because he suspected thereby, that some alteration might be made in Scotland touching the religion; with the ouerthrow of churches and monasteries. Now, after that the Patriarch had remained all the winter in Scotland, he departed from thence in March, who as he was honozable entertained in all places, so he spared not to recount to the French king and other princes (whome he visited in his iourneie) the humanitie he found in Scotland, which he also imparted to the bishop of Rome, to the other cardinals, & to the senat of Venice; not without singular praise and honoz to the Scottish nation.]

They that were sent, so solicited the earles cause, that in the end the king was persuaded that Lennor ought of right to haue the gouernement of the realme of Scotland, and to be second person in the same. And herewith, in consideration how vnjustlie not onelie his maiestie had bene dealt with, but also how vnthankfullie and discourteouslie Lennor had bene vsed, both at the hands of the French king, and also of his adherents in Scotland, by the cardinall & others: he both thankfullie received his gentle offer of seruiue, & also promised to aid him in his

title and all other lawfull causes: and herewith prepared an armie to passe into Scotland by sea, appointing the earle of Hertford, and the lord Aile to haue the conduction of the same, who shipping at Tinnmouth with their people, arrived in the forth vnder Werbie castell, a mile & a halfe above Leith the third of Maie, the whole nauie containing aboue the number of two hundred ships. Here at Newhauen, a quarter of a mile from the said castell, they landed their armie of ten thousand men of warre, with great artillerie, and all kind of munition.

The lord gouernor being at that present within the towne of Edeburgh, hearing of their arrivall, went forth of the towne accompanied with the cardinall, the earles of Huntley, Argyle, Bothwell, and others, purposing to stop their landing: but perceiving the puissance of the aduersaries to be such, as they could not resist the same, they returned to Edeburgh againe, and sent maister Adam Otterbozne prouost of Edeburgh, and two of the bailiffs to the earle of Hertford, to vnderstand the cause of his coming; and wishall offered, that if there were anie injuries or wrongs done by anie of the Scots nation, he would appoint commissioners to talke with such as by him should be authorized thereto, for the full answering thereof, & to that effect he would gladly receiue them into the towne of Edeburgh.

The earle of Hertford answered that he had no commission to talke of anie such matter; but rather to take reuenge of the vnjust dealing and breach of promise on those that had falsified their faith. And therefore minding to burne the towne of Edeburgh, as well as other within that realme, he willed the inhabitants and all all those that were within the same to come forth, and submit themselves before him the kings lieutenant, to stand vnto the kings will and pleasure, or else he would not faile to proceed in execution thereof. The prouost answered that he would rather abide all extremities, than accomplish his request and desire in that behalfe; and thereupon returned to the towne.

After the gouernor had heard that answer was made to the prouost, he caused the castell to be furnished with all things necessarie for defense, and departed straightwaies to Strimeling. The English armie lodging that night in Leith, marched the next day toward Edeburgh, passing by the Cannogat street to enter at the nether bow, where they found some resistance made by the Scots, so that diuerse were slaine on both parts. Towards night, the Englishmen, after they had continued long in skirmishing that day with the Scottishmen, retired to Leith. The next day the whole armie with the great artillerie came forward towards the towne, and breaking open the Cannogat, they entered the towne by the same, bringing their ordnance within sight of the castell, purposing to plant the same in batterie against it; but the capitaine of the castell caused the artillerie within to shoot off at them in so great abundance, & so good measure, that they slue diuerse Englishmen, and dismounted one of their peeces, so that in the end they were constrained to draw backe their ordnance & retired; but yet in the meane time they set fire on the towne, and burnt the most part of all the houses in the same. They burnt also the Cannogat street, and the abbey of Holie rood house. The gouernor at that present released out of prison the earle of Angus, the lord Marwell, the maister of Glencarne, sir George Douglas, and others.

In this meane time also there came from the borders by land foure thousand of English horsemen, vnder the conduction of the lord William Criers, and his sonne sir Rafe Criers; who joining with the armie at Leith, scowred the countrie on euery

The king of England meaneth to aid the earle of Lennor.

The English armie landed by Leith.

The prouost of Edeburgh sent to the earle of Hertford.

The earles answer.

Edeburgh entered by force.

So more herof in England.

Edeburgh burnt.

Prisoners set at libertie.

with burnt.

the earle of
Lennor.

10.
11.
12.
13.
14.

rie side of Edinburgh. Finallie, after the English
armie had lien in Leith a certeine space, they burnt
that towne also, and sent their ships awaie fraught
with pillage and spoiles (got as well in that towne,
as in Edinburgh, and abroad in the countrie) backe
towards England. And therewith the earle of Hert-
ford, the lord admirall, and others, returned by land
through the countrie unto Berwik, as in the Eng-
lish historie more at large appeareth. Whilist the
English armie was thus occupied in that part of
Scotland, the erle of Lennor with an armie of men
which he had raised, was readie to come on the backs
of the gouernor and his adherents, if they had assem-
bled their forces and come forward to haue giuen
the Englishmen battell. For all this season the ciuill
contentions still continued, and sundrie conflicts and
skirmishes chanced betwixt the parties.

* The Scots which inhabit the mountains, and
the fies, did now in these turmoles begin to shew
some tokens of their inconstancie. For they (which
paied yerelie tribute in the time of James the first,
kept the peace, liued within the bounds of law, and
well obeyed the gouernor) did now (after they saw all
things on a flame) begin againe to spoile and de-
stroye their neighbors, in the same uttering the hu-
mor of their naturall disposition. Whereupon the go-
uernor, (to restraine their boldnesse) called vnto him
George Gordon earle of Huntlee, and the earle of
Argyle, whereof he made the one gouernor of the
north parts of Scotland, of the Orkades, and Shet-
land; and to the other, he committed the rule of Ar-
gyle, and the fies Hebrides. Whereupon Huntlee
with all speed gathered an armie from the north
parts, and determined to bide the Glancamerons,
the Gencronelles, the Spudiardes, & the Kindiardes,
with force and authoritie. The capitaine or heads of
which families, were Ewin Allanson, Konald Mac-
koneilglas, and John Spudiard, who did possesse the
lands of the lords Grant, and Louet, hauing expel-
led them by force from the same.

But when they first vnderstood that Huntlee had
incamped nere vnto them, they fled euerie one
home to their owne possessions: which being defen-
ded partly by the west sea, and partly included about
with the mounteins, stopped Huntlee, so that he
might not haue anie passage vnto them: by meanes
whereof (these disseizers being banished) the lords
Grant and Louet were restored to their right in-
heritance. But it fell out contrarie for Louet, who
going to take his owne into his hands, fell into dan-
ger of his enemies. For at that time both the com-
panies were disposed into such order, that neither par-
tie could abstaine from fight. Whereupon they first
discharge their bodies one against another, and their
arrows spent, they after sie to their swords, with
which they fought so egerlie, that the night cutting
off the battell, it could not be well knowne to which
part the victorie gaue place. In which there was so
great slaughter on both parts, that till the next mor-
ning in biewing the dead bodies, the victors were
not knowne. Amongest whome of the part of the
Glancamerons and Spudiardes there were manie
slaine.

But by reason of the death of the lord Louet, and
of his sonne and heire (a youth of singular hope, and
brought vp in France) with three hundred of the
bloud and surname of the Fraisers (for Louet was
the head and leader of that familie) the hurt seemed
to be the greater on their part. For there was a ru-
mor spread, that there was not one of the familie of
the Fraisers left alieue that was of mans state. But
it happened by the singular benefit of God, that they
left their wiues with child when they went to the
fight, by which meanes the familie was after raised

and restored. Huntlee (greatlie grieved that the
Fraisers had receiued this grieuous wound) gather-
ed a power together, and with armes so pursued
those factious people, that he took and beheaded E-
win Allanson, and Konald, with diuerse others, and
put the rest in prison. The earle of Argyle discharged
the office committed to him as well as Huntlee did
and with more happie successe, for all the Island men
humble submitted themselves vnto him, and deli-
uered pledges to liue quietlie hereafter.)

About this time the earle of Lennor, accompa-
nied with Alexander the maister of Glencarne, or
therwise called lord of Kilmaise, Walter Graham
brother to the earle of Montrose, sir John Borth-
wicke knight, and sundrie other gentlemen, took the
sea to passe into England, and arrived at Wilsche-
ster about midsummer: & passing from thence to the
court, he was sofullie receiued. And immediatlie
thereupon was the marriage celebrated betwixt him
and the ladie Margaret Douglas, daughter & heire
to the earle of Angus, and to Margaret his wife
quene of Scots, sister to king Henrie the eight, at
what time there was assured to him by way of inhe-
ritance, lands to the value of seuen hundred marks
of yerelie rent of assise, in consideration of this ma-
riage with the kings nece, and in recompense of
lands lost by him in France, to the which he was in-
heritor after the deceasse of Robert Stewart lord
Dbenie, one of the foure marshals of France.

Howbeit, king Henrie being now vpon his
iourne towards Bullongne, aswell for the auoiance
of his highnesse enemies in Scotland, as for recoue-
rie of the said earles right in that realme, appointed
the said erle to enter Scotland in the moneth of Au-
gust, accompanied with sir Rife Paunfield, sir Je-
ter Hewtas knights, maister Thomas Audleie, ma-
ster Thomas Wykes, old maister Winter comp-
troller of the kings ships, and his sonne sir William
Winter that now is, and sundrie other capitaine, ha-
ving vnder their charge two hundred backbutters,
two hundred archers with long bowes, and two hun-
dred armed pikers, beside the mariners belonging to
those ships that were appointed to go forth on this
iourne, being in number about twelue or fourtene
saile, belonging to Bisslow, and other of the west
parts.

Vpon their arrivall on the coast of Scotland, they
burnt the Ile of Arrane, and rased the gouernors ca-
stell there to the ground. And afterwards arriuing
at the Ile of Bute, they entered the same, and took
the castell of Roseie standing therein (from whence
the Stewards kings of Scotland had their origi-
nall) the capitaine they had awaie prisoner with them
into England. Here also they took two French
ships laden with wines, and this done they entered
the firth of Clyde, thinking to find none but their
friends in the castell of Dumberton. But true it is,
that in this meane time the earle of Glencarne with
sundrie gentlemen being left in that castell, with the
capitaine thereof called Houson, to keepe it in the
name and to the behaue of the erle of Lennor, were
in his absence perswaded thorough practise of the
quene Dowager, not only to renounce their promi-
sed faith to him, in defrauding him of that castell;
but also to intrap and bind him within their dan-
ger to take him prisoner.

For this purpose they so dissembled the matter,
that they had got him on land onelie with three hun-
dred men: and so farre forth they were growne in
talke, that the erle of Lennor being entered into the
castell with a few other with him, the monie was
laid downe on the board, to be paid to the capitaine for
his satisfaction. But in the meane time, the earle of
Lennor, & such as were with him, perceiuing some
treasonable

Buchanan
saith that this
battell was it
was belated,
was procured
by Huntlee to
destroye the
Fraisers.

The earle of
Lennor goth
into England

The mariech
the ladie Mar-
garet Dow-
glas.

Lord Dbenie.

The earle of
Lennor re-
turneth into
Scotland.

The Ile of
Bute taken.

The earle of
Lennor in
danger to be
betrayed & so
taken.

Buchanan.
lib. 15.

treasonable practise in hand, got forth of the house againe unto their companie below, leaving the monie behind them, and after made shift to get to their ships, and not before it was high time.

For if they had staied that night, they had bene intrapped by George Dowglas, who with foure thousand men was secretlie drawne thitherwards, and entered the towne of Dunbretton, shortly after that the earle of Lennor was thus departed, and got to his ships lieng there at hand in the riuer of Clide, downe the which he retired to the sea, not without danger to haue lost the same ships, by reason of the narrownesse of the water: for the erle of Argile being gotten betwixt him and the sea with a great power of men, with banners displayed, halloed the ships with shot of ordinance from the castell of Dinnune, annoieng the earle of Lennor his passage as much as he could. But he escaping with the English gentlemen, and the ships out of danger, took aduise together at the Ile of Bute what they were best to do.

The earle soze moued to haue bene thus repelled from Dunbretton, and stomaching the matter soze, to be so discourtenanced by his enimie the earle of Argile, with the aduise of the English gentlemen, he returned with them, and with great shew of manhood toke land beside the castell and towne of Dinnune, where the earle of Argile with seven hundred men was readie to encounter him, & to keepe him off from landing: but by the helpe of the shot out of the ships, and great soze of botes, the Englishmen landed, slue foure scoze of the enimies, most part gentlemen, and put the residue to flight, with the losse of thre men onlie on the English side.

This done, the towne of Dinnune was burnt, and the church spoiled, that was full of goods and ornaments. When the night approached, by reason the Englishmen had no powder, nor other prouision on land, the earle with his people returned to Shipbow in safetie, howbeit not without offer of skirmish made by the enimies though to their losse, namelie of those that aduanced themselves most forward. About foure or fife daies after, the earle of Lennor with fife hundred men landed in another part of Argile, and remaining on land a whole day together, burnt, spoiled, and wasted the countrie: the earle of Argile with two thousand men giuing the looking on, and not once offering the skirmish, so that the earle of Lennor with his soldiers retired to his ships with out encounter.

After this they invaded the Ile of Binter, where James Mackonell dwelled, burnt manie places in that countrie, toke and caried awaie great boties of cattell and other goods. All the coasts of Kile, Carrike, & Coningham, and likewise of Galloway remained in continuall feare, so that oftentimes their beacons were fired, and manie of the noble men constrained to come to the earle of Lennor, suing to him for assurance. In these exploitcs the earle had with him Walter Macferlane of Tirbat, and seven scoze men of the head of Lennor, that spake both Irish, English, & the Scottish tonges, light footmen, well armed in shirts of male, with bolues, and two handed swords, and being joined with the English archers and shot, did much available seruice in the streits, the marshes, and mountaine countries.

* During these things, they which had gouernment of the Scottish affairs (as the quene dowager, the cardinall, and the gouernor) called a councell, in which they decreed that all such of the nobilitie as had force and armoz, should be readie to follow the gouernor whither soeuer he went, and there to remaine with him for the space of eight daies. Shortly

lie after there assembled eight thousand men, and in the sharpe winter battered the church of Coldingham, standing in armoz a whole day and night to the great toile and wearinesse of the men and horses. The next day the gouernor, either to accuse his tendernesse sustained in the last daies laboz of warre, or else fearing the inuasion of the enimie (for he was certified of an armie of men that should come from Berwick) suddenlie (vnrknowne to the other nobilitie) did flee to Dunbar with a few of his owne traine. They which went about to excuse the defame of this flight, reported how he feared that he should haue bene betrayed to the English by his host, for hatred which they had conceiued against him for manie of his offences.

This departure of the gouernor brought great trouble to the armie, & so much the more, because the secreter it was (and the reason vnrknowne) the more cause it gaue to the rest to feare some further euill. Wherefore the greater part remained in this obstinate mind, that euerie one should returne the next way home, and leaue the artillerie at randon. But others (who were more carefull, and would seme lesse fearefull) do agræ to stiffe the pæces full of powder, and to breake them, rather than they should fall in the hands & helpe of the enimie. To the which deuise onlie Archibald Dowglas did resist, least he should ad a wicked deed to a wicked flight. When he could not staie any man, either by threat, in treatie, or authoritie, he exclaimed with a loud voice (for euerie one to heare him) that for his owne part he had rather die an honest death, than to haue a secure and rich life with such dishonor. Wherefore you my friends consider what you will do, for either I will bring awaie this artillerie, or I will not returne home with life; wherefore I meane to make this the last end both of my life and glorie. When he had spoken this, a few (whose honor was deare unto them) were moued therewith, but the rest (despairing by reason of the shamefull flight of the gouernor) did scatteringle depart, wandring whither they thought good, without anie order. The Dowglas with such companie as he had (placed in god order) followed the artillerie, and brought the same to Dunbar, the horsemen of his enimies in baine hastening after them behind at their backs. This expedition by the gouernor rashlie begun, and shamefullie performed, brake the hearts of the Scots, and aduanced the minds of the English, who gloriouly applied the dauidnesse of the gouernor to their owne glorie.)

To conclude, after the earle of Lennor and his companie had atchiued these enterprises afore mentioned, he returned towards England, and sent sir Peter Helwys knight, & Thomas Bishop a Scottish gentleman, to aduertise the king of England of his proceedings, who found him at the siege of Bullongne, where they declared to him the whole circumstance of euerie thing, as the same had passed in the earles toinie, which the king toke in verie good part. And vpon his returne into England, after the conquest of Bullongne, the earle of Lennor was also called home to the court by letters to him directed, he being then at Bristow.

About the middest of februarye, sir Rafe Cure commonlie called Cuers, lord warden of the English middle marches, entred Scotland with a power of foure thousand Englishmen, Irishmen, and alured Scots; and comming first vnto Jedworth, lodged there that night. And therewithall understanding that the gouernor and the earle of Angus were at the abbeye of Melros, about eight miles distant from thence, the next morning he was got forth so earlie, that he was almost vpon the enimies in such wise on the sudden, that they fled out of their lodgings, and

The earle of Lennor landed at Dinnune.

The towne of Dinnune burnt.

The earle of Lennor landed againe in Argile.

Winter invaded.

Walter Macferlane.

Fr. Thin. Buchan, li. 15.

Sir Peter Helwys.

1545.
Sir Rafe Cuers invaded Scotland.

He defaceth
the monu-
ments of the
Douglas.

Fr. Thin.
Buch. lib. 15

and left their beds and all their household furniture which they had in those there with them, not having time to convey it away at their departure, their waiting was so short. Sir Rafe Cuers at his coming thither, finding them fled and gone, spoiled the towne and abbete, utterly defacing the houses and monuments of the earles of Douglas, greatlie to the displeasure of the earle of Angus, and those of his linage.

After this (the coming of the English being looked for the next yere) the minds of the borderers were greatlie troubled, because they were hopelesse to attaine anie succor from the gouernor, which used the abuse of the clergie, but chiefe of the cardinall. Whereupon Archibald Douglas earle of Angus (greatlie moued partly with his priuat losses, for he had great possessions in the marches, and in Lincolne, and partly to see his ancestors monuments defaced) came to the gouernor, and fullie laid before him the greatnesse of the danger wherein the realme did stand, persuading him to encounter and resist the same. At what time also (after the gouernour had opened vnto him, that he was forsaken of the nobilitie, and now left alone) the Douglas shewed that the same happened vnto him by his owne fault, and not by the nobilitie, which would impute their liues, livings, and goods, for the defense of the common-weale. For he condemning their counsell, onlie leaned to the spiritualtie, who were cowards in warre, and seditious in peace.

Out of this founteine (saith he) a suspicion (that you dare not trust one another) is growne betwene you and them, which is the onelie cause why things are no better performed. But if you determine (in great affaires) to take the aduise of them (who will not refuse to spend their blood therein) I doubt not but that we shall be able to execute as great matters as ever our ancestors did: but if we shall (by our sloth) permit the enimie to take all things from vs, then of necessitie will follow, that either they shall shortly banish vs, or bying vs into perpetuall seruitude: the inconueniences of anie of which cannot well be spoken. As touching our selues I know that thou art suspected to be a coward, and I a traitor, which reproch if thou thinke to purge (for thou canst not auoid it) prepare to cleare the same, not with painted speeches, but with bloudie weapons.)

Fr. Thin.

Whereupon the gouernor and the said earle (soe agreed to be thus foiled at the Englishmens hands) assembled together (vnder the leading of Pozman Lesle son of the earle of Ross) all such forces as they might reouer, so that they had quicklie got them about fiftene hundred men, whereof eight hundred at the least were gentlemen. Who hearing that the Englishmen were retiring towards Jedworth, they met them at a place called Panmer hugh, or Byomehouse, where both the parties alighting on foot, went to trie the quarell by plaine force of hand. But as they were redy to ioine, the assured Scots, to the number of seven or eight hundred revolted vnto the part of their countymen, by reason whereof, after a right sharpe and fierce conflict, the Englishmen in the end were constrained to flee, whome the Scots right egerlie pursued, slue sir Rafe Cuers, the lord Dgle, sir Brian Leiton, and other gentlemen & souldiours to the number of eight hundred. They took also about two thousand prisoners, with certeine peces of artillerie and other munition.

1544. Lesle.
Buchanan.

Sir Rafe Cuers & others slain.

This victorie fell to the Scots the senententh day of February, the report whereof was right displeasing to the English nation, but speciallie the losse of that worthy gentleman sir Rafe Cuers was greatlie bemoaned, and that even of the king

himselfe, for the noble promise and great loialtie which at all times had bene found in him. His seruice had bene such in these wars against Scotland, that he had brought the more part of the Scots within twentie miles space of the English borders, vnto the obedience of the king of England, although at length they holpe to worke his confusion, as before ye haue heard. ¶ Of this gentleman & his singular seruice in the field, I omit here to speake, because he was imployed otherwise, besides Scotland: wherefore I remit the readers to the twentieth yere of king Henrie the eight, where to his high commendation this gentleman is recorded.

Abt. Fl.

Fr. Thin;
Buchan. lib. 16.
pag. 478.

The occasion of the English onerthow (as saith Lesleus) and the Scots victorie, were chiefe by these meanes. First they fought vpon equal ground, and with vnequall helpes. For the Scots with the sunne on their backs (being declined toward setting) came forth of a narrow & marshy place, and set vpon the English (at the side of an hill which was betwene them) having the sun in their faces, by which meanes they could neither well perceine what number the Scots had, nor with their gunnes hurt anie of the Scots. But those that fought in the first battell, wherevnto was ioined (a feare not in vaine) which they had conceiued of the Scottish march-men, who in great number having red crosses (the note of the English) ran vp and downe hither and thither to see the euent thereof.)

About the same time that the victorie before mentioned chanced to the Scots, Robert Concorle bishop of Ross departed this life, to whome succeeded David Pantane, secretarie to the gouernor and priour of saint Marie Ile. In Aprill, William Stewart bishop of Aberdeen likewise deceased, and maister William Gordon chancelor of Spurreie, vncle to George erle of Huntleie, was by the cardinals sute promoted to that see, greatlie to the displeasure of the earle of Angus, that labored to haue preferred an other thereto. For this and other causes, the cardinall was greatlie in hatred of the Douglas.

Death of bishops.

About that time, the king of England by pisse & pries persuaded the Flemings to take sirtene of our ships harborred in the haven, and to conuert the commodities (wherewith they were fraught, being verie costlie) to their owne commoditie. By means whereof at one time we had warres with two nations, England and Flanders. But sith the Flemings did not the same maliciously for hatred to the Scots, but carefullie for the loue vnto the English, as the Scots did certeinlie know, they shewed none other token of enimitie to the Flemings, but that they forbade them to fish on their coasts, and did sometimes intercept their ships, without further iniurie done vnto them.)

Fr. Thin.
Lesleus. lib. 16.
pag. 479.

This yere also, Montgomerie, otherwise called monsieur de Lozges, knight of the order of saint Michael, was sent by the french king with foure thousand frenchmen into Scotland to assist the Scots against England. He landed at Dunbretton, & came in good order to Edinburgh the thirtenth of May: he brought with him from the french king the order of saint Michael, to inuest therewith the lord gouernor, the earles of Angus, Huntleie, and Argile. Where with also was an armie of Scots raised, and ioining with the frenchmen, they approached the borders, where they laie for a season: but the earle of Hertford lieutenant generall of the north parts coming downe, took such direction for the safe keeping of the English borders, that after the Scots had laire there in campe a certeine space without atchiuing anie great enterprise, though some notable exploit was looked for to haue bene attempted by them at that present, they brake by their armie & went home.

1545. Buch.
Monsieur de Lozges sent into Scots land.

Knights of saint Michaels order.

An armie of Scots lieth on the borders

I. i.

* This

The historie of Scotland.

* This castell of Dunbretton was at that time so carefullie kept by the captein therof, that he determined neither to deliuer it to the gouernor, nor to anie Englishman, nor to anie Scot. Whereupon, the gouernor fearing least it should fall into the hands of the English, prepare to besiege the same; the newes therof comming to Glencarne, he signified the same vnto Lennor, affirming, that if he would come thither, he should shortly obtaine the castell. The king of England reioicing of that newes, prepareth two ships, and in the meane time sent the bishop of Cathness into Scotland, which should forthwith be receiued into the castell. Wherefore the gouernor making the more hast, commeth to Dunbretton together with the cardinal, and the earles Huntleie, and Argile, laing present siege to the same, which was strongly done, and the castilains pressed to great extremitie by the slaughter of manie people. But at length by the policie of the earle Huntleie, it was so agreed, that the castell (which was by nature inespugnable) should be deliuered. Which the gouernor receiued (with certaine conditions) and honorablie intreated the capteine for the singular discharge of the trust committed to him: and therewithall he restored the bishop of Cathness, brother to the earle of Lennor to his bishoppke, which before he had lost by his going into England.)

The sixteenth of September, three or foure hundred Scots, with Marwell, Lochinuart, and Johnstone, aided with the Frenchmen, attempted to enter into England on the east borders: but the Englishmen perceiuing where they were about to passe by a certaine streit, they set vpon them with their archers, discomfited them, sleaing, & taking to the number of seuen score of them. Among other that were taken, one of the sonnes to the lord Hume, with a French capteine, and George Elphinston archer of the corps to the French king, were accounted chiefe. Also on the west borders, Robert Marwell eldest son to the lord Marwell, was taken in a robe made by him and others, into the English confines on that side, although at an other time certaine Englishmen making a robe into Scotland were distressed, the more part of them being taken or slaine. At a parliament holden at Linlithgo, begun there the twentie eight of September, and continued till the first of October, Matthew earle of Lennor, and Thomas bishop of Atheltrae, were forsaken, and all their lands and goods giuen auaie and annered to the crowne.

In this meane time, the king of England desirous to haue the seruice of the Isles of Scotland for sundrie great causes and respects, moued the earle Lennor to deale with them to that end: which he did. And his trauell toke such effect, that the Island men were contented to rest at the king of England his deuotion, partly for that they were in a manner sworne enemies to the earle of Argile, and his familie; and partly for that they doubted the king of Englands puissance, if he should attempt to inuade those parties: and againe, bearing an old speciall fauour to the earle of Lennor and his house, hauing an ancient bond of alliance and amitie with the same, they were the more readie to satisfie his motion. Hereupon, they elected amongst them a lord of the Isles, the next of blood: a title long since verie odious to the state of Scotland, and by the inducement of the earle of Lennor, he was contented as the king of Englands pensioner, to receiue two thousand crownes of him yerelie, with certaine rich apparell of cloth of gold and siluer from the said earle.

The first profe he attempted to shew of his seruice in the king of Englands behalfe, was this. Hauing instructions thereto from the earle of Lennor, vnder colour of conference for matters touching

the estate of the countrie, he had suborned one of his alliance and seruants, called the clane Reginald, to intrap the earles of Argile and Huntleie. And although they escaped verie narrowlie, the lord Lennor an ancient baron, & great friend to those two earles, was slaine by the said clane, together with seuen hundred of his kinsmen and friends: insomuch that there remained not but one yong boy of that linage to succeed in that lords lands [which is before more

fullie handled out of Lesleus.] After this, the lord of the Isles, with his thousand men unharmed in certaine vessels, passed over into Carrike, harried and burnt the lands of the earle of Castles, then a great enemy to the king of England. In this voyage he got great spoiles, and the manie of the enemies. After which enterprise, he achieved, he came with his power by sea, and landed in Ireland, where the earles of Lennor and Desmond were, with twelue hundred Irishmen, appointed to loins with him, that with their whole power they might inuade the earle of Argiles countries, & consequently the maine land of Scotland at the broad side. But before the preparation could be made ready for that purpose, the new lord of the Isles decaiesed, whose buriall in Ireland to honor the earle of Lennor, had the king of England in four hundred pounds sterling.

But now to returne vnto the doings on the borders betwixt England and Scotland in this season. We shall vnderstand, that after the armie of Scotland was broken by, the earle of Hertford by vertue of his commission, raised an armie in the countries of the further side of Trent northwards; so that when the same was assembled together, with such strangers as were then in the kings wages, they were in all of horsemen and footmen twelue thousand fighting men. With this armie garded with great store of artillery, munition, and all manner of furniture necessarie, the earle of Hertford entered Scotland, and marching to Coldingham, pass by the water of Tweed, and burnt a great part of the Pers, and Liddale, the abbeyes of Kelso, Melrose, Dryburgh, and Jedburgh, with townes & villages, to the number of five score.

Howbeit, he entered not farre within the said countrie beyond the said water, but kept alongest nere to the same, and returned backe without anie incounter: for after the Scottish armie was broken by, it was not like they would assemble againe, and so the earle of Hertford taking the time that serued his purpose, sore indamaged the Scottish borders at that present. Manie other small inuasions were made, as well by the one part as the other, and some skirmishes fell out betwixt them, sometime to the losse of the Scottish, and sometime of the English, according to the course of warre.

* Nuch about this time, or rather before, Robert Marwell, the sonne of Robert (a yong man of singular vertue) was taken by the English. Besides which there was nothing done worthie the memoize, but that in the beginning of the next winter Montgomerie returned into France. After this, the cardinal leade the gouernor about the nere countries, vnder colour to reconcile such parts as were at dissention: then they came first to Berth, where foure men were punished for eating flesh on forbidden daies: from thence they went to Dundee called Roadune (to vse the name of the place, as Buchanan hath) to punish (as they said) such as vsed the late new testament of Luthers translation. Thither came also Patrick Greie (the head of a noble familie in those parts) accompanied with a good traine, together with the erle of Rothseie, being before that commanded to be there by the gouernor, after the pacifying of the other

Clane Reginald slew the lord Lennor.

Fr.Thin.

The lord of the Isles inuaded Carrike.

He commeth into Ireland.

He departed this life.

But eight thousand, as some say.

The earle of Hertford inuaded Scotland.

Fr.Thin.
Buchan.lib.15.

Frenchmen
and Scots
overthrowne.

The lord
Marwells son
taken prisoner

The earle of
Lennor pro-
oureth them of
the Isles to
serue the king
of England.

The lord of
the Isles elec-
ted, being one
of the Mac-
mels.

ther tumults. But the cardinall (supposing it small safetie to receiue at one time two such noble and factions persons addited to the restorred religion, into the towne) wrought with the gouernor that he and they might go backe to Perth.

The next morning, when those two noblemen (redie for the iournie) understood that the gouernor was on his waie towards Perth, they presentlie followed him. Who being come in sight, did strike such feare into the cardinall, that the gouernor commanded them to sunder themselves, and severallie to enter the citie: which they did. Whereupon the next day they were both committed to prison. But Kothfelle being shortly deliuered, Greie (whome they hated more, and feared most) was kept longer in that restraint. But before they parted thence, it seemed good to the cardinall to abate the strength of Ruthwen capteine of the towne. For which cause, the gouernor taketh his office from him, and bestoweth the same upon Rinfane Comarck, neighbor and kinsman to Greie. For this Ruthwen was a great enemy to the cardinall, and much fauored the restorred religion: as likewise was Greie, who after the same sort did not beare a friendlie mind to the cardinall, nor to his religion.

By reason whereof, the cardinall supposed, that if he might set them (by this meanes) together by the eares (with manie of both parts would soine for defense of the chiefe of their families) and that if anie side had the worse (as both must be diminished) that then he had by so much abated the power of one of his enemies. Upon which occasion the gouernment of Perth (which had by manie descents remained in the familie of the Ruthwens) might be thus translated to Rinfane. Thus the new capteine was sent with a power to subdue the citizens by force, if they would not willingly obeye: as it seemed that they would not; because they toke it with some griefe, to haue (in this new capteine) the old libertie of voices (in choosing of their gouernor) taken from them. The besieging of the towne being therefore diuided into parts, Greie (which had wholie taken the matter on him) attempted the overthrow thereof, from the bridge of Laie. The other band (hauing laid their artillerie along by the riuer ouer against the towne) did invade the open side of the said Perth.

But because the swelling of the sea did not answer their deuite, they came not in time to doe anie thing therein. Greie assailing it by the bridge (which Ruthwen hauing receiued, and conueied the aid into the next houses, would seme to leaue vngarded) when he saw no armed men stirring, did (without all feare) enter further into the towne, where he was so sharplie set vpon by Ruthwen, and his companie (suddenlie and vnlooked for breaking out of the houses vpon them) that euerie one hastened to spie some place by which he might flee awaie. But the multitude confused and diuened into a streit, did let one an other thereof. For they behind, thinking to breake in amongst the other, did hinder the first that they could not flee: in which vnoorderlie multitude, manie were troden vnder foot, and three score were killed with the sword.

The cardinall (although against his mind) hauing heard of the victorie of Ruthwen; yet he did not greatlie lament the slaughter made of his aduersaries. After this, the cardinall hauing thus sufficiently progressed to Angus: he led the gouernor after the fourteenth of December to saint Andrews, to the end (if it were possible) to bind the gouernor more stricte vnto him. For although before he had the gouernors sonne as pledge with him; yet (as often as he remembred the eagernesse

of the Scottish nobilitie, the strength of his enemies, and the inconstancie of the gouernor) he greatlie feared, least the said gouernor should with like lightnesse be drawn, to assist his enemies, as he had bene led to take his part. During the time whilst they were at saint Andrews, the cardinall caused in the Lent season all the bishops & prelates of the realme to assemble at the towne of saint Andrews, where a learned man, named maister George Wilschart, that had bene in the scholes of Germanie, was accused of heresie, which he had (as was alleged against him) publikelie preached, and priuatlie taught in Dundee, Brechin, and diuerse other parts of Scotland, since his returne home. This matter was so bzged against him, that he was conuict, and burnt there in the towne of saint Andrews during the time of that conuention or assemble.

When these things were thus done, the cardinall, although he greatlie trusted to his riches; yet because he was not ignorant what were the minds of men, & what speeches the common people had of him) determined to increase his power with new deuises. Wherefore he goeth into Angus, and marieth his eldest daughter (as saith Buchanan) to the earle of Crawfordsonne. Which marriage was solemnized with great preparation, almost answerable to kinglie magnificence. During which time, the cardinall vnderstanding by his spies, that the English did prepare to invade the Scottish borders on the sea (and speciallie did threaten those of Jife therewith) returned to saint Andrews, and appointed a day to the nobilitie, and such as dwelled about the sea coasts, to assemble together to prouide in common for the defense thereof, and to prepare remedie for that hastened euill. For the easier and better performance whereof, he had determined, together with the lords of that countrie, to haue sailed himselfe about the coasts, and to haue defended such places as were most conuenient.

Amongest others that came vnto him, there was a noble young gentleman called Rozman Lesle, sonne to the earle of Kothfelle, whereof we haue spoken before manie times. This man (after that he had manie times employed his valiant and faithfull diligence in the behalfe of the cardinall) grew to some contention with the said cardinall for a priuat cause, which for a time did estrange both their minds the one from the other. This same contention did Rozman (being thereto induced with manie faire promises) afterwards let fall. But certein moneths following (when he returned to demand the performance of such liberall promises) they began to grow from common speech to biallings, and from thence to bitter talents & reproches, not fit to be vied by anie of them both. Whereupon they departed with the græued minds of euerie of them. For the cardinall being intreated more vnreuerentlie than he would or looked for; and the other threatning that being overtaken by deceit, he would reuenge it: they both returned discontented to their owne people. Whereupon Rozman, declaring to his partakers the intollerable arrogancie of the cardinall, they easilie agreed all to conspire his death. Wherefore, to the end that the same might be lesse suspected, they departed in sunder afterward. This Rozman accompanied onelie with sue of his owne traine, entred the towne of saint Andrews, and went into his accustomed Inne and lodging; trusting that by such small traine he might cunninglie dissemble the determination of the cardinals death. But there were in that towne, ten of those which had consented to this conspircie; which closed in secret corners, some in one place, and some in an other, did onelie expect the signe which was to be giuen by

George wilschart a learned man burnt.

Fr. Thin.

Buchanan, lib. 15.

It. li.

to

to them to execute this deute. ~~Which~~ ^{the} which initial companie this porman feared not to adventure the death of the cardinall in the same towne, furnished in euerie place with the seruants and friends of the cardinall.]

Whereupon the thirteenth of Maie, the cardinall being within his castell of saint Andrews, certeine of his owne friends (as he took them) that is to say, the said porman, lord Lesleie, William Kirkcaldie, the young lord of Orange, and Kirkmichell with sirtene chosen men, entered the castell verie secretly in the morning, took the porter, and all the cardinals seruants, thrusting them out of the place by a posterne gate. And that done, passing to his chamber where he laie in bed, as he got up, and was opening his chamber doore, they slew him, and seized upon the artillerie and munition, wherewith that fortresse was plentifully furnished, and likewise with rich hangings, household stuffe of all sorts, apparell, copes, iewels, ornaments of churches, great store of gold and siluer plate, besides no small quantitie of treasure in readie coine.

Sir James Leirmouth, prouost of saint Andrews, assembled all the people of that towne for the rescue of the cardinall, after he heard that the conspirators were entered the castell; but they shewed the dead bodie of the cardinall over the wals, as a spectacle to the people, and so they made no further attempt, fith they saw no meane how to remedie or reuenge the matter at that present. The cause that moued the conspirators thus to kill the cardinall, was thought to be partlie in reuenge of the burning of maister George Wishart, fearing to be serued with the same saluice, and in the end to be made to drinke of the same cup. Partlie it was thought they attempted it through counsell of some great men of the realme, that had conceived some deadly hatred against him.

* But Lesleus also, writing of the causes of his death saith, that they were diuerse: as the severall tomentors severallie framed euerie one a part for his owne excuse. For porman & John did complaine, that they were wronged by him with no small iniurie, because that the cardinall had not recompensed him for the losse he sustained; when the cardinall had restored to Colvaine lord thereof (before through the cardinals counsell banished by the king) the castell and possessions of Easter wemes; which the king had after given to the said porman. The lord Orange affirmed that he reuenged himselfe, because he was removed by the cardinals aduise from the office of the treasurer; which (being granted by the king to him) he had discharged with great profit to the realme, & honor to himselfe. And Kirkmichell did also say that he was dispossessed by the cardinall of some other (I cannot tell what) possessions. All which causes were but veiles which they spread against the wind and report of so wicked and shamefull a deed. For upon the fact, porman being vered with remorse of conscience, did not onelie labo[r] to pacifie the anger of such, that (either by bloud or benefit) were tied to the cardinall with all kind of duties: but did also, to shun the danger thereof, passe into France, and there by valour (in the service of Henrie the second king of France) endeavored to wipe away that note of infamie, which he had cast upon his familie. All which notwithstanding, both he and others (some after one sort, and some after another) were worthilie punished for their wickednes.]

The same evening that the cardinall was slaine, the old lord of Orange, maister Henrie Balnauis, one of the counsell of the realme, and sundrie gentlemen of the surname of the Melvins, John Kinods and others, to the number of seven score persons,

entered the towne to their support, taking upon them to resist against the gouernor, and his partakers. Not long after, the gouernor, considering that his deere cousin the cardinall was thus made awaie, assembled the great lords of the realme, as the earle of Angus, Huntlye, Argyle, and others, by whose aduise he called a parlement, and so faulted them that had slaine the cardinall, and kept the castell of saint Andrews.

Whereupon he raised a power, and besieged the same castell, planting diuerse peeces of great artillerie against it. But it was so strongly furnished with all manner of artillerie & munition by the cardinall in his life time, that they within cared little for all the inforcements that their aduersaries without could aduance against them. Whereupon, after that the siege had continued the space of thre moneths, the gouernor was glad to take an appointment with them within, to the end he might get out of their hands his eldest sonne, who was remaining with the cardinall at the time when he was murdered, and so kept by them that did the murder, till now they agreed to deliuer him to his father, with condition that he should raise his siege.

They deliuered also the dead bodie of the cardinall, after it had laine buried in a dunghill within the castell, euer since the day in which they slew him. [The gouernor did name the abbat of Passell his brother to the bishopricke of saint Andrews, and gaue the abbacie of Arbroth (being before granted to James Beton kinsman to the slaine cardinall) to George Dologlaffe bassard sonne to the earle of Angus: which things were afterwards occasions of great troubles in the realme.] In the yeare next ensuing, king Henrie the eight departed this life, after whome succeeded his sonne Edward, the first of that name, king of England, France, and Ireland. Shortly after, that is to say, the last of March, Francis the French king deceased, and his sonne Henrie, the second of that name succeeded him; who at the desire of the gouernor of Scotland, appointed Leone Strofie prior of Capoa, a knight of the order of Malta, with a nauie of 16 gallies, fraught with men of warre, and munition, to passe into Scotland, to helpe to win the castell of saint Andrews.

The gouernor in the meane time with an armie passed to the west borders to besiege the castell of Langham, the which was kept at that present by Michaell Wharton, hauing then with him but sirtene Englishmen, who neuertheless abid thre or foure daies siege, and seuen canon shots, and so yielded the house to the gouernor: and hereby was the peace broken, first by the Scots, euen as the Englishmen could haue wished. Moreover, at the same time, the erle of Northous then returned out of Denmark was acquit by an assise (as they call it) of earles and lords, of an accusation therewith he was charged, as confederat and partie with them that had murdered the cardinall.

Whilist the gouernor was thus passed with his armie to the west borders, he was aduertised that the prior of Capoa was arrived, and against the wills of such as were against it, entered into the towne of saint Andrews: whereupon the gouernor, with all the nobilitie that were then about him, hastened thither to assist the prior, and so the siege was strongly laid about the castell there. The prior caused certeine peeces of artillerie to be drawn up, and mounted on the top of a church, which was higher than the castell; so that those peeces shot plump into the castell; that none durst shew themselves on the wals, or abroad in the parke within the castell. He caused also certeine canons to be drawn with engines,

The cardinall of saint Andrews murdered.

Fr.Thin.
Lesleus lib.10
pag.481.

1546.
The ducies of the cardinall fortified.

The castell of saint Andrews besieged.

The siege raised.

Fr. Thin.
Lesleus lib.10.
pag.483.

1547.
The king of England deceased.

The death of the French king.

Fr.Thin.
The castell of saint Andrews besieged by the French.

gins, nere to the verie iuals of the castell, which battered the same in such sort, as the ditches were nere hand filled with the rubbish and stones of the iuals that fell downe.

Whereouer, the gallies at an high water approached on the riuer side so nere to the castell, that with shot of canons and other artillerie, they fore annoied them within, and due diuerse. The defendants perceiving themselves thus besieged on all sides, & not able long to hold out, put forth a token upon a speares point, to signifie that they desired parley, which was granted, and certeine of them comming forth, were admitted to talke with the gouernor, the quene, and the prior of Capoa. They offered to render the castell, so they might depart, and haue their liues saued with bag and baggage.

The castell of S. Andrewes was taken.

But, this would not be granted; the gouernor offered refusing it; at length he was content to pardon them of their liues, if the French king should thinke it good, else to stand to his pleasure. The spoile of the castell was giuen to the Frenchmen, who upon the surrender entering the same, left nothing behind him that might serue them to any use in taking it away. All the principall men within it were led to the gallies, and conueied a waie into France prisoners at the French kings discretion. Diuerse of them were committed to sumerie prisons on the coast of Britaine, and others were appointed to row in the gallies till the yeare 1550, in which the prisoners were set at libertie, and the others that were in the gallies were redeemed by their friends for certeine summes of monie.

The prior of Capoa.

Thus was the castell of Saint Andrewes rendered the nine and twentieth of Iulie, fourtene daies after the arrivall there of the prior of Capoa, whereby his great valiance, well known afore that time, was renewed, as his praise for his speedie dispatch and good successe therein was much advanced. Shortly after, the duke of Summerfet, heretofore in this booke named earle of Hertford, uncle by the mother unto the yong king of England, and admitted gouernor of his person, and protector of all his realmes, dominions, and subiects, minding the advancement of the yong king his nephew, thought good with all speed to procure the consummation of the marriage, by which him, and the yong quene of Scots.

The duke of Summerfet protector of England.

But perceiving that the same could not be brought to passe without force, he seemed loth to let passe the opportunitie of time then offered (as he took it) to serue his purpose; and thereupon by aduise of counsell, leuied an armie with all expedition, and came to Warrwicke, about the latter end of August, and in the beginning of September, entered Scotland with the same armie, containing leuenteene or eightene thousand men, which was diuided into three principall wards, the vnderward led by the vnderward of Warrwicke, the battell by the duke of Summerfet himselfe, and the reerward by the lord Darnley of the north.

he entred Scotland with an armie

The order of the English armie.

There were certeine wings and troopes of men of armes, demilances, and light horsemen, (and also of harquebussiers); that attended upon these three wards, guarded with most fauour of great artillerie. The lord Greie of Wiltton high marshall of the armie had the generall conduct of the men of armes and demilances. Sir Francis Bagen, lieutenant of the light horsemen, with eight hundred of them was appointed to the vnderward. Sir Peter Deuila, captiue of five hundred harquebussiers, and Sir Francis Fleming, master of the ordnance, with a hundred light horsemen, were appointed to the battell. And Sir Richard Spanner, with five hundred light horsemen, attended upon the reerward.

In this order marching through the dunes, and

Louthian, they came at length into a place called Buckling Braies, nere to the fourth side, in which the river the English fier was arrived, and lay before the towne of Leith, but now by order giuen came backe from thence, and lay nerer to the armie. The gouernor of Scotland aduertised of the comming of this armie of England thus to invade Scotland, with all diligence sent abroad solemn summons for the leuieing of a new armie consist of all parts of the realme; supposing thereby to be sufficientlie furnished and enabled for the encounter; happen when it should; the contrarie part (no doubt) being likewise opinioned, and both hoping, as greedilie gaping after the glorie of victorie.

The English fier.

The gouernor raised an armie.

For the gouernor did attempt at this time that which is accustomed to be used in the greatest dangers of the countrie: which was, that he sent out messengers through all the realme, who carrying a fierie crosse in their hands, should make signe (and declare) aswell to the lattie, as to the churchmen; that all they which were aboue sixteen yeares old, and under sixtie, should presentlie (with their armes) repair to Mussilborow, and there be ready to defend the libertie of the countrie; who accordingly came to Mussilborow (within lesse than two miles of the place where the English armie came to incampe, lieng at Preston) & placed themselves at Inverneile ouer against their enemies.

Fr. Thin. Lellius lib. 10. pag. 485.

Here we haue to vnderstand, that the Scots light horsemen oftentimes would come picking almost within their stauers length of the Englishmen as they marched, whooping and shouting, to the end they might traine them forth from their strength, and with railing words would still be in hand to provoke them thereto. But the duke of Summerfet, doubting the goodnesse of the Scottish pickers, gaue secret commandement, that no offer of skirmish by the Scottish horsemen should be taken. But at length the lord Greie of Wiltton, not able to beare such bold presumption in the Scots, aduenturing (as he took it) ouer rashlie, and more than good with their owne suertie, made sute to the duke of Summerfet, that if they continued in such brauerie, it might be lawfull for him to let them further off.

The goodnes of the Scottish horsemen feared of the Englishmen. The lord Greie desired to encounter the Scottish horsemen.

The duke at the first by no meanes would assent thereto, telling the lord Greie, that his desire proceeded more of a holie of courage, than of any knowledge of the enemie, and seemed to defend the goodnesse of the Scottish horsemen: but when the lord Greie persisted in his sute, and the earle of Warwicke assisted his request, the duke in the end yielded thereto. Whereupon when the lord Darnley with the Scots the next time (which was on the Fridaye the ninth of September) came forth to offer the skirmish after their wonted maner, the lord Greie speaking with him certeine bands of horsemen, both men of armes, demilances, and also light horsemen, diuided them in troopes, appointing the Spanish and Italian bagbatters on horsebacke to keepe on a wing, and to guard the hindermost troope of the English horsemen.

He also gaue order to the leaders of euerie troope, that to which soeuer the enemie should once offer, in any wise, that no answer by skirmish were made them, but after they had drawne them to their accustomed place and offer of charge, that troope that it was offered unto, presentlie upon the enemies wheeling about should throughlie giue it them; and that so giuen, the next troope presentlie to giue it in the face: and so (as occasion required) both those troopes wholies together to helpe either without breaking. The Scots comming forward, picking and whooping after their old wont, the Englishmen fought a great while, till at the last, foure or five hundred

Order giuen by the lord Greie.

Nicholas
Gainsford.The Scots
housmen put
to flight.

Fr. Thin.

English cap-
tains taken.Fr. Thin.
Buchan. lib. 15.

died of them came scattered upon the spurre, with a marvellous shout within a stones length of the for- most trope.

These thinking then to haue wheeled about, master Nicholas Gainsford, the leader of that trope, and lieutenant of the lord Greies band of his men of armes of Bullongne, cried: A charge, which as speedily on the English part as unlocked for of the Scots being giuen, from charging at that time in sport, the Scots were giuen to gallop awaie so fast as their horses might beare them, losing of their companies that were taken and slaine, to the number of eight hundred and more (as some haue written) [at what time the lord Hume (as saith Lesleus lib. 10. pa. 486) falling from his horse, was grievously wounded, and caried to Edinburgh, and his eldest sonne was taken prisoner] but yet, as diuerse of the Englishmen aduentured to farre in following the chase, they were distressed, and sundrie of them taken prisoners, among the which were some of their captains, as Sir Rafe Bulmer, Thomas Colver, & Robert Crouch, each of them hauing in charge the leading of several bands of light housmen. Thus much for this first battell skirmish, wherein the chiefest force of the Scottish housmen was defeated, to the great discouragement of the rest.

* The English armie remaining still at Perth, did from a hill behold the number of the Scots, who (supposing that they saw a greater number than in truth there was) assembled in the meane time to consult of the estate of their affaires. And thereupon sent letters to the Scots, desiring that if they might obtaine anie thing by iustice, that they should rather end the warre with covenants than with canons. The effect of which letters tended to this end. That the English did greatlie intreat the Scots, first to remember that both armies were christian men, to and of whome (vntlesse they vtterlie forget their profession) there should nothing be more welcome nor desired than peace & tranquillitie, and nothing more detestable than warre and vnjust force. Besides this, that the cause of this present warre did not grow of couetousnesse, hatred or enuie, but from the desire of perpetuall peace, which could not be better or more firmelie established by any means, but by the league of matrimonie (being promised and confirmed by the publike consent and pledge of the nobilitie) with those conditions which were more beneficiall for the Scots than the English, being such as did not call them into seruitude, but into a fellowship and liberall imparting of all their fortunes each to other. For so much more should that marriage be commodious to the Scots than to the English, by how much the hope of profit, and the feare of iniuries should bee greater from the stronger to the weaker.

Wherefore they should chiefie consider (and in this kind this to be their greatest reason, that since that their queene was of necessitie to be giuen in marriage by the Scots, and that the same necessitie was not to be avoided; and the moderation therein verie hard: that the onelie power to chuse hir a husband was left vnto the publike councell or parliament. And if they would chuse (to their queene) a husband for the publike profit and dignitie: of whome could they better take choise, than of a king their neighbor, borne in the same Iland, neere of blood, instructed in the same lawes, brought vp in the same manners and language; not their superiour onelie in riches, but almost also in all commodities and ornaments of externall things, and such a person which did bring with him peace, concord, amitie, and the forgetting of all old iniuries? But if they call to them anie other (differing from them in language, manners, and lawes) to take the kingdome: let them

thinke with themselves, what and how manie commodities will grow thereby, and to what euill counsels they shall indanger themselves: the which they may learne by the example of other nations, being farre better to be taught it by the misfortunes of others, than to leaue the smart thereof by their owne experience.

Wherefore (as touching themselves) if they shall not perceiue the Scottish nation to be estranged from this amitie and concord, they would mitigate somewhat of their former promises (which by law they might challenge) and be contented that the maiden queene should be brought vp amongst them, and be alwaies in their power, vntill the time that nature should inable hir fit for marriage, and vntill such time as she might chuse hir a husband by the aduise of the nobilitie. And that in the meane time (vntill the same might be performed) that both the nations should abstaine from warre: and that also the queene (during that time) should neither be conueied into anie strange nation: nor that they should conclude anie pact or covenant with the French, or anie other foreign prince touching hir marriage. The which if the Scots would most holilie and handfastlie promise, the English would forthwith depart with a quiet armie. And further, that if the English had committed anie hurt or spoile (since they came into the countrey) they would recompente the same by the indgement of good men.

These letters thus sent, the gouernor did impart vnto a few, and of those especiallie to John his brother bishop of saint Andrews (taken vnto him in place & authoritie of the same cardinall). These two aduanced with great hope of victorie, were the cause that these letters were suppressed, because they feared that if the equal conditions of peace were knowne abroad, the most part would willingly incline to the same quiet aduise. Wherefore they procured a false rumor to be spread through the host, that the English men were come thither with determination to take awaie the queene by force, and by strength of armes to bring the whole kingdome into their subiection. For the gouernor being saint spirited by nature, had chosen vnto him foure such other counsellors (like vnto himselfe) in the affairs of warre, by whose command & becke all things were performed. Of which number were his three kinsmen, John archbishop of saint Andrews, the abbat of Dunfermling, George Daries, with Archembald Beton; and the fourth was Hugh Rigs, a lawyer, rather famous for his grosse bodie and foolish conditions, than anie knowledge in militarie affaires. These foure had so passed by the gouernor (inconstant by his owne nature, and changing his counsell by the wind of euerie rumor) that he would with stopped eares heare all other mens opinions. In the meane time, his friends hauing spread a feined tale (though the Scottish host by him deuised, the Scots ran in all hast to their weapons, whose vnadvised speed was in the end the cause of their vnfortunate proceedings, as after shall appeare.)

For being true (as the Scots haue reported) that the gouernor, and the nobilitie of Scotland meant not to hazard battell within their owne realme, but rather to lie still and defend their ground, if the Englishmen should come forward to giue them battell there. The Englishmen aduertised thereof, the morning after this great skirmish, raised their field batterie earlie, purposing to take an hill called Pinkhill, where they might place their ordinance, and to thrust into the Scottish campe; whereby they should force the Scots to dislodge from their ground of aduantage. The gouernor and the Scottish lords, beholding their enemies thus marching forward, thought best to

The Scots
meant not to
haue giuen
battell.

The purpose
of the Eng-
lishmen.

to state their enterprise, and therefore suddenlie, notwithstanding their former determination, rushing forth of their campe, passed forward to encounter their enemies.

The ordering
of the Scottish
battels.

They were divided into three battels; Archibald Doulglasse earle of Angus, with certeine lords with him, led the vant-gard; George Gordon earle of Huntlee, and his friends the rere-ward; and the gouernor accompanied with the earle of Argile and the rest of the noble men, were in the maine battell. The Englishmen hauing got the hill, and perceluing the Scots to come forward with great hast, staied for their comming: but the Scots were so rash and ha-
stie, passing first through the water in their armour, and so by towards the hill, that continuing their march with such speed, as they seemed rather to trot, than to keepe anie ordinarie marching pace, before they could come to ioine with the Englishmen, they were almost out of breath.

The English
horsesmen
hauin backe.

Howbeit, the earle of Angus, and the other in the vant-gard, holdie abid the charge of all the English horsesmen, and so rigorously reencountred them, that slaing and beating downe no small number both of men and horses, they put the rest to flight; so that no small part of them retired backe in such disorder, that they ran thorough the ranks of the footmen in the fore-ward, wherewith such feare entered among the Englishmen, that (as hath bene reported) they had vndoubtedlie fled, if the manfull courage of the earle of Marwick had not bene shewed at that present, according to the wanted valure of his often approued prowesse, whereby he caused them to staie, and relie themselves againe.

The valiant-
nesse of the
earle of Mar-
wick.

The gallie
and two pin-
naces.

In the meane time, the battell and the rere-ward of the Scots advanced forward with great courage. But there was a gallie & two pinelles of the English fleet, which from the sea shot so terrible at the Scottish armie, that the same was not onelie soze galled and indamaged thereby, but also staied, that they could not come easilie forward. And herewith the English vant-gard incouraged with the comfort-
table words and behauior of the earle of Marwick, and other the capteins, made towards the Scottish vant-gard againe: the which not able of it selfe to resist, retired in good order to the great battell of Scotland. Whereupon, the multitude fearing, by reason they saw them in the fore-ward thus retire (albeit in good order) that all had bene lost, gaue backe, and toke them to flight; whome the Englishmen follow-
ed amaine, slaing the Scottishmen downe on heaps in passing great numbers. Many were also drown-
ed in the water of Anderfke, through the which they toke their flight.

The earle of
Huntlee ear-
ken prisoner.

Men of name
of Scots
name.
Fr. Thin.

The earle of Huntlee and the rere-gard stood still with their ensignes and banners, till the chafe was past by them: but at length were driuen to make a waie as well as the rest, and the earle himselfe in the retire being taken on foot, well clad in gilt armour inameled, was led prisoner to the lord protector. Diuerse other men of name, barons, and knights, were taken prisoners. There were slaine no small number of personages of good account. Among other, the lord Fleming, the maister of Erskin, the maister of Ogilvie, ham, the maister of Leuingston, the maister of Rolfe [the maister of Argendale and Westfane] the lord of Louchwar, the lord of Glencarnocke, & others. [There were taken prisoners diuerse noble men, the lord Zelltrie, the earle of Huntlee chancelor of the realme, and others, as saith Lesleus lib. 10. pag. 487.]

The next day, the English armie removed to Leith, where the prisoners were put into a church, diuerse of them being sore wounded. But the earle of Huntlee, entering bond for them that they should

well and trulie paie their ranlones, agreed vpon betwixt them and their takers. or else to come and present themselves prisoners in England by a certeine day, they were suffered to depart. * The calamitie of which bloodie day, there were not a few which did impute iustlie to happen to the Scots, because they did arrogantlie reiect such honorable and beneficiall peace, and did hope (if they obtained the victorie) to haue vsed more crueltie to their owne people than vnto the English, either because they would (as I my selfe coniecture) reuenge old quarrels, or else haue vsed extremitie against such as secretlie mislied this conflict with the English.)

The gouernor escaping from the battell, came to Striueling, where the quene regent was, together with hir daughter the pong quene. Here, by the counsell and aduise of the earle of Angus [Argile, Rotelen, and Castles] and diuerse other lords that were also with him, thither after the battell, they were conueied to the countrie of Penteth, where they remained in the abbete of Inch Spahome [deli-
uering the pong quene to hir mother, Erskine and Leuingstone to be kept there] till the English armie was departed out of the realme, and then they re-
moved againe, and came to Striueling. [After that the gouernor had deliuered the earle out of prison at Edenburgh] the English nanie wan the Ile of Saint Colmes Inch [in the meane time] and did sundrie o-
ther exploits by sea, as in the English historie it may appere.

Moreouer, the earle of Bothwell, whome the gouernor had before kept in prison, and was the night after the battell set at libertie, repared to the duke of Summerfet, with diuerse other lords and gentlemen of Louthian, whilst he laie at Leith, offering them-
selues to be at the king of Englands commande-
ment, and so were assured from receiuing hurt or da-
mage by the English power. The duke of Summer-
fet hauing remained at Leith eight daies, burnt a
peece of it, and demanding the castell of Edenburgh, but could not obtaine it, departed thence the eight-
teenth of December homewards the next waie, ouer
the mounteins of Soutreie, comming the third day
before the castell of Hume, where they did so much by
countenancing to win that fortresse, that within
thre or foure daies after their comming thither, it
was surrendered.

This castell being twone, & a garrison left there, in to keepe it, they removed to Rockesburgh, where
within the compasse of the ruinous walls of an old
castell, they built a fort; & after returning into Eng-
land, left a conuenient garrison to keepe it. They got
also about the same time a strong fortresse, called
fast castell, standing nere to the sea side, and placed
a garrison within it. And moreouer, in this meane
time, their fleet by sea wan the castell of Broughtie
crag, and put in like manner a garrison within it to
keepe the same (as in the English historie it may fur-
ther appere) and in what fort also all the chieffest lords
and gentlemen of the Pers and Linlithgow came in,
and submitted themselves to the duke of Summer-
fet, vpon assurance had and giuen.

Furthermore, whilst the duke of Summerfet
with his armie did thus inuade Scotland on the east
part, it was ordeined by the said duke, and other of
the counsell to the king of England, that Matthew
earle of Lennox, and Thomas lord Wharton, then
warden of the west marches of England, should
with a power inuade Scotland on the west side, to
the end that there should not anie of the west borders
nor countries come to assist the gouernor against
the duke of Summerfets armie, but be driuen to re-
maine at home to defend their owne countrie. Here-
vpon, there was an armie leated, to the number of
foue

The earle of
Huntlee en-
tereth bond
for his coun-
triemen.
Fr. Thin.
Buchan lib. 15.

The quene
removed from
Striueling.
Fr. Thin.
Lesleus lib. 10.
pag. 487.

Fr. Thin.

Fr. Thin.

The Ile of
Saint Colmes
Inch won by
Englishmen.

The earle of
Bothwell.

1547.

The English
armie retur-
ned homewards.

Hume castell
surrendered to
the Englishmen.

fast castell
twone by
them.
Broughtie
crag twone.

The castell of
Milke yelded

five thousand footmen, and eight hundred light horsemen, with which power the earle of Lennox and the lord Wharton entering Scotland the eight of September, incamped the first night upon the water of Esk, and marched the next day through the nether part of Annandale, till they came to the castell of Milke, a fortreffe of good strength, the wals being foureteene foot thicke.

Captaine of this castell was one John Stewart, brother to the lard thereof, who upon the approach of the earle of Lennox, yelded the house to him, without any shew of resistance. Whereupon, Fergus Graham, brother to Ritchie Graham of Esk, was appointed with a garrison of souldiours to keepe that castell to the use of the young king of England, and was afterwards confirmed captaine there with fiftie light horsemen, by appointment of the duke of Summerfet, & the counsell; so that during the wars, he remained there to the great annoiance of the Scots, enemies to England, and preservation of the countrie thereabouts to the king of Englands use.

Fr. Thin.

On the twentieth of September, the earle of Lennox, and the lord Wharton, incamped nere to the towne of Annand, and on the morrow after approaching nearer to the same, gaue summons vnto the captaine thereof, called Lion, of the house of Glamis, who with an hundred Scots [whereof Marwell and Johnstone, and Cockpall (as saith Lesleus lib. 10. p. 489. being parcell) kept the church and steeple of Annand, being peeces of themselves verie strong and mightilie reinforced with earth: they within therefore refused to yeld, and valiantlie defended themselves. The greatest peeces of artillerie, which the Englishmen had there at that time, were certeine double and single falcons, wherewith they beat one, lie the battlements, till they might with certeine engines approach hard to the wals, and undermine the same, so as the rofe of the church was shaken downe, and a great number of them within the church slaine and crushed to death. Such as escaped fled into the steeple.

The church
of Annand
undermined.

The steeple
yelded.

The church
and steeple of
Annand
blowen by
with powder.

Two of the Englishmen that wrought about the mines, were slaine: but at length, the captaine moved by persuation of the earle of Lennox, to whome he claimed to be of kin, rendered the steeple to him, with himselfe, and 96 Scots souldiours, with condition to haue their liues onelic saued, and the captaine to remaine prisoner, and to go into England. Immediately vpon their coming forth of the steeple, fire was giuen vnto the traines of powder in the mines, and so both the church & steeple were blownen by into the aire, & rased downe to the ground. This done, they burnt the towne (after they had sacked it) and left not one stone standing vpon an other, for that the same towne had cuer bene a verie noisome neighbour to England.

The Scots
that came to
assure them-
selves.

The Englishmen had conceived such spite towards this towne, that if they saw but a peece of timber remaining vnburnt, they would cut the same in peeces with their bills. The countrie herewith was stricken in such feare, that the next day all the Bilpatrickes and the Jordeins, the lards of Kirkcubright, A. pitgirth, Clobourne, Holmendes, Pubie, and the Brethlings, the Wels, the Rigs, the Spurries, and all the clanes and surnames of the neather part of Annandale, came in; and received an oath of obedience, as subjects to the king of England, deliuering pledges for their assured loialtie. The residue that would not come in and submit themselves, had their houses burnt, their goods and cattell fetched awaie by the English light horsemen, that were sent abroad into the countrie for that purpose.

These things thus executed, the earle of Lennox, and the lord Wharton, returned backe into England

with their prisoners, booties, and spoiles, receiuing great thanks and commendations by gentle letters on the five & twentieth of September, from the duke of Summerfet, then lieng at Rochefburgh, about fortifying of that place. The gouernor perceiuing thus that without the assistance of France he should not be able to resist the Englishmen, hauing now got such hold within the realme of Scotland, required the queene Dowager, and monsieur Doissell, ligger ambassador for the French king, to perswade with him by letters, to send an armie into Scotland, to the aid of his friends there.

The gouernor
nowe lieth
to the queene
Dowager,
and to the
French am-
bassador.

The queene and monsieur Doissell, perceiuing a readie waie prepared to bring that to passe which they most desired (which was, to haue the queene of Scotland ordered in all things by the French kings aduise) they undertooke to procure an armie out of France, according to the gouernors desire, if he with the states of the realme would agree that the queene might be sent into France, and a contract made for his bestowing in marriage, as stood with the French kings pleasure. The gouernor condescending hereunto, assembled the states, and by their aduises, passed certeine couenants to the effect aforesaid, & sent the same in writing by certeine messengers into France.

The queene
Dowager
promiseth
and
out of France
with condi-
tion.

The French king gladlie accepting this message, prepared a nauie of ships and gallies to transport an armie into Scotland the next summer. In the meane time, the gouernor laied siege to Broughtie crag, and the duke of Summerfet, as well for meane to cause the Scots to retire that siege, as also for the annoiance of Clidisdale, appertaining to the gouernor and the earle of Angus, and other Scots that would not come in to the obedience of the king of England, appointed the earle of Lennox to make a new invasion into Scotland, and to vse for triall of their fidelities the helpe of two thousand Scottish light horsemen, that were already assured & sworn to serue the king of England in all such exploits in which they should be employed.

The gouernor
lenderth into
France for
aid.
Broughtie
crag besieged
by the gouernor.

The earle of Lennox desirous to aduance the king of Englands affaires, and hauing receiued letters from William earle of Glencarne, with promise of his assistance, and likewise of his father in law the earle of Angus, the lard of Drumlanrig, and those lards and gentlemen of the countries of Kyle, Cunningham, Kentsire, and Lennox, entered Scotland about the twelfth of December, accompanied with Henrie Wharton, second son to the lord Wharton, with two hundred light horsemen, of the garrisons in Scotland, and comming first to Dumfries, where the generall assemblee was appointed of the two thousand assured Scottish light horsemen, when the musters should be taken, he found scarce three hundred, and those for the more part of the broken countries of Annandale, Clidisdale, & Cisdale, and Liddisdale.

The earle of
Lennox enter-
eth into
Scotland.

The earle of Glencarne came thither in deed, but vnder a counterfet shew of good meaning, where in truth he ment nothing but craft to discover all the earle of Lennox his purposes: who perceiuing his double dealing, and finding no such forces readie to assist him, as he looked for, and moreover, mistrusting the loialties of the maister of Marwell, & the gentlemen of Liddisdale, meaning (as he took it) to intrap him, and deliuer him to the queene Dowager, and the lord gouernor, stood in some perplexitie what way should be the best for him to follow, thinking it not to stand with his honor to returne, without atchiuing some enterprisse.

The earle of
Glencarne
his double
dealing.

Now lord
Marries.

The earle of
Lennox in
doubt what to
do.

The earle of Glencarne had shewed to him two letters written by the lard of Drumlanrig, signifying, that if the earle of Lennox came, accompanied onlie

The lard of
Drumlanrig.

onellie with Scottisshmen, he would both serue him and honoꝝ him in the best wise he might: but if he brought those Englishmen in his companie; he would not onellie refuse to aid him, but also raise all the power he might make; either by his friends or otherwise; to resist him, and proffer him a repulse. The earle thus perceiving that he was in danger to be betrayed among them, and that there were all the deuises practised that might be to staie those that should come to the deuotion of the king of England, dissembled the matter with Glencarne, and other that were suborned to betray him; pretending to them; that he would follow the counsell of their deuises.

The earle of Lennox dissembled with dissemblers.

1547. Buch.

But in the meane time he got together the English captains that were appointed to attend him, and also such Scottisshmen as he knew he might trust. And meaning to scourge Drumlanrig, & to cut him short; for that he was the chiefe instrument to staie all the Scottisshmen in those parties from entering friendship with the Englishmen: he gaue secret warning to all the captains & leaders about nine of the clocke at night, that they should be readie with their men to mount on horsebacke at the sound of the trumpet, and keepe with them the earle of Glencarne, the maister of Marwell, the lords of Clotburne, Strathmickell, and others the gentlemen of Fife, Fife-dale and Annandale.

Drumlanrig sent forth to scourge Drumlanrig.

They harrie the countie about Drumlanrig.

He sent forth six hundred chosen horsemen upon sound of the trumpet, at twelue of the clocke at night, vnder the leading of Henrie Wharton, and other the captains of the garrisons, who in the dawning of the next morrow, arrived nere the place of Drumlanrig, where they appointed foure hundred of their horsemen to passe to the forraie, who raised fire, and burnt two miles in length, both townes and villages on each side, euen hard to the gates of Drumlanrig, spoiling the houses of goods and riches, worth to the value of two thousand marks, got three thousand sheepe, two thousand herd of great cattell, beyde nine score horses and mares.

Drumlanrig pursueth the Englishmen.

The Annandalers laden with spoile and cattell, being in number foure hundred men, departed with their preie homewards. The lord of Drumlanrig, lieng all this while in ambush with seuen hundred men, forbare to breake out to giue any charge vpon his enemies, doubting least the earle of Lennox had kept a skale behind; but now after he perceived that the most part of the enemies were departed, and that the residue of the gentlemen & captains of the English horsemen were withdrawing towards Dunfreis, being not past six score men, he fiercely followed after them with his power, in hope not onellie to ouerthrow and distress them, but also to take the earle of Lennox at Dunfreis.

He is put to flight.

Maister Henrie Wharton and those six score horsemen, retiring beyond the water of Fith, and perceiving that Drumlanrig and his men entered the water rashly to pursue them, returned, and gaue such a desperate charge vpon them, that Drumlanrig and his companie were scattered and put to flight: yet Drumlanrig himselfe, although there were some speares broken vpon him, through the goodnesse of his horse escaped. Two gentlemen of his surname and traine, that were in no small estimation with him, were slaine, and six score prisoners taken, and led to Dunfreis. The terror of this overthrow, and the hunte of the earle of Lennox his entrie thus made into Scotland, caused the gouernour to leaue his siege from Broughtie crag, and with speed to come from thence, the better to defend his countie of Clidale, and Dowglasdale. Sir Andrieu Dudaie, captaine of Broughtie crag, bare himselfe verie balliantlie, in defending the castell during this siege,

The siege of Broughtie crag raised.

so that the Scots certes lost diuerse hardie personages: and among other, Calwen Hamilton, the gouernours kinsman, was slaine at the same siege.

The prioe of Whiterne.

Moreouer, the prioe of Whiterne by his letters and messengers, offered himselfe to obiect the king of England: and the inhabitants of the burrough and haueu townes of Wighton and Kirckotbys, the knights of Loghintwar and Carleis, the lord and tutor of Bombie, the lord of Cardines, & all the gentlemen of Annandale, Fife-dale, and Galloway, euen to Whiterne, being foure score miles in length from Caerleill, through the inducement of the foresaid prioe, and of the knights of Loghintwar and Carleis, (for the fauour they bare to the earle of Lennox) with in two daies after the discomfiture of Drumlanrig, came vnto Dunfreis, and there receiued an oath to be true to the king of England, and afterwards went with the earle to Caerleill, leaving the countie in good quiet, and the king of England acknowledged for lord of Galloway, Fife-dale, and Annandale, by the inhabitants thereof.

The Scots deliver pledges.

And after that the foresaid persons had remained for a space at Caerleill, they deliuered pledges, but especiallie for John Marwell, & returned home to their countie, as assured men & subiects to the king of England. In this meane while, the gouernour hauing held siege before the castell of Broughtie crag, by the space of thirtie daies, and now retiring from thence (as before ye haue heard) by the aduise of the principall lords about him, he caused maister James Haliburton, tutor of those parties, to raise certeine companies of horsemen, and appointed him with captaine Abernouth (whome he left in Dundee with certeine footmen) to defend the countie against the Englishmen, if they issued forth of Broughtie crag, to atchieue any enterprise any where nere thereabouts.

James Haliburton, captaine Abernouth.

The duke of Summer set by aduise of the residue of the counsell in England, minding to byde the Scots that refused to come in & submit themselves to the king of England, toke order with the lord of Wiltton, who (as saith Lelless. lib. 10. pag. 491.) remained in Scotland from the fourth Ides of Aprill, vntill the tenth kalends of June for the building of one fort at Lauder, and an other at Haddington, as in the English historie it may appeare. And further it was appointed also, that about the end of Februarie, the earle of Lennox and the lord Wharton, with seuen hundred English horsemen, beyde the assured Scots horsemen, and about foure or five thousand English footmen, should by the west borders invade Scotland: they according to their commission set forward, and the first night came to Loudham, and there lodged.

1547. Lelless.

Fr. Thin. Forts built.

1548.

The earle of Lennox and the L. wharton invade Scotland.

The next day they marched to Dunfreis, and whilst they remained there, the earle of Angus being come to Drumlanrig, by messengers entred some talke with his sonne in law the earle of Lennox. But sith it was perceived that this was done, rather to intrap the earle of Lennox, or rather at the least wise to buye time, vpon consultation had with the maister of Marwell, the lord of Clotburne, and others the gentlemen assured of Fife-dale and Annandale, it was concluded, that the townes of Wharton, Dundee, and others, nere adioining together in those parts, should be burnt; to the end that the earle of Angus might so be drawn to the field, and caught by some one meane or other.

The dissimulation of the earle of Angus.

About midnight therefore, the forraie being set forth, vnder the leading of maister Henrie Wharton, to the number of twelue hundred light horsemen, the maister of Marwell, now lord Herries, and the residue of the assured men being amongst them kept forward, and in the morning the earle of Lennox,

Maister Henrie Wharton.

Lennor, and the lord Wharton marched forth with the footmen, till they came ten miles beyond Dunfreis. And where the earle of Angus was drawn to the castell of Drumlanrig, vnder pretense to commune with his sonne the earle of Lennor (but meaning to intrap him) if it were possible, he was so intironed by the English footmen yer he could haue sufficient warning, that he was forced to slee onelie with five persons in his companie. But now the English horsemen being come to Dufdere, eight & fortie miles within the realme of Scotland, having passed sundrie great riuers, they set that towne on fire.

The earle of Angus put to flight.

Dufdere set on fire.

But the maister of Parwell, with the other Scottish gentlemen and light horsemen borderers, to the number of foure hundred, being in companie of the English horsemen (as before ye haue heard) had contriued the destruction of the Englishmen afore hand. And the better to worke their feat, they had procured (as ye haue heard) the earle of Angus to come vnto Drumlanrig with a chosen power of men for that purpose. There were also vpon euerie hill about, great numbers of Scottish footmen, with speares and lancestauces to assist the earle of Angus and his complices against the Englishmen. The lord of Drumlanrig with a number of chosen horsemen was aduanced forward in sight of the Englishmen, as they were busie in firing the towne of Dufdere.

The assured Scots therefore, thinking the enterprise to be surerlie inough conueid for their contriued purpose, openlie vpon the field nere to Dufdere, hoisting vp a blacke pennill vpon a speares point for a token, reuolued wholie, and ioined themselves to the lord of Drumlanrig and other their countrie men, & thrust in betwixt the English horsemen & footmen, to the great perill of distressing awell the one as the other. For making toward the place where the earle of Lennor, and the lord Wharton were comming forward with their footmen, nere to the old castell of Daulwinton, sometime the house of the Cumins, they bruted it abroad, that the English horsemen were quite ouerthrowen.

The reuolting of the assured Scots.

A false rumour spread.

The earle of Lennor, beholding the manner of his aduersaries, lighted on foot from his horse, willing the lord Wharton to do the like; for this day (said he) I will die a true Englishman. At length the English horsemen fetching a compasse in retiring backe from Dufdere, came nere to the place where the earle and the lord Wharton were ranged in order of battell: and thinking no lesse but that their horsemen had bene ouerthrowen, were readie to march backe towards Dunfreis. But their horsemen thus comming in, and perceiuing how the matter stood, gaue a right valiant charge vpon the Scots, that stood countenancing the footmen, and readie to take the aduantage, if they might haue giuen them through thinking backe into anie disorder.

But such was the violence of the shooke giuen at that instant, with great manhood (vndoubtedly) by the English horsemen, that the Scots were there with put out of arraie, scattered, & quite put to flight; the lord of Drumlanrig being taken prisoner, corrupted his taker, and so got away. The maister of Parwell escaped in great danger of life, for he had sundrie speares broken on him in the chace as he fled awaie. There were yet taken that day of the Scots to the number of foure hundred, beside sundrie that were drowned in the water of Aith. Amongest the prisoners were these men of name; the abbat of new abbey, Christie Irretwing of Bonshaw, a brother of the lord of Hemyngfield, & manie other gentlemen of name. Dunfreis was rifled and spoiled, as the earle of Lennor and the Englishmen returned thither,

The Scots put to flight.

Dunfreis spoiled,

and a martiall court appointed there for execution of pledges; but yet suspended and staied, till the counsels pleasure might be knowne in that behalfe.

There were at the first euill news spread abroad, and certified to the court of England of this toynie, how the earle of Lennor and the English armie was ouerthrowen, so that it was by order appointed, that the earle of Derby, the Lord Scrope, and Coniers, with their powers should repaire to the west borders to garnish the same for defense against the enimies: but vpon the true report how the matter had passed, made by maister Henrie Wharton, and one Bishop a Scottishman, sent in post for that purpose, that appointment was staied; and maister Wharton was at that time made knight, and the said Bishop richlie rewarded for bringing so good news. Here with were letters directed downe from the counsell to the lord Wharton, for the execution of certeine pledges, that is to saie, the maister of Parwells pledge, being one of his nearest kinsmen of the house of the Berries, also the warden of the Greie friers in Dunfreis, the bicar of Carlaurocke, and diuerse other which were executed at Carlill. In this meane time were the forts at Latwder and Hadington built, the castles of Pesser and Datokith wone, all the mills burnt within foure miles of each hand of Edenburgh, and other exploits atchued by the Englishmen, as in the historie of England is more at large expessed.

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But now the French king, hauing prepared an armie readie to come into Scotland, caused the same to drab downe to Brest in Britaine, where the ships and gallies were rigged and made readie to passe thence into Scotland. The chiefe leaders of which armie were these, which had charge chieflie to command in the same: monsieur de Wesse lieutenant generall, monsieur Dandelot colonell of the French footmen, the counte Keingraue colonell of the Almains, monsieur de Galleraie, monsieur Doffell, Pietro Strozze colonell of the Italians, monsieur Ctauges capteine of the horsemen, sir Nicholas de Villegaignon a knight of the Rhodes (or rather Malta) capteine of the gallies, and monsieur Duno commissarie of the artillerie: with diuerse other worthie personages, and men of approved valiancie. These capteins with their powers being imbarked at Brest, sailed along by the east seas, and at length about the middelt of June came into the rode before Leith, where they landed their people and ordinance. [A little before whose arriual Fr. Thia. into France (as saith Lesleus, libro 10. pag. 491.) Chapelle Biconne landed in Scotland, accompanied with other nobilitie of France, to giue good counsell to the Scots answerable to the time, which was (to please their eares therewith) that there should a greater armie hostile come out of France, to succor their extremities.]

Pledges executed.

1548. Buch. 1547. Lelle. A name prepared at Brest in Britaine.

The chiefe capteins of the French armie that came into Scotland.

Fr. Thia.

Afterwards, with the aduise of the gouernor, and other of the Scottish lords, the French power went to besiege Hadington, and comming thither, incamped themselves in places of aduantage about the towne, cast trenches, planted their ordinance, battered the rampires, and kept them within streitlie besieged on each hand, vsing all the waies they could deuise to constrain the Englishmen to yield. They forbore yet to giue a generall assault, because they would not hazard (as they haue reported) the losse of so manie men as might haue bene slaine and maimed thereby, to the great weakening of their power there, hauing not meanes to supplie it when they would.

Hadington besieged.

why the Frenchmen forbore to giue an assault.

And yet they had a great armie of Scots with them for a season, and had made the breaches so reasonable,

sonable, that with small paine they might haue entered by the same, if the force of the defendants had not sufficed with handblowes to haue beaten them backe, as no doubt there was no want of good wills in them so to haue done, if the Frenchmen had put the matter in triall: yet during this siege, they with in stood in great necessitie of things becomfull for the defense of the towne. Whereupon sir Henrie Charton with a band of light horsemen of the west borders, and others, came and put into the towne a certeine number of men with powder, and other necessaries, greatlie to the reliefe of the besieged, & no lesse displeasure of the Frenchmen and Scots, that were not aware of this enterprise till it was done in the night season, by the god and fortunate conducti- on of them that had the conuenance thereof.

But after this, there came a power of English horsemen to the number of little lesse than two thousand demillances, light horsemen, & harquebussiers on horsebacke, under the leading of sir Robert Wolves, sir Thomas Palmer, sir Henrie Charton, capteine Gambo a Spaniard, and others; the which aduenturing ouer rathlie within danger of the whole French power, were overthrowne and chaled: sir Robert Wolves, & sir Thomas Palmer, with a great number of other capteins, gentlemen and souldiers being taken prisoners, besides those that were slaine. Yet after this overthrow of those horsemen, the French remoued their siege from the places where they had first planted it, and lodged further off from the towne, continuing there; till at length by an armie sent forth of England vnder the conduct of the erle of Shrewsburie, the lord Greie, and others, they were constrained to retire from thence, as in the English historie ye may find more largelie expresse, to the which for the further report of the euents chancing during that siege, I referre the reader.

But this is to be remembred, that whilst the siege remained at Haddington, by a conuention or assemble of the lords it was decreed, that the queene should be sent into France. And thereupon monsieur de Villegaignon, with foure gallies departing from Leith, made semblance as though he would haue sailed into France: but hauing passed the mouth of the Forth, he turned his course on the left hand to passe alongst the shore northward by the Germane seas, that compassing the land on the east side, he might passe about by the Isles of Orkney, and so by the west Isles, till he came to Dunbretton where the young queene late. This iourne he fortunatelie achieved, the same neuer before (to mans remembrance) being made or attempted with gallies.

At his arrivall & conuenient landing at Dunbretton, he found all things readie provided, necessarie for the imbarcking of the queene, that he might conuey hir into France, for the accomplishment wherof he had taken that iourne in hand. Whereupon the being brought aboard into the kings owne gallie, wherein monsieur de Bresse was also appointed to be aboard with hir, as he that had bene sent with expresse commandement to see hir conueied into France, [with the lords (as saith Lesleus lib. 10. 494) of Arleskine, and Levingston, the ladie Fleming, with certeine noble maidens named after the young queene, as Marie Levingston, Marie Fleming, Marie Seton, and Marie Beton] who together with Villegaignon shewed such diligence in achieving that enterprise, that finally they arrived with prosperous wind and weather in the haven of Brest in Britaine with that young queene, being as then betwixt five and six yeeres of age.

From thence being accompanied with the nobilitie of that prouince, she kept hir right course to the kings palace of S. Germins in the towne of Lat-

on, where she was receiued with great preparation, & there tarried the comming thither of the king, at that time pacifying the seditions and tumults in the inward parts of France. When the king was come, hee gladded all men with his presence, and provided that there was a large household, as well of the noble men and women of Scotland, as of others appointed to the young queene, which he still increased (as the queene grew more in yeeres) untill such time as she might be married.)

But now to returne to the doings in Scotland concerning the warres there. After that the siege of Haddington was raised by the English armie (as before ye haue heard) the Frenchmen thereupon retired themselves vnto Puskelburgh; and choosing forth a plot of ground for their aduantage, kept themselves within the same. And herewith there came to them fixtene thousand Scottishmen to assist them, so that when the Englishmen came forwards to assault them, they found them so strongly imbattelled, that (whether their commission did not so farre extend, or whether they had no liking of the match) they forbore to set vpon them in that ground of so great disadvantage for the assailants, and so returned backe to Haddington, and after homewards, hauing furnished the towne with new supplies of men, munition, and vittels sufficient.

Here is to be noted, that the English fleet entering into the Forth, was readie to haue aided the armie by land, as occasions might haue bene offered. But the lord admerall perceiuing no likelihood of battell by land, toke vpon him to atchieue some other enterprises, and first comming to Bzent Island, set certeine ships on fire there, of the chiefest in the reuer; and saluting the towne of Leith as he passed by with canon shot, he determined to land some of his men on the north side of the Forth, to make some spoile within the countrie of Fife. But John Erskine lord of Dun, as then somewhat diseased, and returned home from the campe, caused such daillie and nightlie watch and ward to be kept, that this enterprise could not be so secretlie conueied by the Englishmen, but that the same was perceiued, and so prevented, that vpon their landing they were forced to retire with losse: and happie was he that night first got againe to shipboard.

* For James Steward, brother to the queene (hearing of this tumult) came thither in hast with the common people of saint Andrews, and some other few citizens which were remaining in the towne, to whom the neighbors about did also ioine themselves, vnderstanding the cause of that assemble. The English being now come on land, about twelue hundred, stood in warlike sort readie for the battell, and with the feare of the artillerie (which they discharged out of their ships) did easilie cause the rude multitude to stie astate. But this James Steward (by litle and litle suppressing the feare of such as fled) did (with such violence) rush vpon his enemies, that forthwith he overthrew them, put them to flight, compelled them to returne to the sea with great slaughter, when also manie of them (as they fled to their ships) were drowned, besides three hundred that were slaine, and one hundred taken.)

The erle of Shrewsburie being come backe from Haddington vnto Dunglas, order was given for the building of a fort there, as in the English historie farther may appeare. And in the meane time monsieur de Delle, remaining in campe at Puskelburgh, hearing that the English armie was remoued homewards, & how diuerse new bands of horsemen and footmen being left in Haddington, were readie to come forth to skirmish abroad vpon sight of the enemy; he toke aduise, to trie if he might draw

The English
houshold
at Puskel-
burgh.

The French-
men in campe
at Puskel-
burgh.

See more
herof in
England.

The erle of
Shrewsburie
remoueth the
siege from
Haddington.

Sir Rich-
ard de Vil-
legaignon.

The lord ad-
merall of
England.

The lord of
Dun.

The English
men repelled
at saint An-
drews.

The French
gallies com-
passe about the
realme of
Scotland by
Dungleskie
head,
1547. Lesle.

Monsieur de
Bresse.

S. Thos.

The young
queene of
Scots con-
ueied into
France.

Fr. Tho.
Buchan lib. 15.

draw them forth to their losse, and thereupon was monsieur Dandelot, and the Keingraue appointed to chose forth a thousand of their lustiest footmen, the which with three hundred horsemen were conueied and laid close in ambush, behind a little hill not farre from the towne.

This done, a few horsemen were drawne forth to draw the Englishmen out of the towne to skirmish with them. The Englishmen were no sooner aduised that the enemies were there at hand in the field, but that all their horsemen issued out of the towne backe with certeine footmen, and freight had the French in chafe; who retiring, maintained the skirmish, of purpose to make the Englishmen more earnest to come forward. But immediatlie as monsieur de Desse saw his time, he gaue signe by sound of trumpet to the footmen to breake forth, who together with the horsemen gaue so fierce an onset upon the enemies, that they were incontinentlie discomfited: and fleeing toward the towne, were followed by the French euen hard to the walles; diuers were slaine, and aboue an hundred taken prisoners.

After this, monsieur de Desse raised from Puthelburgh, and comming to Leith set in hand to fortifie that towne. The marshall Strozzi, and monsieur Dandelot, with diuerse other capteins imbarcking themselves in the gallee that yet remained, toke their course to returne to France. One of the same gallies (they being eight in number, besides a foile and a bigardine) was taken by an English ship called the falcon, as she passed through the narrow seas at a place named the Southfurlong, she being alone, and (as it chanced) hindermost of all the companie.

After the departure of monsieur Dandelot, monsieur de la Chapelle de Biron remained colonell of the French footmen in Scotland. As for the furnitures on the water, there remained now but foure gallies vnder the guiding of one capteine Bach an Italian, a man of great experience and approued skill. For ye must vnderstand, that before the arriual of the English nauie & armie to the succours of them in Haddington, monsieur de Gallerie viceadmirall of France returned home with the fleet of ships that had brought the French armie into Scotland. In what sort the lord Greie of Wiltton afflicted the countries of Tindale and Liddesdale, after the returne of the earle of Shrewsburie, is partly touched in the historie of England.

About the same time, there chanced a mutinie to rise betwixt the Scots and the Frenchmen in Edinburgh, by reason that a French souldier fell a quarrelling with two of the Scottishmen; and falling together by the eares, diuerse Scots that came to depart the fraie, would haue had the Frenchman to prison; but other Frenchmen being there also present, would not suffer the Scots to take him awaie. Whereupon arose a great tumult and strife among them, inso much that there were diuerse slaine on both parts, namely James Hamilton lord of Stanhouse, knight, capteine of the castell, and prouost of the towne of Edinburgh, with his sonne; and master William Steward one of the queens seruants, besides sundrie other. For the Frenchmen doubting some contriued commotion against them, assembled together in order of battell in the streets; so that before the matter might be appeased by the capteins that shewed their diligent endeours therein, they had inough to bring it to passe as they wished.

The beginner of this businesse was hanged the same day in the market place of Edinburgh, where he began first to pike the quarrell. Monsieur de Desse, to shew that this variance had not proceeded so farre as the bruite thereof gaue forth (for it was rather in-

created ye may be sure than diminished) undertooke an enterpryse in hand to win the towne of Haddington by a camifado, but in what sort they missed their purpose, and how they were well beaten backe, and sent away by the valiant manhood of the English capteins and souldiers then within the towne, ye may read further thereof in the English historie. There were seven score (some say three hundred) slaine in the bafe court.

But now, forsomuch as I haue said nothing of Broughtie crag, thence the lord gouernor raised his siege from thence, ye shall vnderstand, that (as some haue written) Hostie after the earle of Argile came thither with an armie of his Irish Scots, and besieged it. But when he saw he could not puenale, he toke truce with them within for a time, and before the same was expired, there came new succours to the Englishmen: so that the earle of Argile (by reason his people had remained there the full terme 10 of their bounden & ordinarie seruice) was constrained to leaue his siege, and suffer the Englishmen to become masters of a little hill, where afterwards they builded a fort. And now in the latter end of this pere, they purposed also to haue fortified Dundee, and to haue kept the same with a garrison of souldiers; but hearing that monsieur de Desse with his Frenchmen was comming thitherwards, they auoided the towne of their owne accord, hauing first spoiled the houses, and after set them on fire.

The Keingraue with two bands of his Almaine, and monsieur de Stauges with his companie of horsemen were sent before, who comming to Dundee, and finding the Englishmen gone, incamped there, staid till monsieur de Desse was come, that followed at hand with the French footmen. Within two daies after, they going forth to view the fort, were in danger to haue bene caught yet they could get backe againe. For the Englishmen and Lance-knights that were there with them (part of Conrad Hennings bands) issued forth, and droue them to retire, not without danger to haue bene distressed, if the Keingraue had not used the greater policie in retiring the troupe. To be short, monsieur de Desse, to stop the Englishmen from entering anie further into the countrie on that side, left seven ensignes of Frenchmen, & two ensignes of Scots within Dundee, with artillerie and pioners to fortifie the towne, & to keepe it in safetie from the Englishmen. This done, he returned to Edinburgh, and sent the residue of his people abroad into the countrie, to lodge in townes and villages here & there, as was thought most expedient, for the better refreshing of them after their long trauell.

* While these things were in doing, the gouernor of Scotland sent the lord Carneige knight (and senator) ambassadoe to the protector of England, which should for ransome (as the custome is) demand deliuerie of the earle of Huntlee being prisoner: which if he could not obtaine, that then he should request this libertie, that his wife and children might come vnto him into England. Wherevnto the protector answered, that he would not set the earle free, vntill the warres were ended: but for the companie of his wife, he was content to grant it for certeine daies; with this prouiso, that he should not withdraw himselfe by anie means from the custodie of Rafe Lane (corruptlie by Lelleus called Mane) who had taken him in the warres. Wherefore, when the ambassadoe was returned into Scotland, Huntlee was committed to certeine keepers, who should carie him from London to Spozhet, distant twentie and foure miles from the borders of Scotland. Now while the earle doth there looke for his wiues comming to him, he thinketh vpon escape, and to come to hir. For he

The Frenchmen gae a camifado to Haddington, & are beaten backe.

Broughtie crag besieged by the earle of Argile. Vlpian Fol

He resisteth his siege.

The fort builded by the Englishmen at Broughtie crag.

Dundee abandoned of the Englishmen.

The Keingraue.

Dundee fortified by the Frenchmen.

Fr. Thin. I 548. Lelleus lib. 10. pag. 498.

The Englishmen put to the sword at a skirmish nere to Haddington.

Leith fortified.

A gallee taken

Capteine Bach.

Monsieur de Gallerie viceadmirall of France.

A fray betwixt the French souldiers, and the townesmen of Edinburgh.

he had agreed with George Bar, that he should one night priuile bring to him thither, two of the swiftest horses that he could get to lie awaie upon them. According whereunto Bar was ready out of the borders of Scotland with such horses as he knew would serue the turne, wherof one was for the earle, and the other was for his man.

The earle prepareth a supper for his keepers, whereunto they were solemnelie invited, and to plaie at cards with him to passe awaie the tediousnes of the night. At length as though he had plaied inough at cards he left off, but earnestlie desired his keepers that they should continue on their game. During which, the earle (going vnto the window, and looking out) did by a secret signe (for he could not well discernie anie thing, it was so extreame darke ouer all the clement) easilie vnderstand that all things were ready for his iourneie. The earle then doubtfull (being sometime in good hope, and sometime in feare) thought vpon manie things, which he muttered to himselfe: and at length vnadvisedlie (as doubtfull men are wont to do) burst out in these speeches; Oh sorrow, all these things be a hinderance vnto me, the sharpnesse of the winter night, the doubt of my weak force and helpe, the let of an vnknown way, and the want of a faithfull guide: God prosper the iourneie. His keepers hearing him speake to himselfe, asked him what those secret speeches might signifie: to whom the earle (knowing that he was guilty of his fault) answered, that those words were used as a proverbe amongst the Scots: and first had their beginning by the old earle Morton, uttering the same in the middle of the night when he lay in dying. Whereupon (to the end that his keepers should not haue anie suspicion of his determined flight) he sitteth downe againe to cards.

After which suddenly he rose from them, as urged by losenesse of his bellie to vnburden nature, by which occasion he forthwith (accompanied onelie with his seruant) leapeth forth, found the horses ready furnished for himselfe and his man, got on them, & with speedie iourneie did lie to the borders of Scotland. When he was passed ouer the riuer of Tweed, and had a little refreshed himselfe from the labor of his iourneie in the house of Bar, he went the same night (being Christmas eue) to Edenburgh, where he was iustlie & honorablie receiued of the queene, the gouernor, his wife, and his other friends, with an vniuersall gladnesse of the whole multitude of the towne. As soon as his keepers perceiued that he was gone, they speedilie ran to horse, and doubtfull which way to follow they seeke him here, and there, and euerie where, but all in vaine, for the diligence of the earle put them out of all doubt for obtaining him. Whose flight was not onelie a freedom to himselfe, but also to manie other noble prisoners; who (vpon the assurance of his faith and word) were permitted to depart into Scotland. The gouernor, therefore, to congratulate with the earle for his returne, ressoied vnto him the chancelorship, and the rule of manie other prouinces which he had before his captiuitie. For which cause when he had remained a while at Edenburgh, he returned to the north parts of Scotland, where speedilie and easilie he appeased all the tumults of those people.)

Hume castle recovered by the Scots.

Pr. Thin. Buchan. li. 15. 149. Lesle.

On saint Stephens day at night, the castell of Hume was scaled, and wone out of the Englishmens hands. One of the surname of the Humes, a man of threescore yeers of age, was the first that entered on the wall, being one of the watchmen that kept his walke on that side. Not long after, when the capteine of Falsbecastell had commanded the husbandmen adjoining, to bring thither (at a certaine day) great store of vittels, the young men there a-

bouts hauing that occasion, assembled thither at the day appointed, who taking their burdens from the horses, and laing them on their shoulders, were receiued (after they had passed the bridge, which was made ouer two high rocks) into the castle, where (laing downe that which they brought) they suddenly (by a signe giuen) set vpon the keepers of the gates, slue them, and (before the other Englishmen could be assembled) possessed the other places, weapons, and artillerie of the castell, and then receiuing the rest of their companie into the same (through the great and open gate) they wholie kept and inioied the castell for their countrymen.)

About the same time, the Keinsgraue returned into France, leauing his five ensignes of Almains behind him, vnder the charge of capteine Ketouze, a good man of warre and of great experience. Also monsieur de Ctauges was taken in a skirmish at Broughtie crag, as I haue noted in the English historie: & about the same time, there landed at Dunbretton foure bands of souldiers, Breuanois and Gascoignes, bringing monie with them to paie the souldiers their wages, behind as then for the space of thre moneths. Sir James Willford also was taken about the same time by the Frenchmen, in a skirmish at Dunbar (as I haue also noted in the historie of England.) Not long after, monsieur de Delle was appointed by the queene Dowager, to go vnto Jedburgh, to preuent that the Englishmen should not fortifie there, wherof she stood in some doubt.

Immediate vpon his coming thither, the lord of Fernthurst requested him to helpe to recouer his castell of Fernthurst out of the Englishmens hands, which they had taken from him and kept, greatlie to the annoiance of all the countrie thereabouts. Monsieur de Delle taking with him monsieur de Duffell, and monsieur de la Chapelle de Biton, hasted thither with the chiefest part of his armie, sending before certaine capteins with their bands to surueie the house, who at their coming thither, used such diligence in following the offered occasion, that they both repelled their enemies that came forth to giue them the skirmish; and pursuing them with great rigor, wan the lims of the house vpon them, forcing the capteine and souldiers to retire within the dungeon, and kept them so short therein, that they had opportunitie to mine an hole through the wall, of such largenes, as a man might easilie enter by the same.

Wherevnto a great number of Scots hauing broken open the gate of the base court, where the Frenchmen were busie to assault the dungeon, burst in on heapes, vpon desire to be reuenged vpon the Englishmen, and namelie of their capteine, who (as they said) had done them manie great displeasures. The capteine perceiuing this, and doubting if he fell into the Scottishmens hands he should die for it, he presented himselfe at the hole which the Frenchmen had made, and yielded himselfe to monsieur de Duffac, and la Mouthe Rouge, who minding to vse him as became men of warre, would haue led him out of the pise: but suddenly a Scot coming behind him, whose wife (as was reported) he had rauished, smote off his head so iust from the shoulders, that it leapt foure or five yards quite from the bodie. Manie other cruell parts the Scots seemed to shew against other Englishmen, taken here at Fernthurst: but they excused the matter by the euill dealings of the Englishmen towards them before that time.

Monsieur de Delle returning to Jedburgh, aided by the furtherance and counsell of the Scots, ceased not in occasions of aduantage to attempt new enterprises against the Englishmen, as time and opportunitie serued: and among other exploits, the castell of Coznewall (an old house built after the ancient

1546. The Keinsgraue returned into France. Monsieur de Ctauges taken prisoner by the Englishmen.

Sir James Willford taken

The castell of Fernthurst wone by the Frenchmen.

The crueltie of the Scots.

The castell of Coznewall wone. A. J. I.

Capteine Cobos.

maner of fortifying) was taken by the Frenchmen, and spoiled of all things worth the bearing auaie. Also capteine Cobos a Frenchman, hauing a band of fiftie light hoisemen Scots seruing vnder him, on a night had a faire hand against a number of English hoisemen, whome he charged soon the sudden, as he saw them out of order, that he easlie discomfited them, and toke more prisoners (whome he brought to Jedworth) than he had persons in his companie to assaile them.

Road made by monsieur de la Chapelle de Biron.

Monsieur de la Chapelle de Biron, was sent forth by monsieur de Desse, with the companie of hoisemen that belonged to monsieur de Etanges then prisoner, and five hundred footmen beside Scots, to make a road into England: which enterpryse he achieved in burning townes and villages, and returned without anie great losse sustained at that time. Within two daies after his returne to Jedworth, monsieur de Desse dislodged from thence, & taking with him foure field peeces, and all his men of war, entered into England, toke the castell of Ffour and burnt it, with ten small villages in the countrie thereabouts, situate within halfe a mile ech of other. There was one tower yet parcell of that castell of Ffour, which was kept by Thomas Har, so that the Frenchmen could not win it, for they had no time to staie long about it, removing that night ouer the water, & incamped there within the Scottish ground.

Thomas Har.

As the Scots and Frenchmen executed these enterprises, they were coasted by certaine light hoisemen: but neuertheless the Frenchmen returned in safetie to Jedworth, hauing sore undamaged the English borderers by that road: insomuch as it was thought, the Scots (which were with them at that road) gained at that time, by pillage and booties to the value of nine thousand crownes. The Englishmen sore grieued, that the Frenchmen lieng thus in Jedworth, should in such wise addresse one enterpryse after an other against them, so greatlie to their annoyance, assembled a powre together at Roxburgh, purposing to haue assailed the Frenchmen in their campe at Jedworth.

Scots gaine by spoile.

But monsieur de Desse hauing warning thereof, departed from thence first to Melrose, and after further off within the countrie, fearing to be constrained to giue battell, which he could not haue done without manifest losse of his feeble armie, hauing not past fiftene hundred footmen, and five hundred hoisemen able to haue done seruice: for such was the miserie, which they had in manner continuallie sustained through want of vittels, and other necessarie helps during the time of their incamping at Jedworth, that what through sickenesse and hurts received in assaults and skirmishes, no small number of them were dead, and manie other so feeble, that they were not able to aid themselves; insomuch that now being got out of danger, they thought themselves happilie escaped.

Themiserable state of the Frenchmen in Scotland.

Shortlie after, in the beginning of the summer, the Englishmen armed five and twentie sail of men of warre, the which arriving at the Basse, nere to the mouth of the Forth, assailed by faire and pleasant words to haue perswaded the keepers of the castell, there standing on the height of a great rocke, to haue yielded the place into their hands. But perceiving their perswasions would not be regarded, they toke their course vp into the Forth, and finding in their waie foure ships of Frenchmen and Scots, seized vpon them as a wished preie: and the morrow next ensuing, at the verie breake of day, they came before Leith, and saluting the towne with canon shot, remained there at anchor ten or twelue daies, in which inuaine while they landed their people at Inskith, and began to fortifie with all diligence. But before the

Inskith fortified by the Englishmen.

place could be put in anie strength, the ships departed from thence backe towards the sea, and left in the Island foure ensignes of Englishmen, and one ensigne of Italians, to defend the pionsers and the Island against the Scots and Frenchmen, if they should attempt to assaile them.

After the English nanie was thus departed, monsieur de Desse, and the quene mother being at Edinburgh, determined with all diligence to imploy all such forces as they might make about the recovering of the Ile, before the fortifications begun by the Englishmen should be brought to anie perfection. Wherevpon, monsieur de la Chapelle de Biron, embarked in the gallie of monsieur de Villegaignon, colued forth to view the maner of the Englishmens dealing within the Ile, which he did in such effectual wise, that approaching within harquebuse shot, he brought knowledge with him not onelie of the state and whole circumstances of their buildings, but also of the perfect number of their ensignes, and the qualitie of the men of warre that serued vnder the same.

At that present also, monsieur de Thermes latelie before arrived at Dunbreton with an hundred men of armes, and two hundred light hoisemen after the manner of France, and one thousand footmen, was come to the quene, busie now to further this enterpryse. She had got together within Leith haue all the booties that belonged to all the creekes & hauens of the Forth: so that on thursdaie after Trinitie Sunday, euerie thing being prepared readie for the purpose, in the morning by the breake of day the quene was come to Leith, to see the imbarcking of the men of warre appointed that day to trie that successe: fortune would send them. There was no diligence wanting, neither among the Scots nor Frenchmen, to bestow themselves abroad, & the comfortable words of the quene greatlie encouraged them thereto, beholding them, and deuising with monsieur de Desse and the other capteins, till they were all set forthward.

Villegaignon with his gallies passed on before to keepe the Englishmen occupied, so as they should not perceiue the Frenchmens meaning: but they discovering the vessels at their setting forth, conceived straightwaies what was intended: and therevpon prepared to keepe the enemies off from landing, so that vpon the Frenchmens approach, they saluted them with arrowes and harquebuse shot verie hotlie: yet at length by fine force the Scots and Frenchmen got on land, and drove the Englishmen and Italians backe from the sea strand vp to the higher ground, where they stood at defense on a plumpe together, doing their best to defend the place against the assailants.

But finallie, their generall named Cotton, being slain with George Applebie esquire, a capteine of an ensigne of footmen sent forth of Derbyshire, and one Gaspar Rhoni, that was capteine of the Italians, beside diuers other gentlemen, and the most principall men of warre and souldiers among them: the residue were constrained to retire vnto a corner or point of the Island, where they were taken without further resistance, although before they had made verie stout defense, hurt and slaine diuerse Scots and Frenchmen, both at their landing, and also after they were entered on land. Among other, monsieur de la Chapelle de Biron was stricken through the hand with an harquebuse shot, and his burgonet beaten so into his head, that his friends that were about him, were faine to conueie him into one of the gallies to be doctored of his hurts by a surgian. Also a gentleman named Desboies, which bare the said monsieur de la Chapelle his colonell ensigne, was slain with a pike by the hands of the forenamed Cotton the English generall.

La Chapelle de Biron.

The diligence of the Scottish quene.

The forborne- nesse of the souldiers.

Inskith assaulted by the Frenchmen.

Capteine Cotton generall of Inskith and others slain.

Monsieur de la Chapelle hurt.

Thus

English men
were by the
Frenchmen.

monieur de
Dessé returned
into France.

monieur de
Thermes
succeeded in
his place.

first built
at Berwick
in.

The earle of
Hutland.

The French-
men in danger
to have bene
distressed.

Thus was Inskith recovered out of the English-
mens hands, after it had bene in their possession by
the space of firtene daies, the more to the high con-
tentation of monieur de Dessé, for that at the same
time he stood upon his discharge and returne into
France, being appointed to surrender by his place
to monieur de Thermes, latelie before arrived (as
ye have heard) with commission to receive the same.
So that monieur de Dessé, to end his charge with
the glorie of this atchieved enterpryse, esteemed it
much to stand with his honor: and no doubt with the
swelling humors of the glorie thence redounding he
was blown up; as in cases of victorie it cometh
to pass in them that make a good hand: whereas
the vanquished (God wot) are contrarie qualified.

Shortlie after, he returned into France with the
gallies, and monieur de Thermes succeeded in his
place for the generall conduct of the French armie in
Scotland. Who by the advise of the gouvernor, and
other of the Scottish lords, determined with a siege
volant to keepe the Englishmen in Haddington from
bittels and all other reliefe. First therefore, after
that Dessé was departed towards France, mon-
sieur de Thermes with his Frenchmen and some
Scots incamped at Aberlathie, where they began the
foundation of a fort, so to impeach the Englishmen
from setting on land anie bittels there, to be conveyed
from thence to Haddington, as before they had done.

In this meane time, the Englishmen had increa-
sed their numbers of Almaines, and other stran-
gers, and not onelie furnished their forts with new
supplies of men; but also had an armie in the fields
which lay most an end at Dungalas, and one while
besieged Hume castell. But after they saw them-
selves disappointed of the meane, whereby they sup-
posed to have recovered it, they raised from thence,
and spoiled the most part of Lindsdale and other the
marches thereabout; in reuenge (as they alleged) of
the disloyaltie and breach of promise proued in the al-
lured Scots. Generall of this armie was the earle
of Rutland, lieutenant at that present of the north
partes, a noble man, right valiant, wise, well aduised,
and staied in his dealings, verie honorable and cour-
teous in all his demeanour.

He was accompanied with capitains of good esti-
mation and approved prowesse, as sir Richard Spa-
ners, sir Francis Leake, sir John Sauage, sir Tho-
mas Wolcott, sir Oswald Wolstrop, & others. He
so behaved himselfe in that dangerous time of the
uprores and rebellions of the commons, through the
more part of the realme of England; that although
the appointed forces against Scotland were staied,
and turned to the suppression of the rebels, to the in-
couragement (no doubt) both of Scots and French-
men in Scotland, yet they were so fronted and kept
in awe by that armie vnder the earle of Rutland, that
they rather lost than gained in this season at the
Englishmens hands.

At one time the same armie, vnder the conduct of
the said earle, passing forth with a conuie of bittels
vnto Haddington, came so suddenlie vpon the
Frenchmen where they laie in campe, that whether
through default of their scouts, or other negligence
used by them, or through the great diligence and pro-
vident forwarde theiued by the Englishmen, the
Frenchmen were in such hazard to have bene utter-
lie distressed, that if the Englishmen had not doub-
ted more, than by ante was thought needfull, they
might have overthrowen, taken, & slaine the French-
men handsmoth (as was supposed) at their pleasure.
But the Englishmen even at their first coming in
sight of them (as it stood with the reason of warre,
sich by the adventuring rashlie oftentimes in such
cases to late repentance easilie insueth) staied, the

better to conceine of that which they had to doe. Where-
by the Frenchmen had leasure to march their waies
a maine pace, till they were got out of danger: for
after they once beheld all the troops of the English
horsemen almost at their elbowes, and here with
the battell of the Almaines suddenlie appearing on
the hill top readie to come downe vpon them, it was
no need to bid them packe awaie.

The French-
men retire.

The Scottish light horsemen coming on the
backe of the English armie, perceived where the Al-
maines (to make them readie to giue battell) had
throwen off their clothes, and left the same (with all
their baggage and stufte which they had about them)
in keeping of none but of their women and boies:
whereupon those Scottish horsemen, not minding to
suffer such a pize to escape their hands, came gallo-
ping in, and took all the best stufte they could lay
hold vpon, and returned in safetie, before anie eni-
mie could come backe to the rescue. The Almaines
were in no small chafe for the losse of their garments
and other necessaries; but there was no helpe then
to seeke remedie in that behalfe: for the Scots were
withdrawen and got quite out of danger.

The baggage
of the English
Almaines
spoiled by the
Scottish horse
men.

The English armie, after that the Frenchmen
were thus fled and gone, passed forth to Haddington,
with their cariages laden with bittels, to the great
comfort of them within that forresse, standing in
great necessitie before this conuie came. This
summer also, and a little before the bittelling thus of
Haddington, vpon knowledge had that Julian Ko-
micro with his band of Spaniards, whereof he was
capitaine, serving the king of England, was lodged
in Coldingham, six miles distant from Hertwike:
certeine bands of Almaines and Frenchmen came
thither vpon the sudden, and surprizing the Spani-
ards before they were aware of their approach, set vpon
them in their lodgings, took, and slue in maner
the whole number of them.

Haddington
bittelled.

Julian Ko-
micro killed
by the
English.

Things passing in this wise in Scotland in the
summer of this yeare 1549, the Englishmen were
not onelie in the meane time sore troubled with com-
motions raised by the commons of that realme; but
also with the warres which the French king made a-
gainst them, within the countrie of Wallognois, so
that they had not meanes to imploie their forces a-
gainst Scotland as they had determined to have
done; as partlie before, and more largelie in the hi-
storie of England is mentioned. By reason whereof,
anon after Michaelmas they gaue over the keeping
of Haddington, and raising their fortifications there,
they returned into England to the great reioicing
of Louthian, to whom that towne had giuent occa-
sion of great troubles and calamities. Vpon the gi-
uing over thus of Haddington, the gouvernor and the
queene Dowager were aduanced, in hope to reco-
uer againe all that the Englishmen held within the
bounds of Scotland.

1549.

But first it was thought good to assaie the twin-
ning of Broughtie crag; for it sounded (as was
thought) greatlie to the diminishing of the estima-
tion, aswell of the Scots as Frenchmen, that the
English should keepe so far within the realme,
in despiight of their whole puissance. Whereupon mon-
sieur de Thermes about Candlemasse, having all
things in a readinesse for the siege, came thither, and
did so much, what with shot of canon to make bat-
terie, and other meanes of inforcements, that gi-
uing the assault both with Scots and Frenchmen,
they entred the fort the twentieth of Februarie by
fine force, so that all those within were either taken
or slaine. Whereupon those English also that kept
the castell, rendered by the same without further resi-
stance, amongst other prisoners: sir John Luttrell
the capitaine was one.

Haddington
taken and left
by the Eng-
lishmen.

1550.

Broughtie
crag won by
the French-
men.

A treatie for
peace.

Sir Hugh
Willoughbie.

A peace con-
cluded.

The names of
the commis-
sioners ap-
pointed to
treat of peace.

Fr. Thin.

The articles
of the peace.

Monsieur de
Mourret.

The French-
men returne
home.

The mar-
quesse de
Maire.

The death of
the first duke
of Guise.

In this meane time there were certeine commis-
sioners appointed betwixt the two kings of Eng-
land and France to commune of a peace: but be-
cause they continued long in their treatie per they
could agree, the Scots and Frenchmen surceased
not in occasions of advantage to pursue the warre,
so that comming before Lowder they besieged that
fortresse, & skirmishing with the Englishmen that
issued forth, to encounter them, drove them in at the
gates with some losse on either part. And this done,
the French held them within so straitlie besieged,
that if peace had not bene the sooner concluded, Sir
Hugh Willoughbie captaine of that fort must needs
haue perished through lacke of shot, & other necessarie
things serving for defence; which were spent, so that
they were constrained to vse their powder bestell in
stead of bullets. But as it fortun'd, a peace was ac-
corded, passed, and confirmed, that verie selfe time
betwixt the two kings of England and France,
through the diligent and orderlie trauell of the com-
missioners appointed to deale therein, whose names
insue.

First for the king of England, the right honora-
ble John earle of Bedford, knight of the garter,
and lord priue seale; William Paget lord of Beaufort
desert, knight also of the garter; Sir William Peter
knight, chiefe secretarie to the said king; Sir John
Halon knight, secretarie to him for the French
tong. For the French king were appointed Francis
de Montmorency, lord of Rochfort, knight of the
order of saint Michael, and lieutenant for the same
king of Picardie, in absence of monsieur de Man-
digne; Gasper de Colignie, lord of Chastillon,
knight also of the order, and captaine generall of the
footmen of France, and the said kings lieutenant
generall in the countie of Bullogne; Andreu Guil-
lard lord Hostier, knight also of the order, and one
of the same kings priue counsell; and Guillaume
Bouchetell lord of Sasse, knight likewise of the
order, & secretarie of the estate of the finances. [And
for the Scots (as saith Lesleus, lib. 10. pag. 506.)
D. Painter bishop of Ross.]

Among other articles comprised in this peace,
it was covenanted, that all such forts, castles, and
places as the Englishmen held in anie part within
the Scottish dominions, should be deliuered and re-
stored to the Scots; and that the forts of Dun-
glas, Korburch, and Alimouth, which the Englishmen had
built and raised out of the ground, should be rased
and thowen downe, to avoid all occasions of new
controuerfies that might grow by reason of keeping
or defending the same: so as the peace now conclu-
ded, might in all points be firmelie and truelie kept
and obserued, as well betwixt England and Scot-
land, as England and France, and betwixt all and
euerie the subjects of the same realmes, both by sea
and land. Monsieur de Mourret was sent into Scot-
land with the copie of this peace, by whose means it
was proclaimed anon after Easter about the begin-
ning of Aprill, and euerie thing vsed and ordered ac-
cording to the articles of the agreement concluded.

In Maie the Frenchmen and Almaines were im-
barked at Leith in sixtē French ships, and cer-
taine Scottish ships, and departed from thence in-
to France. A few there were, as Pigropeleice and
Saint Jalseise, captaines of light horsemen, with o-
thers that passed through England, and so home into
their countie. Moreover the marquesse de Spaine,
after duke Daumals comming ouer into England
about the same time for an hostage, passed after-
wards through the realme into Scotland, to visit his
sister quene Dowager, and shortly after returned.
They mourned both for the death of their father
Cland de Lorraine, the first duke of Guise, who de-

ceased the eighteenth of Aprill this present yeare
1550.

Now when the French departed out of Scot-
land, there were manie Scots appointed vnto them;
partlie, to defend them from pirats, if they should of-
fer them anie iniurie in the streit of the British
sea, and partlie for honours cause to bring them on
their iournie into France. By whose departure
Scotland was frelie deliuered from all forren sol-
diers, except certeine Frenchmen, who remained
still in the countie; because they had the Ile of In-
keth and the castell of Dunbar committed to their
charge, which afterwards they did most faithfullie
discharge. Monsieur de Thermes, Chappellie, and
diuerse other captaines of France, remained also in
Scotland (after that the others were imbarked to be
gone into France) for pleasures cause, and to see the
countie; who (trauelling ouer Scotland, and behol-
ding the cities, searching the castles, and marking
the bulwarks of defence) did constantlie affirme,
that in the whole world they neuer saw forts and
townes more pleasantlie placed, or more naturallie
defended. In seeing thereof they consumed the
time with great pleasure, vntill the moneth of
December, in which they all went into France
with the quene Dowager.

Thus, as there was peace (by the departing of the
French) with forren nations, which continued three
yeares: so was there within the walls and king-
dome warre and dissention amongst the Scots;
which was most perillous and troublesome. For
they which were the chiefe rulers (as the gouerno-
r and his brother the archbishop of saint Andrews
and others) did vse all things with extreme cruel-
tie & couetousnesse. For the archbishop, being giuen
to all libertie, followed by late his pleasures in all
things, as though it had bene permitted vnto him.
For first, as a pefage of his following tyrannie, he
permitted the slaughter of William Cheyrdon to
go unpunished, the same William being slaine in
the gouernoys house (if not within his owne sight)
by Robert Semple: next followed the death of
John Maluill an old man of Fife; who next vnto
the gouernoys was most accounted of by him, as chie-
fest of his familiars. This John had his letters
(which he wrote to an Englishman, to whom he did
commend a captaine his friend) intercepted. In
which, although there were not anie suspicion of anie
fault, yet was the author of them punished with the
losse of his head. Whose patrimonie made his death
seeme the more vile; because the same was giuen to
the yonger sonne of the gouernoys. The hurts of these
wicked parts did pertaine to few, the enimie there-
of to manie, and the example vniuersallie to all. For
by reason of this vnskillfull gouernement of the
kingdome, and the slouth of his life, which offended
the common people; the gouernoys began to be had
in contempt almost of all men.]

In September following, the quene Dowager
accompanied with the earls of Huntley, Castils,
Marshall, Southerland, and diuerse other of the
Scottish nobilitie toke the sea, and sailing to France
landed at Diepe: she was conueied thither by the
prieor of Capoa, & Leon Strozze, sent and appoy-
ted with six gallies to haue the conduction of hir.
From Diepe she remoued to Rone, where the king
then laie, of whom she was right courteous recei-
ued, and had such attendance and seruice done vnto
hir, during the time of hir tariance there, as stood
with the dignitie of hir person, and was answerable
to the minds and expectations of hir traine; to the
high praise likewise of the king and his court in that
behalf.

The causes of the quene Dowagers going into
France

Fr. Thin.
Lesleus lib. 10.
pag. 507.

Ruchanan
lib. 15.

The quene
Dowager sail-
eth into
France.

Buchanan.
lib. 15.
Lefleus lib. 10.
pag. 508.

France were, that now having disposed all things at home in Scotland, he might renew the old league in France, the might see his daughter and his other friends; and procure the gouvernement of the realme to his selfe. For the ambitious and subtil woman did thinke in his mind, that the gouernor by his euill demeanour would some be put out of his office, and that she might easilie find means to be substituted in his place. But before his shipping into France, and whilest they were preparing, the earle of Huntley commanded William Spakintofche (chiefe of the familie of the Glenchattens, and his followers) to be apprehended (for a conspiracie secretly begun against him, whilest he was the kings deputie in those north parts) and from thence (being first deppriued of all his goods) caried him to Strachbolgie, where he was beheaded. Which fact (greatlie offending the minds of the earle of Castles, and others that fauored the Spakintofche) did so stir them against Huntley, that a commotion and tumult had bene raised by them, vntill the wisdom of the quene had appeased the furie of their minds.

1551. Lefleus.
lib. 10 pag. 508.

For although the quene certeine yeares after, had vndone the sentence of proscription for the goods of Spakintofche (restoring the same with the possessions and inheritances vnto the sonne of Spakintofche) and thereby had seemed to cut awaie the cause of dissention betwene Huntley and them: yet the kindred and friends of the Glenchattens (not suffering so great an iniurie to their familie to go vnreueneged) did secretly (but eagerlie) pursue the same with great contention of mind. Wherefore entering the castell of Pet by deceipt, they apprehended Lanchlane Spakintofche, and (condemning all his followers to banishment) did cruellie kill him (as the betraior of the head of his owne familie) because they supposed, that he ministered and blew the cole that fired Huntley, to make the said William Spakintofche out of the waie.

Lanchlane
Spakintofche
apprehended.

Lefleus, lib. 10.
pag. 509.

A little before which, the maister of Cresskine, and Henrie Senclere deane of Glasgou were sent into England; who at London did aneto confirme the peace concluded before with the English; from whence they passed into Flanders, to make the like league with the low countries, which they did receive, to the great reioysing of both nations; although in the beginning of the treatie there grew great and contentious questions for the restitution of the ships of Flanders and Holland (whereof the Scots had taken manie in the warres) notwithstanding that the Scots had alleged, that they did not offer anie violence to those of the low countries, before that they (by the perswasion of the English) had offered wrong to the Scots, in deteining their ships and merchandize.

Thus much digressed from the quene Dowagers going into France, whereunto afresh to direct our pen, we say; that being at Rone, the king did there openlie make shew of his welcome vnto him by diuerse arguments. Amongst which, this was not the least: that (besides other shewes, honorable triumphs, & manie courties shewed to the Scots) calling a chapter of the knights of the order of saint Michaell, he admitted the earle of Huntley and other chiefe lords of Scotland deere to the quene, and fauored by him, into the said order. Which honors and pleasures seemed the more augmented, in that the yong quene of Scots was there present, adorned with such singular beautie, as was not easilie to be spoken, by the iudgement of Lefleus. After that they had thus spent some time in delights of courtelie, to feed the mind and eye, the king of France, the two quenes of Scotland, and the other nobles, departed from thence to Paris; where they were with great triumph of

the citizens most iustlie receiued. At what time againe, the French king shewed such humanitie to Huntley, and the other Scots; that he seemed for euer most firmelie to bind them vnto him. After that they spent some daies there at Paris, the king with that companie remoued to Blesics; where he remained all the winter.

Now the quene Dowager, thinking the time and place fit for the erecting of the cause of his coming into France, and vying therein the aduise of the duke of Guise, and the cardinall of Lozeine (his brethren) openeth the same vnto the French king, shewing that amongst others, the chiefe cause to take that iourne, was to requite his opinion, touching the gouernement of the kingdome of Scotland: and to know, if it pleased him that the helme of the same kingdome should be committed to his rule. Which if he misliked, or deemed the contrarie; that yet he would wholie rest on his determination. The which matter pleased well the king, but yet with this promise; if the gouernor without anie tumult or raising of quarrels would giue it ouer.

Lefleus, lib. 10.
pag. 510.

Whereupon the quene, to bring euerie thing about as she desired, did perswade the king to confirme the dukedome of Chatelerault in France, vnto the gouernor, before granted to him and to his heires; & to make his eldest sonne erle of Arraine chiefe capteine of the bands of Scots in France. And further, to giue the earledome of Arraie to the earle of Huntley (kinsman to the gouernor) and to his heires; the earledome of Nothele to his sonne, which had married the kinsman of the said gouernor; the whole earledome of Angus, to the earle thereof; and the earledome of Moray, to the sonne of George Dowglas. All which he should procure likewise to be confirmed by such, as should be gouernors of the yong quene. These things now done, the French king carefullie receiued the yong quene of Scots into his protection; vntill she should come vnto more sufficient yeeres, able to confirme all these gifts; the which if she refused then to do, the French king wold then bestow as large possessions on them in France.

Buchanan,
lib. 16.
Lefleus, lib. 10.
pag. 410.

In the meane time the gouernor had sent Carnegie knight and senator into France, who should in the name of the Scots giue great thanks to the king for the aid which they receiued out of France, against the Englishmen. After this the French king did liberallie open the determination of the quene mother of Scotland to the bishop of Rosse (then ambassador for the Scots in France) to Robert Carnegie, and to Catwin Hamilton (to whom, as was said, the abbey of Valluin was giuen in commendam) to the end that the same which was at the first secretly consulted betwene the king of France & the quene Dowager, might now openlie be considered among the Scots which were in France: declaring further, that he desired nothing more, than that the quene mother should susteine the parts and place of the quene his daughter, in the administration and gouernement of Scotland, with the same mostlie stood with reason and equitie; and that he (the better to win the gouernor to yield thereunto) had giuen the gouernor the dukedome of Chatelerault, to his sonne the captainship of all the Scots in France, and manie other liberall benefits to manie other of his kinsmen.

And to the end that no deceipt might be supposed to be hidden vnder this liberalitie, the French king willed the ambassador to take possession of all these things in the dukes name. Robert Carnegie having his errand, returned into Scotland; & shortly after, the bishop of Rosse was appointed ambassador, who at length with much adoe did wying from the gouernor, a consent to part from his authoritie,

h. h.

and to applie himselfe to the will of the French king: which thus in the end obtained, the bishop of Koller goeth againe into France, to aduertise the king what he had done. Whereupon the king considering his painfull & faithfull seruice, did reward him with the abbey of Labeie in France.

Lesleus lib. 10.
pag. 511.

Blots.

Whilest these things were in doing, Edward the first, king of England, did send the marquise of Northampton, & other of the nobler sort of ambassadoers to Henrie the second, king of France, then sojourning at Blesies, to moue him to giue his daughter in marriage to the king of England. At what time there were manie martiall games and pastimes shewed before the king, in which the English ioining the Scots with them as companions of their sports, did beare a part, and waue the garland (from the others) to their singular commendation. The summer next following, the French king accompanied with the quene mother of Scotland and other of the nobilitie, did with great pompe enter Turon, Anisot, Pans, and other cities of Britaine, which he had not before sene since he attained the crowne. After certaine moneths consumed in those iournies, he returned to founteinbleu.

Lesleus lib. 10.
pag. 512.

But the quene Dowager of Scotland, taking hir courteous leaue and farwell of the French king, hir daughter, & of other the nobilitie, departed from the court, and with easie iournies came to Jamieilie: where remaining a certaine time, she had the pleasant companie of hir mother the duchesse of Guise, and hir other friends to their great ioy: but that she shewed a certaine grieffe (for hir father lately deceased) which somewhat diminished the sweet pleasure of that meeting. Now when the quene Dowager had remained almost 12 moneths or more in France, honorable intertained, bountifullie feasted, louinglie saluted by hir friends and kindred, and having obtained a willing grant of the effects of hir request, the Scots doe bige hir to hasten hir returne into Scotland, preparing at Paris all things necessarie thereunto.

Lesleus lib. 10.
pag. 512.

Wherefore departing thence, and comming againe to Kone, the quene mother moued and persuaded the nobilitie about the taking of hir iourne through England into Scotland. By occasion whereof, losing their ships from Dewport, they passe the seas, and happilie landed at Portesmouth, a famous port of England. The knowledge of which arrivall comming to king Edward the first, he presentlie sent thither the earle of Southampton, and the lord William Howard to intertaine hir: who receiued hir with singular ioy and courtesie, and conueied hir through Hamphire, Suffer, and Surreie (three prouinces of England) to Hampton court, where the king as then remained; from whence (after that she had bene there most honorable receiued) she came along the riuer of Thames to London, and landed at Poules wharfe in the after none, and from thence rode to the bishop of Londons palace by Poules, and there lodged.

Hir receiuing
at the court.

The fourth of Nouember, she rode in hir chariot to the kings palace of the Whitehall, accompanied with the ladie Margaret Dowglas, the three dutchesses, of Suffolke, Richmund, and Northumberland, and diuerse other great ladies and gentlewomen, both Scottish and English. At the court gate the dukes of Northumberland, and Suffolke, and the lord tresurore were readie to receiue hir. And at hir entering into the hall, the king stood in the vpper end thereof, and the erle of Warwicke holding the sword before him. She at hir approaching to him, kneeled downe, and he courteously toke hir vp, and kissed hir; and taking hir by the hand, led hir vp into his owne chamber of presence, & after into the quenes

chamber of presence, where he kissed all the ladies of Scotland, and so departed for a while.

She dined on the quenes side that day with the king, his seruice and hirs comming both together; the kings being placed on the right hand of the table, and hirs on the left. What plentie of all maner of costlie meates and drinks there was, and what rich furniture of plate and all other things was shewed to set forth the feast, it were superfluous to write. All the ladies both of England and Scotland dined in the quenes great chamber. After dinner the king shewed hir his gallerie and gardens, with all other commodities of the place. And about foure of the clocke, he brought hir downe againe by the hand into the hall, where he first receiued hir, and there kissing hir, he toke hir leaue, & returned to the bishops palace from whence she came.

* And here I must not forget that Lesleus hath set downe in this place for the defense of his people, in not deliuering the yong quene of Scots to the English, to haue entered the marriage bed of king Edward the first. Whose reasons although they may (the first ground of the warre considered, with the consent of the Scots parlement to that marriage, and the willingnesse of the English to haue caused them to performe their promise without battell) be well answered, as matters that not berie greatlie defend the cause: yet I will not anie way say anie thing of him (being a man estranged from vs in religion, but learned, wise, of great experience, a faithful seruant to his mistresse, and a graue bishop of Koller) but set them downe plainelie as he writteth them, leauing the same to the iudgement of others, sith I meane not in anie thing to derogate from them, or arrogate vnto our selues more than is due. Thus therefore he writteth.

Fr. Thin.

When the quene (saith he) of Scots was come to London, the king of England sheweth vnto hir his treasure, openeth the monuments, laith abroad the antiquities of the kingdome, and laboured by manie other such kind of means, that he might prepare himselfe a passage (with the open notes of courtesie) to obtaine the good will of the quene. For he after persuaded hir with manie speeches, that she shuld giue hir daughter vnto him, as it was before decreed by the Scottish nobilitie: which he proueth by manie arguments to be most beneficiall vnto both nations. When on the contrarie part (if she were giuen vnto the French kings sonne) it should not be profitable either to the Scots, which should giue; or the French, which should receiue hir to wife. Wherewithall adding this vnto it, that there should alwaies be continuall hatred, and deadlie enimitie betwene him and that person which should marrie hir.

Lesleus lib. 10.
pag. 513.

Wherevnto the quene both presentlie and wisely answered, that the cause of hir daughters marriage to be solemnized with the French, was onlie by reason of the protectour of England, which so bitterlie pursued the Scots with such earnest warre as then was made against them. For it was vnaduisable done of him, to seeke to compell by force of battell a woman, which is to be allured to the marriage bed with faire promises and flattering speeches. Wherevnto she ioined, that the Scots were so beementlie pressed by him, that they were enforced to craue aid from the French: for the more speedie & easie obtaining whereof, they were bigged to leaue the yong quene of Scots in France for a pledge. Wherefore she greatly grieued that the matter was so fast knit by the necessitie of time, otherwise than the Englishmen would haue had it. But yet, she would labour the French king by hir letters and messengers, with all the diligence that she might, to see if hir truell and furtherance could doe anie thing with him therein.

therein. Thus much Lesleus, and so againe to the matter.)

The first of Nouember, the quene Dowager departed from London toward Scotland, riding from Poules through the citie, passing south at Bishops gate. The duke of Northumberland, the erle of Penbroke, and the lord treasurer brought hir to Shordich church, and there toke their leaue of hir. The duke of Northumberland had an hundred men after him with iuelins, whereof fourtie were gentlemen clad in blacke velvet cotes garded with white, & hats of blacke velvet with white feathers, and chains of gold about their necks. The erle of Penbroke had six score men well appointed also, with blacke iuelins and hats with feathers, and the lord treasurer had an hundred gentlemen and yeomen with iuelins in like manner, well apparelled: which three companies of horsemen furnished the streets on either side, from the crosse in Cheape, to Birchen lane end, as the passed that waie.

Fr. Thin.

The shiriffes of London had the conduction of hir to Waltham towne end, where she lodged that night: and in euerie shire through which she passed, the shiriffe, with the gentlemen of the same shire, receiued hir, and gaue their attendance on hir, till she came to enter into the next shire, where the shiriffe and gentlemen there receiued hir: and that order was obserued till she came to the borders of Scotland, and all hir charges for meat and drinks, as well for hir selfe, and whole traine, as also the provision for their horses, was bozne and allowed by the king. Besides which, (as saith the same Lesleus) Richard Shelleie, now maister of the knights of Malta in England, and Edward Dubleie baron, were appointed to attend on hir all the waie through England, from London to Edinburgh, where she was honorablie receiued by the earle Bothwell, and the lord Hume. The earle of Huntleie, and diuerse other of the Scottish lords returned home by sea, the said earle landing at Montrose, about the latter end of December.

Fr. Thin.
Lesleus lib. 10.
pag. 513.

After that the quene was arriued in Scotland, she labored euerie waie to stop all occasion of dissention; and that these brailes which were risen amongest the nobilitie in the time of the warres, and were not yet fullie quenched, might grow no further, to bring the common wealth (alreadie much impaired) into new troubles. Wherefore, by the aduise of the gouernor, of the earles of Huntleie, Angus, and Argile, and by the quenes trauell, the controuersies moued about the archbishoprikes of saint Andrews and Glasgow, the bishoprikes of Dunkeld and Brechin, the abbeies of Aberbrothie, Inchmahvie, and other benefices, were ended: by bestowing some of them upon noble mens children, and some upon such persons as worthilie deserued them.)

The archbishop of Arma-
thane.

1551.

Doctor Wanthop, whome Lesleus lib. 10. pag. 514. calleth Robert Warhope, a Scottishman bozne, archbishop of Armachane, so nominated by pope Paule the third, and after created *Legatus à latere* by Julius the third, deceased this yeere in Paris, the tenth of Nouember. This man was blind from his infancy, but yet gaue himselfe so to studie, that he was first made doctor of diuinitie in the vniuersitie of Paris, and after attained to such estimation in the court of Rome, that he was by the foresaid popes aduanced (as before ye haue heard.) So that it is to be presumed, that the sufficiencie of his learning, (whereunto he must needs aspire altogether by the eare) (sith he was quite deprived of the benefit of sight) coupled with other good qualities of mind, were means to preferre him first into the popes fauour, and then to promotion of his bestowing.

1552.

This yeere in the moneth of June, the quene Dowager, and the gouernor, went into the north parts of

Scotland: and at Inuernes, Elgin, Bamf, Aberdeen, and Perth, the gouernor sat in iustice for redresse of wrongs, and administration of righteous lawes and orders. And after wards they repaired to the west parts, and sat likewise in iustice at Dunfreis, Glasgowe, Lanricke, and in other places of that countrie, where diuerse were put to their fines for transgressing the lawes, but few or none touched by corporal punishment. Which was but a slender course taken in reforming enormities, and little better than impunity; though in leuieng of the fines (perhaps) a proportion were vsed: for by that meanes manie an offense was redeemed by monie, and iustice was little better than bought and sold, as at a publike mart.

Fr. Thin.
Lesleus lib. 10.
pag. 515.

After this, they returned to Edinburgh, where all things requisite for the establishing of iustice were confirmed by the counsell of the nobilitie, and of the wise senators. Whereupon, when nothing seemed to want for the settling of a perfect peace through all the realme, but this, that certeine of the inhabitants of the east limits (accustomed to spoiles) did by dunieng booties of cattell from the borders of England, seeme to offer new occasion of warre. At this time, the gouernor goeth to Jedworth, and removed such magistrats as had negligentlie gouerned their owne prouince, or dispatched the generall affaires of the kingdome: where taking pledges of euerie familie, he made them after that time in better quiet. Whereupon a long time following, there was a mutuall peace betwene England and Scotland. About which time also, the protestants religion making breach into the doctrine of the Romans, there was a prouinciall councill kept at Withquoe, where the Calvinists with their doctrine were condemned and accursed; and all things decreed in the councill of Trent vnder Paule the third, were established, with manie other needfull lawes made to purge the corrupt manners of the clergie.

In which meane time, David Painter or Painter (for I find both written) being a man of great learning, and famous by great experience, hauing faithfully consumed seven yeeres in France, in the seruice of an ambassador legier, came out of France to Jedworth: where, when he had declared to the gouernor (in the assemblie of the nobilitie) the reason, order, and meane which he vsed in accomplishing of his office; he was greatlie commended of all men. And for that he had so diligentlie, wiselie, & trustilie performed that great charge, he was with great solemnitie consecrated bishop of Ross, in the presence of that assemblie. At which time also, the gouernor did dub into the order of knight hood certeine borderers, who had deserued well of the common wealth, to the end that their vertue adorned with such honorable recompense, might be more enlarged toward the care of their countrie. Amongest which persons so aduanced, these were the chiefe: Cessford and Ferniburgh, Andrew Bar of Littledein, Conclinknols, Greinherdie, Balclenche, with manie other ballant men.)

1552.

Lesleus lib. 10.
pag. 516.

In this toyme (wherein the gouernor was thus the iustice) the quene secretlie trauelled with the lords, both spirituall and temporell, to haue their consents to be regent of Scotland, immediatlie after hir daughter the quene came to sufficient yeeres, and that the time of hir tutorship were accomplished, or sooner; if the lawes of the realme would so permit. And to assure hir selfe of their good wils in this behalf, she contracted sundrie priue bands with them, making large promises of great rewards vnto euerie of them. To conclude, this matter was so handled by hir and others, to whome she committed the doings therein, that in the yeere following, the gouernor agreed to surrender by the gouernance into hir

The quene
another sebeth
to be gouernor

1552. Lesleus
1553.
The gouernor
ment is relig-

hir

and bnto the
quene.

hir hands, hir daughter the yong quene being not yet full twelue yeres of age.

The gouernour was promised not onelie a full discharge and a *quyetus est* of all his dowings, as well for receipt of monie, ieiuels, & other things, during the time of his gouernement, but also a confirmation of the heritable gift of the dukedome of Chateleault: likewise an other confirmation of all gifts and restitutions by him made, during the time he had exercised the office of gouernour. And forthwith the quene Dowager sent into France, to get all these things dispatched, with such assurances of writings vnder hands and seales, as was expedient, and to be sent home into Scotland for his securitie in all things.

* But before the gouernour had consented to the quenes demand, there was great contention about the matter: for she well vnderstood that he would not depart with his office, before the time that the yong quene had attained to the age prescribed for hir full yeres. For it is ordeined by the law of the kingdom, that the king shall not remaine anie longer vnder tutours, than to the age of foureteene; & the quene (as it is in other women) at the yeres of 12, at which times they may appoint procurators, which shall haue the gouernement of the kingdom vntill their full age. For which cause, the yong quene chose amongst other (as after shall more appere) the quene Dowager to be one: whereupon, the quene Dowager challenged the gouernement vnto hir selfe, for that hir daughter was certeine moneths aboue those yeres of twelue. Against which the gouernour did stoutly contend, constantlie affirming that the yong quene did not exceed the age of eleuen yeres.

Whereupon the quene, to take from the gouernour all starting-holes and other shifts, both byge the custome of that kingdom, and the obseruation of those lawes to be, that they must reckon the yere in which the Scottish king or quene is yet vnborne in their mothers bellie, to be part of that number of twelue or foureteene; in which they may appoint gouernours to rule vnder them. Which the gouernour perhaps did seeme to confesse for the king, but that the same was true for a quene it did not appere; sith it seemeth to be wrought by Gods high prouidence, that the kingdom of Scotland was alwaies heretofore by manie ages gouerned by kings, and that a woman did neuer before this time (especiallie one within age) challenge that kingdom vnto them, although the male line (as appered from the Buses to the Stewards) descended from the women, haue sometime possessed the sterne of Scotland.

But in the end, saie or do what he could, the gouernour did surrender his place (as after shall more plainelie appere) vntill which time we will pursue the orderlie course of things done in this place: which is, that whilist the gouernour & the quene mother were in this discord for the regentship of the realme, manie seditious persons (taking occasion thereby with hope to scape vnpunished) did renew the memorie of old injuries. For hereupon it happened, that manie of the familie of the Iars did (at Edinburgh) with great boldnesse vtterlie slay Balcleuche the knight. Besides which, the yonger sonne of the lord Ruthwen or Hewen, did publikelie thrust through and slea John Chartrusse a noble and a baliant yong man, for deadlie hatred (as was thought) betwene those two families. Yet it was spied abroad, that the chiefest cause why Ruthwen did kill Chartrusse, was for that Ruthwen (being called into sute of law by the other) distrusting his cause, and supposing that it would passe against him by iudgement, had none other remedie to relieue the matter, than that vertie day to kill Chartrusse. Which matter was the occasion of making this law, that whosoener with force or

armes did either pursue or abate, recover or lose in anie action, should not onelie be punished for the rashnesse of the fact, but also should haue the matter forthwith (euen in that moment of time) iudged against him.]

This yere, the first of Iulie, Edward the first of that name, king of England, departed this life, after whom succeeded his sister Marie, eldest daughter to King Henrie the eight. [Touching whose regiments, sith this historie requireth matter appropriate vnto it selfe, we will saie little in this place, remitting the readers to the conuenient course of time wherein they flourish and vade. Onelie this is worthy the noting, that the realme of England was not so much in hir time afflicted with exquisite troubles of barbarous persecutors, to the diminishing of Gods seruants, and the increasing of Satans synagog, as it was like to haue triumphed vnder the glorious title of the victorious gospell, if God had not (for the vnboschinelle of the English people) taken the yong king alwaie. For the prosperous beginning of his gouernement foretold an happie proceeding, and a blessed ending. But to returne to Scotland.]

* About this time, Forzman Lelle, who (as you heard before) had fled for the death of the cardinall Beton bishop of saint Andrews into France (where he then was imprisoned) being now set at libertie, did pvtillie conueie himselfe into Scotland. Which vnderstand of the gouernour, he fined all those that had receiued him into their house, & compelled Forzman to flee to Denmarke, for feare that (if he were taken) he should suffer extreme punishment. But when he knew that there was no place of safetie for him in that countrie, wandering ouer manie prouinces, he came at last into England, in the reigne of Edward the first; of whome, with the rest of his companions, he was most courteously receiued, with yerelie pensions out of the erchebisher or common tresurie assigned vnto them for their maintenance, according to their estates.

But after that king Edward was departed the world, they all were also commanded to depart the realme, to whome earnestlie byging that their pensions might be paid to them in an other place where they should remaine: the duke of Forfolke did publikelie say in the counsell, that it seemed not iustice, that a catholike prince should paie anie pensions to such as had murdered a catholike cardinall. With which answer the said Forzman was almost stricken dead, and being then wearied with the griefe of his erile, went againe into France, and there by king Henrie (by the meanes of the baron Bunsone, whom this Lelle had sent before to request the same) he was made capteine of the Scottish light horsemen in France. This man did so baliantlie, worthilie, and honozablie behaue himselfe in warres, which the French king had (with Charles the fifth then emperor) on the borders of Flanders, that he was alwaies foremost in the front of the battell, to assault the enimie; hoping by that meanes to wipe alwaie the blot of the cardinals slaughter, and more firmitie to bind the French king vnto him.

But after certeine light skirmishes (which he happily performed against the enimie) following the battell at Kenton (a towne in Picardie) most hotlie, and drawing nere within danger of the enimie, he was so wounded with a shot, that he could hardlie returne to his companie: but being relieved by his owne souldiers from the hands of the enimie, he was caried to Sponturle, where he shortly after died, greatlie repenting him of his former wicked fact, and greatlie abhorring the other authors thereof, as furtherers of him therein. Towards whom (after his death) the French king was yet so longing (for the singular

Fr.Thin.
Lelleus lib. 10.
pag. 517.
1552.

1552.
Abr. Fl.

Fr.Thin.
Lelleus lib. 10.
pag. 520.

1554.

Lelleus lib. 10.
pag. 519.

1552.

Sundrie
slaughters of
the nobilitie.

lingular fortitude of mind that was in him) that he procured all such of his Scots (as returned from the warres with Bunkstone) to be receiued into their owne countrie, and restored to all their goods and possessions.]

In lent all the lords of the realme of Scotland assembled at Striveling, where all the covenants and articles of agreement betwixt the quene and the gouernor, were perfectlie and fullie concluded, and thereupon a parlement appointed to be holden in Edinburgh, the tenth of Aprill next ensuing: and in the meane time the gouernor deliuered the castell of Edinburgh vnto the lord Erskin to keepe, as it were by waite of assurance for his part, that all things at that parlement should be accomplished, according to the points of the agreement made by full consent. The lords then assembling in parlement at Edinburgh, on the said twelfth day of Aprill, all the covenants of agreement had & made betwixt the quene Dowager and the gouernor were presented & read, touching the dimission and giuing ouer of the gouernors authoritie, confirmed by the quene hir selfe in France, with consent of the king of France hir husband, the duke of Guise, and the cardinal of Lozrain hir curators, with a gift of the dukedome of Chateaufort vnto the gouernor, vnder the great seales of France, and others, to whome it appertained.

The quene made gouernor by parlement.

The gouernor made duke.

Fr. Thin.

The gouernor resigned his office vnto the quene.

The quene giue the gouernance of the realme vnto the quene mother.

Fr. Thin.

Buch lib. 16.

Lesleus lib. 20. pag. 522. Buchanan lib. 16.

After this, there was read a confirmation of the thre estates of Scotland, touching the premisses, in which they bound themselves to warrant the quenes discharge made to him, & to establish him as second person of the realme [& to haue the gouernement of the castell of Dunbarton (as faith Buchanan) with other things contained in the contract: to the which there in open parlement all the estates subscribed, and put therevnto their seales. Which done, the gouernor gaue vp his office of tutorship, in presence of the said estates, the quene mother, & monsieur Dolsell being there present, who receiued the same in the quenes name, at that time remaining in France. And herewith presentlie was a commission thewed, giuen by the quene of Scotland in France, with consent of hir curators, making the quene Dowager hir mother, regent of hir realme: which office she tooke vpon hir, and was thereto admitted by the estates of the realme. Then was the parlement newlie authorized in the quenes name, with consent of hir curators, and in name of the quene regent.

Where is to be noted, that as at the first they which had the administration of the common-wealth vnder the king of Scotland in his minoritie, were first called gardians, and then gouernors: so now began they to haue a new title for the same, to be called regents of Scotland, not before accustomed among the Scots, which name hath euer since remained to all such as execute that place (euen in our age) during the minoritie of Charles James the first, now ruling the scepter of Scotland. In which declination of things (as before you heard) to the gouernement of the French, the Scots could neuer be persuaded that the castell of Edinburgh should be deliuered to the rule of strangers: fearing that if the quene should die without issue, that then the French would there by tyrannie settle themselves. Wherefore the same was committed to the defense of John Areskine, which he should not deliuer to any, but to one of the order, and of the nobilitie and parlement.

About this time, the quene regent sent George Gordon earle of Huntlye to apprehend John Madiard (or Maderac, as faith Buchanan) chiefe of the familie of the Reginaldins, a notable theefe, & one that was fraught with most wicked dedds: which iourne it is supposed that Gordon did not verie faithfullie discharge. Wherefore, when he returned without the

dispatch thereof, in not taking of that man, he was committed to prison vntill the day appointed, where in he should answer the cause. Whose friends in the meane time (to mitigate the enuie against him for the same) did spread false rumors thereof, laing all the fault in the familie of the Cathans: for they said that the same was hindered by them for the malice that they bare vnto the Gordons: which speeches did once lie almost vpon this occasion.

Whilest the quene prepared for hir iourne into Scotland, Gordon did cast into prison William (the head of the familie of the Cathans) a yong man licetallie brought vp with the earle of Arrerie for kinreds sake, being sisters son to the said earle: for none other cause but for that he would not yeld him selfe to the protection of him. Gordon therefore grieved at this man, did not thinke it safetie to leaue him free and at libertie behind him, when he should go into France with the quene, although he could find no fault to laie to his charge worthie any punishment. Wherefore (by his friends) he perswaded the yong man (ignorant of all deceit) that he should yeld him selfe into his protection and tutorship: for so by that one meanes, both the fame of the one and safetie of the other might be provided for, which the yong man did accordinglye.

Wherefore Gordon being now lord ouer the life and death of this William, did (dissembling his hatred to him) breake with his owne wife to execute the yong and gillielesse man in his absence, supposing thereby to transerre all the malice which should rise thereof vnto the fact of his wife, as not done by his consent. Which fell out quite contrarie: for when euerie one knew the subtil wit of Gordon the earle of Huntlye, and that his wife (a chosen and rare woman) had passed all the rest of hir life within the bounds of womanlie modestie; they were all easilie perswaded, that he alone was author vnto hir of that wicked counsell. Wherevpon, Gordon being now cast in prison for that fact, there was (in a councell holden by the regent) great contention and varietie of opinions, touching the punishment which he should haue. For some would haue him banished into France for certeine yeares, & some would onelie haue an excessive multa to be laied vpon him.

Both which opinions were reiecte by the chiefe of his enimies, Gilbert earle of Caillies. For he, perceiving by the present state of things, that peace would not long continue betwixen Scotland and France; did vtterlie withstand his banishment into that countrie. For he would not haue that man (being so subtilie and vnconstantlie witted, proud, and desirous of reuenge, of and vpon such as were envious, or backbiters against him) to be a firebrand and capteine to those French, who (he was assured, for their insolent pride) would haue warre with the Scots. For although he thought, that of right he ought to be punished, yet he did not iudge, that any domesticall euill was so much, or the punishment thereof should be thought so great, that they should accustom the French to shed the Scottis blood. Wherefore at length his punishment was agreed vpon (as after shall appeare) in renouncing of all his right to the earldome of Arrerie, & other things.

The quene hauing the disposition of all things, did at hir pleasure change all the officers, and made the earle of Caillies treasurer, & Weilmox a French man controller; also an other Frenchman called monsieur Rubie, keeper of the great seale, as vicegerent in place of the earle of Huntlye, who was chancelor; and then in ward, [and James Machill register, and the abbat of Couper keeper of the priue seale, as faith Lesleus, lib. 10. pag. 521. Bonald gouernor of the Isles.] These mens counsell and mon-

Officers are changed.

Fr. Thin.

seur

The earle of
Huntleie re-
nounced ma-
nie things.

Heir Doffels the best principallie in all things. The earle of Huntleie being to be deliuered out of ward, did for his punishment renounce his title to the earldome of Purreie; whereof he had a gift in heritage. Also he renounced his interest unto the farmes of Dikencie and Sheatland, and to the earldome of Mar, and of the quenes lands of Straits Die: and further was contented to go ouer into France, there to remaine for the space of five yeares. But yet afterwards the quene was contented, that he should still remaine within the realme, for the which he gaue to hir five thousand pounds in monie.

Fr. Thin.
Lefleus, lib. 10.
pag. 522.

1551.

The law for
fishing.

Covenants
for seamen.

Lefleus lib. 10.
pag. 523.

1555.

About the same time Marie the quene of England, and the regent of Scotland, thought good to haue a peace betwene both nations, and that their commissioners should meet to determine all controuersies. At what time for the Scots, were Robert of Ainswardie, and John Bellenden of Achmole knights: and for the English, were Thomas Cornwallese, and Robert Bolwes knights. At what time there were lawes made touching fishing, aswell in the sea, as in certeine other limited riuers; by which all occasions of contention was taken awaie from both nations. Richard Foxton, a man of great counsell in prosperitie, and of great stomach in aduersitie, being capteine of Roxham castell in England, was at that time cause of the making of this law for the commons; That if anie Englishman from a Scot, or a Scot from an Englishman, did by force take away anie fish that was taken; that he should paie the muld of twentie shillings for the same: beside other punishments of the common law.

Further it was agreed, that whosoever by force of tempest, or for anie other cause, were diuened into Scotland or England, he should not by anie presentence be staied; but he might frelie by land or sea, either on horsebacke or on foot returne home. Provided, that he had the testimonie of the next maister of the port, or of the next towne, to witnes the cause of his arrival; and that during the time of his abode in such a countrie, he attempted nothing against the lawes of the kingdome. Not manie daies after this, Henrie Sinclair deane of Glasgow, senator, and vicepresident of the high court, did returne into Scotland out of France; being a man greatlie familiar with James the first, aswell for the singulartie of his wit, as the excellencie of his learning.

But in the time of the gouernor, the courtiers (not greatlie esteeming such wisdom & learning) made no account of him, although the quene Dowager, and diuerse of the nobilitie held him in great honor; aswell for his depe studie in the best arts, as for his rare knowledge of the publike lawes and antiquities of Scotland. This man, upon his first returne, was forthwith both author and persuader to and of the bishop of the Mchades chiefe president, and to the other senators; that there should be new lawes made for the short ending of sutes in law; for the obseruation of a right course of iudgments, and for the taking awaie of all euill customs. In the making & tempering whereof, he was of so great iustice; that such things as were set downe in the law, were more holie and perfectlie brought to their ancient forme than they had bene before.

The reason is readie; to wit, aswell for that in euall deliuering law to all men: as in pleading, there was by his meanes more diligence used by the magistrats, aduocats, scribes, and officers; in cutting awaie vaine and superfluous formes and orders: which ministred occasion, that their sutes did long hang in court, before they could be determined. At this time also the marquesse of Spaine (being after made duke of Almaine) who in the meane time

with manie other nobles of France, had remained pledges in England, did (hauing licence thereunto) come into Scotland to see his sister, accompanied with sir Thomas Stetwikle of England now knight; who after he had remained some daies with his sister in pleasure & delight, discharged his faith, and returned againe into England.]

In Julie was a parlement held at Edenburgh, in the which manie acts and statutes were made, right profitable (as was then thought) for the common-weale of the realme. Amongest which, to passe ouer the rest, these same twentie to remaine chonised to posteritie. First, that none of the citizens (in the feasts of Whitsonide, or anie such times, in which their hirelings are accustomed to go forth) should assemble armed, to cast forth the husbandmen after the old maner. Secondlie, that the inhabitants meeting together, should no more assemble under a certeine colour of gaine, which for exercise of the bodie (as it was supposed) was holden after the example of one (I can not tell who) Robert Wood a wild or vplandish man. Thirde, that there should be no priuat leagues contracted betwene subiects. Which lawes did after bring great peace, ease, and quiet to the publike state.

In the verie same yeare 1555, in the eight kalends of August, fell the mariage of Marie quene of England with Philip king of Spaine in the citie of Wincheffer. Wherefore ambassadors were sent from the quene regent to Philip and Marie, to congratulate their mariage. Besides which, these ambassadors did require a renewing of the league, and that commissioners should be appointed to meet the next summer in the borders, to end all controuersies. In the meane time, whilest the quene regent did administer the affaires of South Scotland, John Steward earle of Atholl was sent into the north parts with a cholen companie, to breake the force of John Spudiard or Spudrace. At what time this earle used such courtelie and counsell in pacifying, and such celeritie and wisdom in executing of things; that he brought the seditions Spudiard (impatient to haue anie gouernor) to the quene, to whome the said Spudiard did willinglie yeeld himselfe, his children, and his kindred.

To which man, the quene (in respect of singular clemencie, and pietie to all men, according to the disposition of hir nature) did wholie remit all his offenses, with this condition; that he should faithfullie remaine prisoner in the castell of Speffens, and in the towne of Werth. But as the for (as the proverbe is amongst vs) cannot liue without his staring holes; so this Spudiard and his companions, imbued with more than forlike conditions, did (deceiuing their keepers) returne to their owne causes, and afresh trouble all the north Scotland with their raised seditions and spoiles. Which things inforced the quene, that she did go into those parts, to hold iustice of othes: in which she might bide the euils of wicked men, and purge those prouinces from all the roots of sedition.

Whereupon, in the moneth of Julie, the quene accompanied with the earles of Huntleie, Argile, Mothes, Cassils, and Spartball, the bishop of Aberdeen and Kells, Mr. Doffell, Rubie, and others, went to the towne of Inuerneffe, in which citie (the faults known by publike accusation) there was iust punishment taken vpon the offenders. And because there were manie hidden in the higher and mountaine countries, which by their absence fled the punishment; she commanded the heads of the mountaine families, that they should bring their guiltie countymen and kindred to iudgement, according to the law established by James the first; with a great paine

1555. Buch.
1556. H.B.

Lefleus lib. 10.
pag. 527.
Buchanan lib. 16.

paine set vpon the chiefe of those families; if the other did this: & would not come into iudgement.

Whereupon it followed, that hundrie of diuerse families, that were by contempt departed awaie, did come to publike iudgement, where manie, and those not of the meanest sort, paid the punishment for troubling the peace; amongst which one Grant a baron being committed to iudge James Grant and sundrie other wicked persons before the iudges, did promise to bring their dead heada; when they could not take their liue bodies. The earle of Cathnes also because that being warned therunto, he did not bring his people before the iudges; was first committed to prison in Inuerness, then at Aberdeen, and lastlie at Edinburgh, from whence he purchased his libertie with a great masse of monie.

Spackie in like sort, head and chiefe of the tribe of Strathnauerne & of Glencone, being called to iudgement for that he had often wasted the countie of Southerland next adjoining) did contemne the precept. Whereupon the queene provided a great armie, which vnder the earle of Southerland waie into Strathnauerne, where he possessed all the places of doubt, least anie hole might be left for the theues to passe awaie from thence. Whereupon Spackie, when he saw himselfe so beset (as that no place of flight was left him) yielded himselfe to Hugh Kenedie, who led him to the queene, by whom he was committed to prison at Edinburgh a long time, but they of Glencone put in pledges, & (being committed to safe and strong prisons) were referred to the iudgement of the queenes pleasure.

Lesleus lib. 10.
pag. 528.

After this, the queene leaving Inuerness, and progressing the prouince of Rosse, she came to Elgine, Banff, Aberdeen, and the chiefe places thereabouts, diligentlie to inquire of the misdemeanors of those people. At what time she did temper the rigor of law with such courtesie, that she punished the offenders by fine, and not by death. From thence she came to Dundee, and to saint Johns towne, observing the same cause and course of hir coming. When she had thus passed ouer the summer in bringing the mountaine people to their dutie, she sent the earle of Huntlye to ioine with the bishop of Rosse and Rheneie, and to Hugh Kenedie; to whom she did substitute a better and more commodious forme of dispatch of their affaires by others: who should receive the libels and accusations of private persons, and diligentlie to inquire of them, in the townes of Inuerness, Elgine, and other places. By whose diligence it came to passe, that all those countries (being reduced to the rule of iustice) were made the more quiet.

Here I will not (saith Lesleus) now declare how honourable & sumptuouslie the queene in all hir progresses was receiued (without anie charge to hir) of the pères, bishops, and other nobles and gentlemen of Scotland, with the frenchmen (which were then present with hir) haue opened to other nations as well as to their owne people (with singular commendations to the Scots) the gorgeous shew of this Scotland, being a most worthy signe of the fauour they bare to the queene. In the meane time there were sent commissioners to the borders, as the bishop of Dunblane, the lord of Lethington, & maister James Spackie: where doctor Eustace bishop of Durham, & certeine others for England met them at Duns, and remained there till the queenes coming backe forth of the north in September next following.

Commissioners sent.

Lesleus lib. 10.
pag. 527.

A parlement.
Gentlemen
withed.

This yere was a parlement holden, in which the lords Binnington, Dunsin, and Grange, with maister Henry Balnauis, and others, which were for

scotland in the gouernors time, were restored. At the same time the queene, by the counsell of monsieur Dossell, and Rubie, and certeine of the nobilitie of Scotland, requested that a new order might be made, whereby euerie mans substance should be put in an inuentarie, and according to the rate thereof to paie a pærelie taxation, to be put and kept in the treasure-house till warres began, and that then men of warre might be waged, therewith to lie vpon the borders, and none in that case to be charged to come from their owne houses, but when anie great armie came forth of England to invade Scotland.

Diuerse of the great lords were agreed to this ordinance; but the most part of the barons hearing thereof, assembled together in Edinburgh, to the number of two hundred & above, and sent the lords James Sandlandie of Calder in Louthian, and John of Wemys in life, to the queene and lords, beseeching them not to set such new taxations vpon them, for they could not beare such burdens; but would defend the realme, as before time their elders had done, not meaning to put their goods to inuentsarie, as if they should alreadye make their last will and testaments: and be past all hope of uioleng their temporall goods, as persons not to liue longer in the world, but to take their farewell, and giue ouer all that they had by law of fatal necessity not to be avoided. Adding further, that their elders did not onelie defend themselves, and their goods against the English, when they were of farre greater power than they now be; but did also manie times make further inuasion vpon them in to their owne countie. For which cause, they being not anie tot now so degenerat from their ancestors, that they would not, when need required, bestow their substance and life in defense of their countie.

A pærelie tax
on is not
granted.
1556.

This
Buchan. lib. 10.

And as touching the hired souldiers, it was a thing full of danger, to commit the state of Scotland to men without substance, or without hope of advancement, and to such as for manie will dare to doe anie thing, being a thing apt to kindle their deape couetousnesse, and to minister occasion to them to attempt other matters. But to the end all other things may the better be looked vnto, let them more remember the deerenes of their countie, than their owne estate or condition. For will anie man beleue, that hired souldiers will more valiantlie fight for strangers, than the owners will fight for the defense of their owne? What a little hire or wages readie to be abated in peace, will greatlier incense the minds of the common people; than gods, children, wiues, and temples, will moue the hearts of the nobilitie?

Whereunto may be ioined, that this matter pertaineth to the highest god of the kingdom of Scotland, and that the same is of farre more importance than that it should be communed of at this time, and in the tender age of our yong queene. Besides which the greater part of men doe suspect and feare, that the same new order for warre is vnprofitable, and such as cannot be performed without some commotion of the Scottish nation, especiallie with so great sums of monie can hardlie be brought out by tribute imposed on the same Scots, as may suffice to nourish a hired armie to defend the borders. Wherefore it is to be feared, least the end of persuation grow to this point, that it doe not rather open a gap to let in the enimie, than to be a barre to keepe them backe. For if the English, after this example, being a farre richer nation, shall gather a much greater summe: who doubteth, but that they may with lesse trouble to the common people, susteine an armie twise as great as that of the Scots, & such as shall not onelie enter the borders, but rush euen into the very bowels of the king.

kingdome of Scotland:

For the other part of the oration, I cannot tell whether it be better to suppress it in silence, or to deliver it (saith Buchanan) to common eyes & eares. For I do heare (writeth he) manie which do murmur and aske who shall gather this monie? How much thereof shall be necessarie to and for the hired souldiers, and how much to be left in the hands of the treasure? There be manie things which put vs in great hope, that no such thing shall be established for the especiall goodnesse and temperance of that worthy princeesse (in whose hand the whole gouernment now resteth) both incourage vs, that we shall not be so tared. But yet when we remember the outward deeds of others, and our owne at home, which haue before time bene done; we cannot so gouerne our selues, but that we must feare the same hereafter to fall vpon vs, which we haue already felt.

But letting these things passe, which perchance we vainlie feare, let vs come to those things in which our ancestors did place their chiefe helpe (for maintenance of their libertie) against the weapons of their aduersaries. Robert the first of that name (in comparison of whose none of the Scottish kings were counted more wise, and without all doubt none more valiant, as we all confesse) did not onelie profit his subjects whilest he liued, but also after his death: for when he laid at point to surrender his life, he gaue this admonition, that we should neuer make continuall peace, nor long truce with the English. For that man (by nature and by vse of long time exercised in both sortues) did well perceiue, that such as liued in idleness and sloth, had their stomacks and minds abated, and their bodies weakened with delights of pleasures, and that couetousnesse and lecherie did spring vp as it were in untilled ground, when seuer discipline and sparing was quenched, which made them also to be impatient of labor, and to hate battell, whereby their strength being diminished, they should easilie giue place to their enemies.

After that these two noble men had said thus much, the regent fearing tumultuous insurrections if he persenered in this exaction, left off anie further to pursue this far, and is (in often acknowledging his error) said to haue vsed this speech; That some of the best of the Scots, and not the, were authors and workers of the same. By which words manie supposed that he ment the earle Huntley, a man of a sharpe wit, latelie deliuered out of prison, and rather readie to reuenge the iniurie receiued by restraint of his libertie, than mindfull of anie benefit thewed vnto him in his deliuerance. Wherefore when he saw the regent bent to this one thing to inure the Scots with taxes and payments of monie: and fearing least his power being ouermuch increased, that he would abate the strength of the nobilitie, diminish their authoritie, and call the whole gouernment of Scotland into the hands of his people, it was supposed that he gaue his counsell answerable to his disposition for the gathering of monie which he had then in hand, being in deed the part of an enemy to him, because he knew that the Scots would not paie anie tribut, nor be so obedient vnto him as they had bene before. There were also some that supposed this deuise to grow from David Painter bishop of Ross; for he being a man of rare wit, and no lesse learning, was with manie benefits tied to the Haimilsons, and was not anie waie estranged from their counsels and kinreds.

1557.
Lesleus, lib. 10.
pag. 328.

In this yeere, an ambassadoz of Muscouie going into England with a great ship, & another bote, was cast on land by sudden tempest of the sea in the coast of Buchuane, a prouince in the north part of Scotland; who hauing lost all his goods by shipwacke,

was saued himselfe, and some of his companie; because they lighted on a rocke, where he & they might saue their liues. The inhabitants did liberallie intertaine this strange man, and brought him to Edinburgh to the queene, who would not permit this new guest to want anie thing so long as he remained with his friends further, commaunded and procured, that his goods lost by sea, and come into the hands of the people, should be faithfully restored to him againe, appointing moreover the lord Hume for his hois sake to accompanie him to Berwick.

This yeere also in the moneth of Iulie was Hoste Traberus sent ambassadoz from Arika duke of Delmenberge, and Delmenloze, and earle of Embden out of east Frisia into Scotland, to require that the ancient couenant of an hundred yeeres made betwene the Scots and the people of Embden (which by course of some yeeres past, was now of no force) might now againe be renewed. Which being granted & solemnlie established, both those nations from that day did liue together in mutuall & perfect friendship. After this, warres arising betwene England and France, queene Marie of England, fearing least the Scots would be stirred at the motion of the French to attempt something against England, sent ambassadoz to the regent, to require that some of the Scots might with his people meet on the borders, to treat of matters belonging vnto them both.

Lesleus, lib. 10.
pag. 329.

Whereupon in the moneth of Iulie, the procurators for both the kingdomes met at Caerleill, whither for the Scots came Robert Reio bishop of Dikeneie, Henrie Seintclere deane of Glasgow, Robert Carnegie knight, senators, and the lord Harries, at that time president of the west borders. For the English did come Tunstall bishop of Durham, the lords Dacres, and Wharton; amongst whom there was talke for peace, and recompense of such iniuries as were committed by both the nations. In the meane time a certeine Frenchman landed at the west part of Scotland, and declared to the queene the warres betwene England and France, desiring him to make warre vpon the English. Whereupon the queene sent for the lords to commune with them at Petubottell, where she opened to them diuerse wrongs done on the borders by Englishmen, and how no redresse could be got: wherefore she required that warres might be moued against England in reuenge of those iniuries, although the bishop of Dikeneie was the same time at Caerleill in talke with Cuthbert Tunstall bishop of Durham and others, commissioners for England. The principall cause that moued the queene regent to seeke to make war against England, was for that the Englishmen aided the Emperoz in fauor of his sonne king Philip against the French king, because their queene had taken to husband the same king Philip, and sent the earle of Penbrooke ouer with an armie to loine with king Philips power.

Lesleus, lib. 10.
pag. 329.

1557.
The queene
regent desired
warres.

An assembly
at Caerleill.

The occasion
why the queene
regent desired
to haue war.

It was thought therefore, that if the Scots invaded the English borders, it might cause them to call backe their power south of France to defend their owne countrie. But the Scottish lords would not consent in anie wise to begin anie warres: which their dealing when monseur Dossell perceiued, he speedily went to Haimouth beside Berwick, and fortified the same with all diligence, making inuasions into England. Whereupon the Scottishmen in their owne defense were constrained to make warre, and the erle of Huntley was made lieutenant vpon the borders, who came thither; and remaining there by the assistance of the Frenchmen, made sundrie inuasions and rodes into England, burnt diuers townes and villages, and cast downe manie stone houses, piles

The Scottish
lords refuse to
take warre in
hand.
Haimouth is
fortified.
Inuasions
are made into
England.

piles and strengths.

In this meane while were the Scottish commish-
ners at Carleill; and the maister of Sparwell war-
den of the west borders, being there with them, with
much ado got away and came home into Scotland.
The quene assembled a great armie out of all parts
of the realme, the which came forthward to Kelso in
the moneth of October, where the quene & French
men perswaded them to enter by invasion into Eng-
land. But they meaning to take further advise, passed
ouer Tweed to Sparwell hugh, where they incamp-
ped, and afterward approached the castell of Clarke,
intreating the same with a siege for the space of
two or thre daies. Captaine Head at that present had
charge of that castell, with three or foure hundred
souldiers, and one hundred horsemen, seeming to care
little for the Scottish mens forces.

An armie as-
sembled.

The lords do
not consents
thereto.

The castell of
Clarke besie-
ged by the
Scots.
Captaine
Head.

The earle of
Westmerland
gathereth an
armie to resist
the Scots.

The Scots
drave by
their armie.

The earle of Westmerland, being then lieute-
nant of the north parts, gathered such power together
as he might make, and came to Louth, accompa-
nied with the lord Talbot, sir James Crofts, and
others, to succor where most need should appeare. The
Scottish armie, perceiving the Englishmen thus in
a readinesse to resist their attempts, toke advise to
gather, and concluded that it was not for the weale
of the realme, at that time to hazard battell forth of
the bounds of their owne land, their princeesse being
absent, and as yet in her minority; considering also
that the war was not taken in hand for their owne
quarrell, but for the pleasure of France. These and o-
ther the like reasons, being alleged by the earles of
Arrane, Huntlie, Argile, Callis, and others, to the
quene and French captains, they were nothing sa-
tisfied therewith; but the Scottish lords would at-
tempt no further, but retired backe and scaled their
armie.

In removing from Clarke, they were pursued
by certeine bands of the borderers, and others, which
were repelled, and stood in danger to have bene di-
stressed, if captaine Head had not with noble corage
issued forth, and in time relieved them that were re-
tiring: whereby they staid and gaue a new charge,
inasmuch as the Scots were beaten backe againe,
and chased ouer the water to their maine armie that
was already passed ouer. The quene and monsieur
Doisell, perceiving that they could not get the Sco-
tish lords to make anie further exploit at that pre-
sent, the retired home; but Doisell with his French
men were appointed to remaine still in Haimouth,
to countergarrison the Englishmen within Ber-
wick.

There were diuerse sot bands of Scots waged
by the French king, which were appointed to lie in
places about the borders, as at Kelso, Rockesburgh,
and such like for defense of the countrie, and the an-
noyance of the Englishmen, as occasions might
serue. After this, sir Andrew Har, and diuerse other
entered England with a power of men about Spar-
tinnasse. Neuerthelesse, the earle of Northumber-
land, being then lieutenant of the north parts of
England, and lieng on the borders, assembled his
forces together, & comming to incounter the Scots
on the very borders doe nere to Chemot, at the first
the Englishmen were put to the worse, but yet at
length the Scots were ouerthrowne and chased: sir
Andrew Har, and manie other being taken pris-
oners.

The Scots
discouraged by
the earle of
Northumber-
land.
Sir John
Foster.

Sir John Foster bare himselfe verie valiantlie
at this incounter, so that his seruice might not well
haue bene spared. He was thrust through the mouth
into the necke, and also through the thigh; moreover,
his horse was slaine vnder him. The conflict was
sharpe, for both the horsemen and souldiers came to
make proofe of their forces. The warre thus being

begun and followed, the Scots kept their quar-
ters, and euerie noble man (as he was appointed)
laie on the borders with a thousand horsemen, do-
ring his ordinarie termis. And on the other side, the
English borders were furnished with new supplies
of men of warre, so that there were baillie robes and
incursions made by the parties, to the great damage
and spoile of the towines and villages situate nere
to the confines of both the realmes.

In December the quene assembled a parlement
at Odenburgh, where (the highlie fauouring the
French) shewed forth the letters of Henric king of
France, to be read by the whole assemblee, touching
the solemnization of the mariage betwene the yong
quene of Scots, and the French kings sonne, which
I haue here set downe.

1558.
A parlement.

The substance of the letter of the
French king, concerning the ma-
riage of his sonne to the
quene of Scots.



Enrie by the grace of God, king of the
French, to his worthie cosines & princes
of Scotland, and to the rest of the orders,
being our deere friends, greeting. It is
most plainlie knowne to all nations, how fast a bond
hath alwaies hitherto remained betwene Scotland
& France. Neither can it be hidden what these signs
of amitie were, being for number manie, for great-
nesse large, and for dutie of friendship mutuell ech to
other; by which the kings our ancestours haue seemed
to confirme, and as it were to increase this amitie, to
the end it might remaine whole and sound for euer:
yea and so farre the shew thereof hath appeared, that
all the benefites of either realme haue seemed to be
common to ech other. Which bond of friendship we
also haue (for the time in which we first receiued the
ensignes of our kingdome) labored firmelie to re-
teine, to the end the same should not anie waie be de-
caied or broken. The which in like sort we well vnder-
stand, that you haue likewise abundantlie performed
vnto vs.

Lesleus lib. 10.
pag. 533.

Wherefore (more stronglie to knit the same) we
will not suffer this opportunitie (which the diuine
goodnesse hath laied before vs, as we verelie suppose)
of mariage to be solemnized betwene our son the
Dolphin, and your quene our deere and sweet sister
and daughter. Which thing (after that it began to be
intreated) was so byged by all parts, as the yong
quene was vpon that condition lest with vs, when
she was caried into France, by the consent of our si-
ster the Dowager, and the gouernour of Scotland, to
the great reioysing of all you that yelded therevnto;
where now she hath attained such beantie and num-
ber of vertues, partlie by the liberalitie of nature
(which she receiued from the kinglie blond of hir pa-
rents) and partlie by the instruction of my wife, that
I can hardlie anie longer suffer (in respect of the age
of my sonne) that this mariage (which we haue so
much desired) should anie longer be deferred. And
sith at Christmasse next my son shall come to those
pæres, in which he may promise all things that shall
be necessarie for the knitting vp of the mariage; and
sith also we haue determined (if it so seme good to the
quene hir mother, and to the rest of the parlement of
Scotland, which we earnestly request at your hands)
that the mariage shall publikelie at Paris (on the
day consecrated to the thre kings) with such ceremo-
nies as is requisite, be fullie consummate with
the speech of my sonne and of your quene:

We do by these letters request you, that by com-
mon consent you forthwith send some of your chiefe
nobilitie,

L. J.

nobilitie, that maie hono: the marriage with thew presence, and that having publicke authoritie therefore may frelie and according to law, dispose of those things which are accustomed to fall in such affaires. The which if you shall doe, I promise that hereafter they shall liberallie understand how acceptable they shall be to me: and how that you shall receive all the fruit and benefit which shall arise of my sons marriage (for the performance whereof, by reason of his sufficient age, we will thosilie promise) which said commodities shall not onelic now remaine to you that be present, but also most abundantly with great pleasure shall continue to your posteritie. For with both our and your people of France and Scotland shall be so firmelie conjoined (as we hope) by this mutuall knot of marriage, and our affaires with yours, and yours with ours, shall hang the one upon the other, as it were by a certeine mutuall linke and knot, that both we (being out of the danger of such as would diminish and overthrow our states) maie for ever enjoy such quiet as we did never hope to doe before this. From our castell at saint Germans, the fourth kalends of November. 1557.

Subscription,
a little
below:

Henric
by the king
de Laubespine.

Upon the reading of which letters in the parliament, by the consent of the whole estates, there were elected and chosen James Beton archbishop of Glasgow, Robert Keab bishop of Dunkeld, George Leslie earle of Mothes, Gilbert Kennedy earle of Cassilis, James Stewart prior of saint Andrewes [the queenes bastard brother] George lord Seton [capitaine of Edinburgh] James Fleming, and John Erskine lord of Dun [governor of Pontrose] ambassadors and commissioners to go into France, and there to contract marriage betwixt Marie queene of Scotland, and Francis Dolphin of France, and to solemnize the same marriage. Whereupon, sufficient commissions and instruments were made to them by the estates of the parliament, and they accepting the same, made preparation for that journey, and departed in the moneth of Februarie forth of the roode of Leith, and with great winds & boisterous stormes came into France, losing in their journey one of their ships, with men and horses before saint Ebbes head, in the firth of Scotland, and an other with great riches & manie gentlemen, with the capitaine called Waterton in the roode of Bullongne.

The ambassadors themselves nevertheless escaped, and coming safe unto the French court in the moneth of March, were honorablie received of the king at Paris, where the contract of marriage was made, and three score thousand franks assigned in dowrie to the queene of Scotland, & thirtie thousand franks of yerelie pension, with manie rich jewels. There was also a perpetuall bond of league concluded betwixt France and Scotland, and great preparation made for the marriage, which was solemnized in Paris with great triumph and assistance of all the cardinals, dukes, earles, barons, lords, and bishops of the realme, in the church of Notre dame, the 24 of April in that present yeere, 1558.

After the solemnitie of this marriage, the legats of Scotland were called into the councill-house of the French king: at what time the chancelor of France delt with them, that they should represent the crowne and scepter, and other ornaments of the kingdome, to the husband of the yong queene might be crowned king also of Scotland. Whereunto the ambassadors did thosilie make answer, that they had no such thing giuen in charge to them. After

which, the cardinall said: We desire nothing more at your hands at this time, but that which lieth in your power to performe; which is, here now to confirme by writing that hereafter will, so toward aproue, and worke that this hono: (which now we iustlie demand) maie be granted to the Dolphin, when the same shall be talked of in the parliament of Scotland. Which request (when it seemed full of impudencie) they supposed best more constantlie and sharpelie to reiect. Wherefore they answered, that their ambassage was restrained within certeine bounds, which they neither could nor would exceed. But and if they had bene sent with free libertie of their ambassage, that yet it were not the part of faithfull friends (as the French professed to be) to require that which could not be granted without certeine and assured danger and infamie of treason, though danger of life were absent from it. All which notwithstanding, in all honest things which might well be granted they would yeld unto the French, joined unto them by so manie necessarie occasions. Wherefore they requested the French that they would not in their demands exceed the limits of modestie.

Whereupon the ambassadors being dismissed from the court, foure of the chiefe of them (before they departed home) which were these, Gilbert Kennedy, George Leslie, Robert Keab, and also James Fleming, all men of singular vertue and loue to their countrie, besides manie other of the companie, died there, not without mistrust of poison. It was also believed, that James the queenes brother had received the same draught: for (although he were of a better composition of bodie, stronger constitution of complexion, and of more youthfull strength, whereby he escaped death) he had alwaies after a continuall and dangerous infirmitie of his bellie whilste he lived, of the death of all which shall be somewhat more said hereafter. Thus leaving the Scottish lords ambassadors there in France for a time, we will returne to them what happened betwixt the Scots and English men at home, where the warres were pursued, to the losse or little gaine of both parts.

About Whitsonde, sir Henric Perrie with diuerse bands of the countrie garrisons, & sir George Bowles then marshall of Berwick, with sundrie bands of the garrison of that towne, passed forth into Scotland, they being in all about seven or eight hundred horsemen, and two thousand footmen. They burnt the townes of Duns and Langton; and having got together a great number of cattell, returned homewards. The Scots that laie in Kelso, and other places, keeping their quarterage on their borders (for the realme, as ye haue heard, was quartered, euerie part keeping their turne, as the manner is) assembled together to the number of two thousand horsemen (or few lesse) and three bands of footmen, halting forth to defend the countrie. And perceiving where the Englishmen were, followed and coasted them as they returned with their bottie, till they came to Swinton, where they overtook them, and skirmished with them sharpelie as they were passing through the towne.

The Scottish footmen beat backe part of the Englishmen shot into their battell, and pressed verie forward in hope to be assisted by their horsemen, the which (as ye haue heard) overmatched greatlie the English horsemen in number: but the fight grew somewhat hot, and the more unto the disadvantage of the Englishmen, for so much as their shot & powder began to faile them, by reason the mistie morning had made much of their powder dankish, so that they could haue no vse thereof. But herewith sir Henric Leslie, capitaine Keab, and others, being in the battell, behaved themselves verie stoutlie, causing the

Lesleus, lib. 10.
pag. 533.
Fr. Thin.

Ambassadors
sent into
France to
consummate
the marriage
betwixt the
queene of
Scotland and
the Dolphin
of France.
1558.

Two ships
lost.

The assigne-
ment of the
Scots queens
dowrie.

Fr. Thin.
Buchan. lib. 16.

A robe into
Scotland.

Duns and
Langton
burnt.

The Scots
assailed the
Englishmen
at Swinton.

the footmen to stae, and boldlie to abide the entrie: & herewith procured the horsemen to give a charge in such convenient time, as if the same had bene protracted, it might have turned verie euill to the English side.

But now as well the horsemen as footmen playing their parts, the Scottish horsemen abiding without the towne in troops (while their footmen were in skirmish) fled awaie, leaving their footmen to be slaine and spoiled of the Englishmen, and yet those footmen fought it out right manfullie: so that if the Scots horsemen had done their parts so well as the footmen, it was like to haue gone harder on the English side than it did. But now the Scottish horsemen not entering the fight, their footmen were inclosed by the Englishmen: for those that were in the foreward, and were passed by, returned, and coming behind their enemies, holpe to beat them downe, so that few or none of the Scots or Frenchmen (whereof there were some few amongst them) escaped, but were either taken or slaine.

The Scots
footmen slaine.

The lord of
Keith with
others taken
prisoners.

Edyng-
burgh.

Sir William
Bereton.

Amongest others, capteine Collane, and capteine Benedie, two chiefe leaders of the footmen were taken: diuerse of their horsemen also in the retire were taken, amongst whome William lord Keith, sonne to the earle Marshall of Scotland was the chiefe. But this victorie was not attended with out losse of diuerse Englishmen. Amongest other one Pell, ensigne-bearer to sir John Parkhams band of footmen was slaine. Also master Edyngton a capteine of light horsemen was taken prisoner by the lord of Edmonston, at the first charge given by the Scottish horsemen, and led awaie without rescue. Beside the manfull prowesse of sir Henrie Persie, and the other English captiues before mentioned, the forward valiance shewed that day of sir William Bereton, and Thomas Parkham, that led his father sir John Parkhams band of footmen, also of Rafe Ellerhar a capteine of horsemen, are not to be forgotten, who with diuerse other captiues & souldiers behaved themselves in such wise at that present seruice, as their dealings therein deserue speciall memorie.

The Scots
put to flight
at Grendon.

The good
order of the
Frenchmen
in their retire.

Edyng-
burgh.

Moreover, at an other time the Scots & Frenchmen entering into England, the Scottish horsemen, to the number of a thousand or thereabouts, passed forth to burne and forraie the countrie: but the earle of Northumberland, & his brother sir Henrie Persie, assembled together a power of horsemen: and sir Henrie Persie meeting with them at Grendon, set upon the Scots and chased them over the water of Twissell, unto the foot battell of the Frenchmen: who retiring to the riuer of Twedd, passed over the same at Chapell fford, where they were assailed both by certeine foot bands of the garrison of Berwike, that were come forth to aid the earle, and also by the horsemen: so as diuerse were downed in the riuer before they could get over.

But after they were once got to the further side, they put themselves in order of battell againe, and retired in a squadron verie stronglie, sustaining little or no hurt at all, notwithstanding that the earle of Northumberland (being then come) and his brother sir Henrie Persie, with the rest of the captiues and gentlemen of the countrie, pursued them over the water for the space of two miles, skirmishing with them still as they marched awaie, but could do them no harme, because they kept themselves in so good order, & the English footmen were not able to reach them. Whereupon the English horsemen suffering the Frenchmen to depart, left them, and passing into the countrie, burnt long Connam, and diuerse other hamlets and villages, and so returned. Diuerse Scots that day at the ouerthrow and chase of

their horsemen were taken prisoners, as the lord Greie, and others.

And after this, the Englishmen toan the strong pile of Calwills, wherein were situate Frenchmen that defended it for the time verie stoutlie, so that it cost the liues of diuerse Englishmen, before they could take it. Shortly after, there was a sore skirmish at Halidon hill, for whereas the most part of summer it was ordeined, that euerie daie certeine bands of souldiers should ward on the same hill, to giue libertie to the inhabitants of Berwike, to mow and carie in their haie; they continued for a time without any trouble offered by the Scots or French, so that the warders standing in no doubt of the enemies, used out of their armor to shoot, boote, quat, & exercise such like games of pleasure. Whereof the Scots & Frenchmen being aduertised, came one day from Alimouth in so secret wise, that they were downe verie nere to the Englishmen, yet they had any warning of their approach.

This approach as it was priue, so was it likewise sudden, inso much that before they could be got into order, the Scots and Frenchmen were almost at their elbows; and falling in skirmish with them, handled them verie roughlie: although sir William Bereton, sir John Parkham, master William Drenzie, Cutbert Claugham, and other the captiues of the Englishmen did behaue themselves right manfullie, bringing their men in order, incouraging them, and doing what appertained unto hardie and skillfull warriors. But yet three times that day the Scots and Frenchmen put them from the high of the hill, till at length sir James Croft coming from Berwike, used such diligence and policie in the matter, that the Scots and Frenchmen were repelled and constrained to retire, withdrawing backe into Alimouth, after they had continued in skirmish from one of the clocke till it was past foure with no small losse on both parts.

After this, the earle of Northwell, being on the borders as lieutenant, according to the order for the time of his quarterage, entred on a day into England, and sent his forraie to burne fenton towne, keeping himselfe in ambush at Halthwell Swere. Sir Henrie Persie aduertised that the Scots were thus entred, got together a thousand horse, and making forth to defend the countrie, set upon the earle at the aforesaid place of Halthwell Swere, but some feare entering into the hearts of the Englishmen, by reason of certeine shot which the Scots had there with them, fled, and were pursued by the Scots ouer the water of Till. There were taken aboute sir scoze Englishmen, amongst whom capteine Edyngton, and capteine Bar, that had the leading of light horsemen, were two: beside diuerse other men of good account in seruice, as one Claugham a gentleman and such like.

About this time, whilst the lord Cure commonlie called Cuers, remained capteine of Berwike, one Kirkhandie cousin to sir William Kirkhandie lord of Grange, chanced to be taken prisoner into Berwike; and afterwards being ransomed, at his coming home to Alimouth, he made report that he had bene so freddie used, during the time that he remained prisoner, at the hands of the said lord Cure. By reason thereof, upon challenge made by Grange to fight a combat with the lord Cure, the matter grew to this issue; that where their degrees were not equall, Rafe Cure brother to the lord Cure vnder toke (in his brothers behalfe) to breake a staffe with the lord of Grange upon the side of Halidon hill at a day appointed: where they met, either of them bringing twelue gentlemen with them, to be the trial of this challenge performed.

All. 11.

But

The lord
Cure of
Scotland
taken
prisoner.
Calwills
towned by
the
Englishmen.

A sore
skirmish
upon
Halidon hill.

The earle of
Northwell.

Halthwell
Swere.

The English
men put to
flight.

The lord of
Grange chal-
lenged the lord
Cure.

The lord of
Grange and
maister Rafe
Cure ran one
against ano-
ther.

Sir John
Clere slaine
in the Ile of
Orkney.

The tourne
of the earle of
Suffier into
the west parts
of Scotland.

Kentire.

James Ma-
conell.

The earle of
Suffier burnt
the Ile of Or-
kney.

But when they came to haue their armes & wea-
pons biewed, the truth is so, that Grange was ar-
med in a cote of plate, and a curace aloft vpon it:
wherewith some fault was found, because maister
Cure was clad onelic in a single cote of plate, with-
out anie other peeces of armes for defense of his bo-
die. But yet such was the great courage of the said
maister Cure, that he would not refuse the chalenge,
notwithstanding his aduersaries advantage of ar-
moz. Whereupon they ran together, and brake both
their stances; and as it fortuned maister Cure was
hurt in the flanke. The warre being thus pursued
betwixt England and Scotland, beside the incoun-
ters and roads which are before mentioned, there
were two great roads made into Scotland; the one
by the earle of Westmerland, and the other by the
earle of Northumberland: the lord Talbot being
there, & hauing the leading of certein denances.
Moreover, it was thought good by the English
men, not onlie to annoie the Scots by land, but al-
so by sea. Whereupon Sir John Clere with certein
ships of warre sailed forth alongest the coast; till at
length he arrived at the Isles of Orkney; there
going on land about an enterpryse, & staid longer
than was requisite, he was encountred by his aduers-
aries, and slaine with manie of his people; which
were there on land with him. But though the Scots
had good successe in that part; they sustained great
damage on the west side of the realme, by a tourne
which the earle of Suffier then lord deputie of Ireland
attempted against them. For the better understand-
ing wherof ye shall note, that after the lord Clin-
ton high admerall of England had burnt the towne
of Conquest in Britaine, there were seven ships of
warre appointed to passe into Ireland, as the Marie
Willoughbie, the New barke, the Sacret, the Cer-
falcon, and three other that were merchants, and ap-
pointed that yeare to serue the queene of England
in hir warres.

There were also beside those seven ships of war,
two vittellers appointed to attend vpon them. Sir
Thomas Cotton was ordered their admerall, and
one Southweke of Dover was assigned to be their
viceadmerall. Now vpon their arrivall in Ireland,
the earle of Suffier having also prepared three o-
ther ships, with sufficient and necessarie prouision
for his tourne, embarked with so manie soul-
diers as convenientlie might be besolued aboord
in that fleet, containing twelue saile in the whole;
and departing toward the west of Scotland, land-
ed in a part of the countrie called Kentire, with as
manie soldiers and mariners as might be spared
out of the ships, leaving them furnisht with com-
petent numbers for their safegard; and being got to
land, he passed forth into the countrie, & burnt two
houses that belonged to James Maconell chiefe go-
uernor of those parts, & a great enimie to the Eng-
lishmen.

He burnt also diuerse townes, villages, and ham-
lets belonging vnto the said Maconell, with great
spoie of coine and other things which came in their
waie. The Scots oftentimes skirmished with the
Englishmen, but durst not aduenture to ioine with
them in battell, they kept to god order by the earle
of Suffier his politike and valiant conduction. There
were a sort of Scots gotten into a boate meaning
to haue fled, but being apprehended by the English-
men, they were executed. Finally, after the earle
had remained there on land, in burning and spoiling
the countrie for the space of three daies, he retur-
ned to his ships, and in safetie went aboard againe
with his men: and making saile to the Ile of Ar-
rane, entred the haven called Amalasche, and lan-
ding at that place, burnt the countrie, and after

went to Cumber, where he likewise burnt and har-
ried that Ile.

This done, he meant to haue gone into two other
Ilands, Ile and Iureia, but the winds grew so ter-
rible with tempests and foule weather, that they lost
one of their ships; and some of the rest were so rent
& spoiled of their tackle and furniture, as they clea-
ped in great hazard of being cast afloat. There
were six and twentie mariners drowned, the which
perceiving the ship to be in danger of sinking, fled
into the boate, and so perished: the other that re-
mained in the ship were saved, as maister Francis
Randoll, and others. By reason thereof, of such
foule weather, the earle of Suffier was constrained
to returne into Ireland; arriving in Cragfergus,
where he landed with his soldiers: and appointing
the ships to returne into England, he passed by land
vnto Dublin, spoiling the counties countiees by the
waie, and taking from them a great pretious botie
of cattell; notwithstanding the painfull passage that
he had to make through the cumbersome waies,
bogs, and woods, without reliefe of all necessarie
things in that so trouble some a tourne.

This far for those yeares warre in the daies of
Marie quene of England, betwixt the Englishmen
and Scots: wherof sith I haue found none that
hath written anie thing at all. I haue yet set downe
these shortes, as I haue learned the same of such
as had good cause to knowe the truth thereof, being
eye-witnesses themselves of such enterprises and ex-
ploits as chanced in the same warres; namelic cap-
taine Head, captaine Wood, captaine Crington,
capitaine Curleie, and captaine Sparham; with o-
thers, which of their courtisie haue willinglie im-
parted to me the report of diuerse such things, as I
thought to be resoluied in. Which accordingly (so far as
my remembrance hath serued) I haue here deliue-
red, to the end the same maie giue occasion to others
(that maie happilie light vpon more full instructi-
ons) to impart to posteritie a more perfect discourse,
where otherwise the matter might peraduenture
wholie passe in forgetfulness.

And now to returne vnto the Scottish ambassa-
dors that were sent into France, for the conclusion
of the mariage betwixt their quene & the Dolphin.
After that the same mariage was consummat, and
euerie thing ordered and brought to passe according
to the effect of their commission; in the moneth of
August they toke their leaue of the French king,
the quene, and nobilitie there, to returne home-
wards into Scotland: albeit few of them came
home, for the bishop of Orkney departed this tran-
sitorie life in Diepe, the fifteenth of September;
the earle of Rothes deceased there the ninth of No-
uember; the earle of Caills lord treasurer departed
in the same place the fourteenth of November; and
the lord Fleming deceased in Paris the eighteenth
of December. And so onelie the archbishop of Glas-
cow, the prior of saint Andrews, and the lord of
Dun returned into Scotland in October. After
wholoe comming, there was a parlement summoned
by the quene, to be holden in December next.

In August, Archibald Campbell earle of Argile,
wholoe wit was singular in dispatch of the affaires
aswell of peace as of warre, was made high iustice
of Scotland; and in France was aduanced to the
title of a knight of the order of saint Michael. Few
daies betwene these things departed this life the
bishop of Brechin, and Andrew Durie bishop of
Whithchurch. To the one did succede the abbat of
Couper, in place of the other came Alexander Gor-
don archbishop of Athens by the quenes benefit.
David Painter or Panter bishop of Ross, & James
Steward, whome James the sixt (being illegitimat
father

Pointe was
then.

The earle of
Suffier retur-
ned into Ire-
land.

The ambas-
sadors did
almost all.
Lefleus lib. 10.
pag. 538, 539.

These came
home againe.

Lord of Dun
parlement.

Pr. Thin.
Lefleus lib. 10.
pag. 539.

Candida Ca.

father vnto him) had made abbat of Helroffe and
helfo died also this yeare. Whose monasteries the
quene did forthwith giue vnto the cardinall Gulse;
long after which followed also the death of the ab-
bat of Santo:moche. At this verie time manie pro-
digious sights (which I will not here recite, being
toucht by Lelies) did appeare by a marker of such
ominous things, whereof these verses were made:

*Portentum est miseræ gentis, quæ numine lafo
Diuinis sacris diuidet imperium.*

Lelies lib. 10.
pag. 142.

In September there was a parlement holden at
Edenburgh, in which the aas of the former legats in
France (about the mariage of the quene of Scots
to the Dolphin) were confirmed. At what time the
Dolphin of France by his ambassado:rs did be-
mentlie request, that the crowne (which they terme
matrimoniall) should be giuen vnto him by the de-
cre of the states, whereby he might be called king
of Scotland as long as the quene liued. The
quene also iudging it a point of honor, to heape all
title of glorie vnto him, as one that by a certaine inclination of mind did ver-
tuoullie fauor him; gaue in charge also to the ambaf-
dors, that they should earnestlie follow the same
cause amongst the Scots. And to the end to draw
them the more easilie into his opinion; the drew the
matter into certeine articles, deliuered to the am-
bassado:rs with more ample instructions touching
the same: the summe of all which was this.

First, diligentlie to beat into the Scots with what
disposition of mind the Dolphin was affected toward
them, as well as his father, who held the Scots in
that account as he did his owne people, and so al-
waies would haue them: which good mind of the
French towards the Scots to be plaine without a-
ny dissimulation, it maie well appeere as well by the
covenants established for the mariage, as also by the
benefits which he hath not onelie bestowed vpon the
Scots and Scotland in generalitie, but also in par-
ticularitie vpon certeine especiall Scots, of his
owne free will, almost without the request of anie
bodie. And that they should also farther laie abroad,
what helpe the quene and Scots haue had of the
honorable cardinall of Lorraine, & the duke of Gulse
the quenes vncle. All which the ambassado:rs them-
selues (as they haue fullie proued) did well under-
stand.

Secondlie, where the quene doth thinke that she
is greatlie benefited with manie honors by so great
a king, but especiallie in this, that so mightie a
prince hath taken hir into the fellowship of the holie
bed, by which there can not anie other commoditie
grow to the king than the reuenues of the kingdome
which he hath purchased with his great charge and la-
bor: and that the quene considering all this (with
great grieve of mind) doth seeke by what meanes she
might at least expresse some small token of a thanke-
full mind for so manie benefits (because if she should
not do some thing, no small blot would seeme to be
imputed to the quene and the Scots) it came into
hir mind to thinke by what meanes she could requite
some part thereof, which she could do (as she thought)
if at the least she did but honor hir husband with the
kinglie title, & giue vnto him the mariage crowne of
Scotland.

This thing therefore the quene hir selfe doth ear-
nestlie desire, and doth courteoullie request all the e-
states of Scotland, that the same maie be established
by the voices of the full parlement, and that they will
comm and some three or foure of the chiefe nobilitie
honorable to carie the ensignes of the kingdome to
him, that at the least by this token of loue, the king
& the best of the court maie well perceiue, with what
reuerence and with what dutie they fauour the king

hir husband.

And to the end that this request of the quene, for
the rarenesse of the example, should not beed anie
doubt in the mind of the nobilitie, and to hold them
as it were in suspense, it was giuen in charge also to
the ambassado:rs, that they should in manner point
with their finger, that manie ages past, the quene
of Naples did not onelie for loue she did beare vnto
him, adorne the duke of Anion hir husband, with
the bare name of a king; but did also by the consent
of the nobilitie, giue him rule and gouernement o-
uer the same kingdome. The like whereof was al-
so done in our memorie by the quene of Spaine to
hir husband the archduke of Austria, & by the quene
of France to the duke of Vandosme.

But if that the Scots be moued by the example
of the English, who haue excluded Philip king of
Spaine, that then the ambassado:rs should easilie
twipe awaie that doubt, if they admonish the Scots
that the English are not tied to the Spaniards with
that firme and needfull band as the Scots are to the
French, both which nations haue one priuilege, ma-
gistrats to gouerne, and one fellowship and parti-
cipation of the administration of all the things in
either kingdome. Wherevnto they must further adde
that it was so far off, that the English should reape
anie fruit or commoditie by the Spaniards, that the
king of Spaine himselfe did (as it were) tying
from the English all the commoditie he could, to
performe his affaires out of the realme. And fur-
ther, that the English bring out of all hope for their
quene to haue anie issue by the same mariage, they
would not grant vnto it, when there is a certeine
and full hope left to the Scots, that issue may come
of this marriage.

Besides all this, let it be opened vnto the Scots,
what great benefit maie redound vnto them by this
signe of a thankfull mind. For it maie so happen,
that if the king Dolphin shall see himselfe increa-
sed with this title of honor by the Scots, as a note of
their good fauour to him, that he maie raise by his
father the king of France, that he will not by anie
meanes permit the quene of Scots his wife to be
excluded from the kingdome of England, after the
death of quene Marie, who was not like to liue long
being soe troubled with the droppe.

These things and manie others were giuen in
charge to the ambassado:rs (comen out of France) to
declare to the parlement of Scotland. Which being
thus declared to the states and the quene regent,
with might and maine seeking the furthering there-
of; at length it was granted that he should be king
during the life of the quene. For which cause Gil-
lesper Campbell earle of Argile, and James Ste-
ward, bastard brother to the yong quene, being pri-
or of S. Andrews, were named to execute their com-
sent vnto the Dolphin, to declare him king, and to
inuest him with the ornaments thereto belonging,
and further to shew the readie minds of the Scots
toward him, not onlie in this but in all other things;
by which anie honor or profit might anie waie rise
vnto him.

But whilst these men do prepare all things for
such a iournie, certeine factious persons did beat in
to their eares, how heauie a iournie that would be
vnto them. For it would happen, that whilst they
were busie in prouiding for small things abroad, they
should by delate corrupt, or by absence cleane ouer-
turne matters of greater importance at home. For
they did know how the subtil wit of James, and
the great power and strength of the earle of Argile
would be misting in those new things which were in
hand amongst these of the religion: for which they
neuer left off intreating and persuading, untill they
had

well fished to
catch a frog.

Not so likelie
as that lies
drop out of
your pen.

Buch.lib.10.

had wholie staied them from that iournie.

During these affaires, Marie quene of England died, and that worthy ladie Elizabeth succeeded in hir place. Immediatlie whereupon, the yong quene of Scots bare hir selfe as heire to that kingdome, and caused all hir hangings, bedding, vessels, and other household stufte to be stamped and marked with the title and armes of the kings of England. And although France were then miserable afflicted in chalenging the dominion and government of Aquilane, Naples, and Flanders; yet they would needs heape euill vpon euill, and adde therevnto the title of England, as being vnto them a verie scoyne and mockerie (as Buchanan tearmeth it.) Neither did the wisser sort of the French loke into that matter: for the Guises, who at that time gouerned all things, did consent to this erroz of the Scottish quene, because they would thereby seeme to haue gotten to themselves a singular honoz in adding the title of England to the French name.

The regent hauing now gotten a consent (as before you haue heard) of the matrimoniall crowne to be bestowed vpon the husband of the yong quene of Scots, began after a sort to put on a new mind: for by little and little she conuerted that old and accepted courtlesie, into commanding arrogancie; and the gentle answers wherewith she was wont to appease all parts, were turned contrarie. Which before she durst not do by reason of the present state, which then was such, as she feared not to promise what she would not haue to be performed, because she had not then obtained the grant of the matrimoniall crowne: but now hauing all things after hir owne mind, she vied other conditions, and other speeches. There was also a parlement appointed at Striueling in the first Ides of Maie.

And because she was heard oftentimes to saie, that she would not suffer the maiestie of the chiefe gouernement to be cast downe from the seat thereof, but would restore it to the former place. By which sayings manie were admonished of some troublesome tempest to follow. Whereupon diuerse came to intreat hir for the protestants, amongst which for the dignitie of his name, to make the matter to be more easilie obtained, there were sent Alexander Cuningame earle of Glencarne, and Hugh Campbell thirrie of Aine, a worthy knight, before whom the regent could not restraîne herselfe, but burst forth into these words.

These men (saith she) sith they haue preached not verie sincerelie, shall be banished, though you and your ministers resist against it. And when they replied, beseeching hir that she would remember what she had often promised: she answered, that the performance of promise is to be chalenged of princes, so farre as it seemeth commodious for them to performe it. Wherevnto they replied, that they therefore renounced all dutie and obedience vnto hir, and did further forswearne hir of the great mischiefs that would flow out of this founteine: with which answer she being stroken more than she looked for, said in the end, that she would both thinke on it and them.)

An assemblie
of the cleargie.
Fr.Thin.

Common praie-
ers to be had
in the vulgar
tong.

In Iulie and August, there was a conuention of all the prelates and cleargie holden at Edinburgh, in the which certeine men & women of Edinburgh were accused of heresie, and abjured at the towne crosse with faggots on their backs: [wherevpon (as saith Lescus lib. 10. pa. 538.) were great tumults raised at Edinburgh, for the appeasing whereof, the lord Seilton was made gouernoz there.] In this assemblie it was required, that the common praiers might be read in the Scottish tong in churches, with certeine other articles of reformation, whereof the

answer was deferred till March, in which moneth a prouinciall counsell was appointed to be holden at Edinburgh. The second of March, the said prouinciall counsell of all the prelates and clergie of Scotland began, wherein diuerse articles were proponed by the tempoꝛaltie; as to haue the praiers and administration of the sacraments in the Scottish language, the election of bishops and all beneficed men to passe by the voices of the tempoꝛall lords & people of their diocesses and parishes, with diuerse other re-
10 formations: all the which the bishops refused to grant, where though there arose hostile after great trouble in Scotland.

The quene regent caused summons to be given to John Bior, John Mollocke, John Dowglas, and Paule Pestane, to appeare at Striueling the tenth day of Maie: and for lacke of appearance they were denounced rebels, and put to the horne. Where-
20 vpon the said John Bior being in Perth, persuaded the maister of Lindseie, the lords of Tulibardin, Dun, Westarrow, and diuerse other being there assembled, with the burgeses of the towne of saint Johns towne and Dundee, to pull downe the images and altars in all churches, and to suppress the houses of friers, & other religious places. Who after a sermon made by him to that effect, the same tenth of Maie they began in saint Johns towne, and cast downe the abbey of the Charterhouse, the Blacke and Carmelite friers, called the Tulleum [and so
30 cleane, that (as saith Buchanan) within two daies there was left no signe thereof almost to be seene] and reformed all other churches thereabouts, breaking downe the images and altars in Fife, Angus, Mernis, and other parts there next adioining.

The quene regent being aduertised thereof, sent for the duke of Chateleraut, and diuerse other of the nobilitie, as the earles of Atholl, Argile, Sparthall, and others, who came with hir to Perth, otherwise
40 called saint Johns towne, hauing with them two thousand Frenchmen [to whom also repaired (as saith Lescus lib. 10. pag. 548) the archbishop of saint Andrew and Glasgow, the bishops of Dunkeld, and Dunblane, James prior of saint Andrews, the abbat of Coluper and Dunfermeling, with manie other chiefe of the cleargie] who entered the towne vpon appointment of the lord Ruthen capteine thereof, and so receiuing it, gaue it in keeping to capteine James Stewart, and capteine Collane, with thre bands of men of warre. In the meane time the erle of Argile, and the prior of saint Andrews, left the
50 quene in Perth, and went to saint Andrews, joining themselves with the other, and made reformation of the churches, casting downe altars, images, houses of friers, and abbeies in that towne, and in Coluper, and other places thereabout: and assembling a great companie of countrie men, came to Londros, Balmeare, & Coluper, to make resistance against the Frenchmen that were in Falkeland with the quene [come thither from Perth, after that
60 she had left in Perth six hundred men vnder the charge of James Stewart cardinall, & James Collane.] But when they should haue met on Coluper moze in battell, the duke of Chateleraut, the earle Sparthall, and others, laboured betwixt them, so that the battell was staied, & the quene with the Frenchmen returned vnto Edinburgh.

The earle of Argile, the prior of saint Andrews, and their assiers came to saint Johns towne and besieged it, till it was to them surrendered. The erle of Huntlie was sent to them from the quene to treat with them of some accord, but he profited not. At the same time a certeine number of persons of the towne of Dundee & Perth, came to the abbey of Scone, and spoiling the church, burnt it with the
most

Pr. Thin.
The quene
regent came
to Perth.

Requesits
made by the
laitie.

1559.
John Bior
with other are
summoned.

Images and
friarhouses
pulled downe.

Fr.Thin.

The quene
regent came
to Perth.

Fr.Thin.

S. Andrews

Coluper.

Fr.Thin.

Two armies
were pacified.

Saint Johns
towne be-
besieged.

Scone abbey
burnt.

The friers in
Striueling
dissolved.

The quene
departed from
Edenburgh.

The friers hou-
ses over-
throwne.

Fr. Thin.

Fr. Thin.
Lesleus lib. 10.
pag. 551.

Two armies
partied.

Leith fortified

Fr. Thin.
Lesleus lib. 10.
pag. 553.
Buchanan,
lib. 16.

most part of the house, the earle of Argile, and the prior of saint Andrewes being with them in companie. After this they went to Striueling, and to Leith, where they caused the houses of the blacke friers and graie friers to be throwne downe. From thence they passed to Edenburgh, where the quene hearing of their coming, departed with the Frenchmen vnto Dunbar, the duke of Chatelerault, and the erle of Huntleie being with hir in companie.

The earle of Argile and his companie, called the lords of the congregation, were receiued into Edenburgh by the bailiffes of the towne, where the places of the blacke and graie friers were suddenlie ouerthrowne, & the Church a field, and Trinitie college, and saint Giles church were reformed, and the images and altars pulled downe. The lords remaining thus in Edenburgh [apprehended Robert Richardson (as saith Lesleus) that was gouernor of the publicke treasurie, toke the keys by force from him, entered the abbey; the coining house, toke the coining irons, seized vpon the quenes moueables, which they found in the palace, and kept the same. * Whilste these things were thus done at Edenburgh, Paywell lord Harries gouernor of the west marches, which at that time was detained prisoner in Edenburgh castell, did prouillie get out of the same by a rope hanged to the wall, and hauing spiedie hostles, departed to his owne companie, shortly after taking himselfe to the lords of the religion.]

Monsieur Doissell and the Frenchmen came from Dunbar to the links of Leith, accompanied with the duke of Chatelerault, the earles of Huntleie, Bothwell, Spourton, and others. And the lords of the congregation came forth of the towne of Edenburgh of purpose to haue giuen battell to the Frenchmen, albeit they were not sufficient partie to resist them. But the erle of Huntleie trauelled betwixt them, by whose meanes there met twelue on euerie side, who agreed vpon certeine articles, and so the quene and Frenchmen entered into Leith, and forthwith began to fortifie it.

The articles of agreement betweene the regent and the lords of the reformed religion.

1 **I**tem, that all the souldiers of the religion, and such as did belong to them, should depart from Edenburgh, and leaue the same to the gouernement of the quene: with this prouiso, that the citizens should either remaine, or depart at their pleasure.

2 Item, that those of the religion should restore vnto the magistrats wholie and trulie all such summs of monie, or other pretious things, which they had either priuatie taken, or by open force spoiled from the magistrats.

3 Thirde, that the quenes palace, which they of the religion did possesse, with all the furniture and ornaments thereof, should be deliuered by againe to such as should be appointed therefore.

4 Fourthlie, that they of the religion should not depart, before they had committed the lord Ruthuen and Bettarroto (whome they promised to put in pledges for their credit and good dealing) to the keeping of such as were on the quenes part.

5 Fiftlie, that all men should acknowledge the gouernement of the king and the quene to be lawfull, which before they had gaine said by the pretense of religion: and that they should faithfully obeye the regent, and the old lawes of the kingdome, except such decrees as pertained not to religion.

6 Sixtly, that they should not by anie meanes trouble the catholike priests and ecclesiasticall per-

sons, or hinder them from quiet gathering and inioyning their rents, tithes, and profits, vntill the fourth Ides of Januarie.

7 Seuenthlie, that they should not from henceforth violate or deface churches, religious houses, or anie other holie places.

8 Eightlie, that euerie man might at Edenburgh profess and vse what religion he would, which they commonlie called the libertie of conscience.

9 Ninthlie, that the quene regent should faithfully prouide, that the preachers of the reformed religion should not be molested or hurt, either by hir, or by anie of the catholike gouernors. Both parties being thus satisfied with these conditions, the French entered Leith.]

Shortly after this, the duke of Chatelerault, partly through persuation of the earle of Argile his sister sonne, and the Westland lords, and partly because he understood that his son the earle of Arrane was fled forth of France to Geneva for the religion, he toke part with the lords from that time forth against the aduise of the bishop of saint Andrewes, and diuerse other his friends. This yere in June, Henrie the king of France, at the triumph of the mariages betwixt the king of Spaine and his daughter, and duke of Sanoie and his sister, was wounded in iusts at the tourneillis in Paris by the count Spontgomerie, and died of the hurts the tenth of Julie next ensuing, being the eleuenth day after he was wounded. When Francis his sonne, that had married the quene of Scotland, was crowned king at saint Denis, and annointed at Reims in September following.

* In the moneth of September, Croke a noble man of France was sent to the regent, to comfort hir in the kings name; declaring vnto hir that an armie was preparing to come into Scotland, vnder the leading of the marquess of Albufe or Elbufe (as saith Buchanan) and that in the meane time with all speed some tropes of men should shortly be there with monie, and other defenses of warre. And to the end that nothing should want to further hir, the king would shortly send certeine noble men into Scotland, which should counsell hir in these troublesome affaires. Besides which, he brought letters out of France from the king and the quene, to the prior of saint Andrewes, in which they rather sought to incline his mind by courtesie to obedience, before that they would enforce him thereto by warre. Which letters being by Lesleus turned out of French into Latine, are by me thus deliuered in English, with the answer of the prior to the same.

Francis king of France to Iames prior of the monasterie of saint Andrewes.

After that I understood by certeine letters, & by the common report of all (my cousin) that Scotland did flame in euerie part with tumults and seditions, it is strange to see how greatlie I was astonished thereat. But when I heard that you (to whome my deare father, my deare wife, and my selfe, haue giuen so manie large beneficts) should be forgetfull of them all liberallie bestowed, and become the author, head, and nourisher of this fire of contention and bualles; I could not be perswaded that you would so farre digresse from that office and dutie of pietie, which you haue alwaies made shew to beare vnto the quene.

But if the thing were so, as the common fame doth report of you, I did verelie thinke that the promises and flattering wordes of others had intised you to this deceit, onelie to take the fault vpon you; for whome

Duke Chatelerault taketh part with the reformers of the churches.

King Henrie was hurt and died.

Francis the Dolphin succeeded his father.

Fr. Thin.
Lesleus lib. 10.
pag. 554.

Lesleus lib. 11.
pag. 554.

whose cause (when they had discharged themselves thereof) the offense would seeme to be either none, or verie small, after that you had taken it vpon you. Which my opinion of you, if it be true, it shall be as sofull to me, as that which should be most sofull: for by this meanes I wisht that some part of my displeasure (into which I would haue you thinke that you are worthilie fallen) were quenched, in that you haue (as I heare) but onelie deceiued the good hope which we conceiued of your pietie towards God, and your faithfull seruice towards me.

Wherefore, sith nothing is more deere or acceptable vnto me, than that (controuersies appeard) all things without anie tumult maie be knit together by the law of good order: and sith the same (as it seemeth to me) maie best be done by your trauell, I doe admonish you by these letters, and (for the good will I beare you) doe earnestlie request you, that you will returne to your owne profit and fidelitie, from which you haue most shamefullie fallen, to the end that I maie by the same more plainlie vnderstand that you carie an other mind than that which I can gather out of your foolish doings, the which shall therfore appere to me, if at length you so bend all your force, that all things disordered in those parts, maie by your diligence be called backe to the common wealthe ancient, sound, and holie forme of obedience, which you know is due to God and me.

Wherwise I would haue you be perswaded that I will shortly subdue you, and all those which shall cleaue or minister helpe vnto you, in taking iust punishment vpon you, which I will bitterlie execute. The charge of declaration whereof, and the further large expelling of my mind, I haue committed to this bearer, whome I would haue you credit as much as my selfe. I praye God (cousine) to keepe you in health. Paris the sixteenth kalends of August.

Subscription,

Francis

A little beneath that: De Laubespine.

With which letters also the quene of Scots directed other letters in this forme, as here followeth.

Marie queene of Scots, and Dowager of France, to James the prior of the monasterie of saint Andrewes.

I can not see why Lesleus should call hie Dowager, sith by hie letter it appeareth hie husband was yet living, in that he talketh of hirs and hie husbands displeasure.



Can not (cousine) but greatlie wonder, that you which are not onelie nearest to vs by blood, but are also (as you know) greatlie benefited by vs with manie liberalities, should be either of that malice or boldnes, that you would with one fault ouerthrow the maiestie of God, and violate the authoritie of me and the king my husband. For it is a thing worthie of great admiration, to consider how it might happen that you who being present, did open to me the names of the duke of Chatelaunt, and of manie others, which seemed to you to diminish my authoritie, should now being absent (as a leader and head of all other seditious persons) hurt my dignitie, and that in matters of greatest weight, in which the honor of God is lessened, and my authoritie clearelie taken awaie: all which I should more easilie haue beleued of anie other my subjects, than of you.

Trulie most grienoullie (as I ought) I beare this, that you haue falsified that faith to me, which had a speciall hope of your fidelitie: though as yet I can scarce be perswaded to thinke you to be so farre from trusty and reason, that you would be caried awaie in

to such blind errors. All which I desire to fall out to be as true, as true maie be, requesting also of God so to glue to you his light, that returning into the right waie, you maie shew your selfe a good man, and obedient to our lawes, by doing contrarie things to that which you haue already performed. Wherefore, by these letters I admonish, and with intreatie as earnestlie as I can, desire you to recompense your former euill with following good deeds, and that the anger (which I and the king my husband haue bitterlie conceiued against you) maie by that means be pacified. Wherwise trulie I would haue you vnderstand, we will execute such punishment vpon you, that you shall for euer be mindfull thereof. The which doubtlesse if you compell vs by your doctes to performe, it shall be to you a most greivous thing. I praye God keepe you from all danger. Paris the 9 kalends of August.

Subscription: Your good cousine Marie.

James Steward the prior of saint Andrewes (whome prosperous successes had before aduanced) did in reading these letters of the king and quene so fire in anger and hatred, that he could not forbear but must needs returne answer, expressing the same (after confirmed by his doctes) though now somewhat smothered with good words. The effect of which letters were in this sort: That he was griened in his mind as much as he might, because he was so farre fallen into the mislike and displeasure of those princes, whome he reuerenced with great dutie, that they should bitterlie object vnto him in their letters that he was a seditious person, noted of ingratitude, fraught with malice, and defiled with heresie.

Touching which notes of these wickednes, sith they were imputed to him by the nobilitie of Scotland (meaning such as stood against the reformed religion) he with faire speeches requested the princes, that they would not attribute more to the malice of his enemies in accusing him, than to his brightness in purging himselfe: and that they should not thinke anie thing to be spoken by his enemies, but that which sanoured of malice, envie, and hatred, especiallie sith they did not onelie go about to diminish his fame abroad amongst the princes, but also at home did openlie laie wait for his life and living.

But he would so labor, that all men should well perceiue his good mind (towards the princes) fullie laied abroad without anie veile of dissimulation, whereby his aduersaries should be ashamed to haue laied such open reproch against him, and the king & quene should mislike that they had so easilie credited his enemies. Wherefore he desired that hereafter they should rather beleue anie thing of him, than that he would be noted for an vnthankfull man, as they had objected vnto him. From the detestable spot whereof (being of all the verie worst, sith nature abhorreth the same) he would keepe himselfe, and rather die by anie kind of torment, than to suffer the least spot of such a vice to dwell in his name, especiallie in the affaires of that king and quene, whereof he had found the first most courteous, and the second most bountifull.

And therefore, as he had with all dutie hitherto prosecuted their fauour, so he (would during his life) contend, that his trauell, diligence, and faith, should neuer want in performing or defending their affaires, so that they would not burthen him with that which might be a detriment to the cause of God and religion: for if either of them were in hand, neither the fraudulent counsels of his striving aduersaries, neither the bitter words of the sharpe threats of the king or quene, should make him leaue off, or repulse the

their worthie force in taking upon him the defense of those things.

Wherefore he would not haue the king or quene to thinke that their authoritie is touched, when he labored to pull awaie the deuises of the papists. From which onelic thing (sith he supposed the honor of God, the glorie of the king and quene, and the helpe and health of his countrie to be contained therein) he wold not be withdraue by the force of anie man, nor be in quiet for all the threats of the king and quene, until he haue wholie cut awaie the branches of superstitution, and vttlerie pulled by the roots thereof.

Croskes had scarce performed his ambassage for which he came (as before you haue heard) in deliuering these letters: but forthwith alanded at Leith Detraian a Frenchman, with foure troops of soldiers, with a great masse of monie, & other furniture needfull for the warres: whome after a few daies the regent sent backe againe into France, to requite of the king, that foure other companies of soldiers might be sent ouer, which might with those (alreadie now in Scotland) supplie the number of twentie Englishes: to whome also it were expedient to ioine a hundred hoymen, which number he affirmed would suffice to pacifie all the tumults in Scotland, so that foure ships well appointed might alwaies lie in the haven of Leith, to watch the port. All which if the Scots were prouided (by the benefit of the king) and that the coming of his brother the marquisse of Albuc were hastened, he promised then to bring all things to an end.

Besides which, the duke also signified vnto the king, that the Scots of the reformed religion, for the increase of their faction, had secretlie grown in league with some of the nobilitie of France, who did daile send letters and messengers to the Scots, to incourage them not to leaue off from their attempts; promising also vnto them that they would hinder (by all the means they could) that no great armie should be made out of France against them: and moreover, in that the Scots had sent ambassadors to Germanie, and into Denmarke, for religious cause, to requite aid from thence, but their chieftest and principall hope did rest (as saith Lelous) in England.]

During these things, the duke of Chatelaunt and the lords of the congregation sent to the quene (whereof we will speake more hereafter) beseeching hir to leaue off from making of forts within the realme. But she would not grant so to do: wherefore they assembled their whole forces in Edenburgh, and besieged the towne of Leith in October: the quene and Frenchmen, with the bishops of Saint Andrews, Glasgow, Dunfreis, the lord of Scron, and diuerse other Scottishmen being within it. But the Frenchmen of warre staid forth of Leith, and met nere to the abbey of Holie rood house, with the Scottish lords and their companie, where manie Scottishmen were slaine, & the rest chased into Edenburgh: the Frenchmen also following them vnto the gates of Edenburgh, had entred, if those within the castell had not shot off the artillerie at them, to stae the slaughter and pursue.

In the time of this siege, the young lord of Leithington, secretarie to the quene, being with hir in Leith, left the towne, & secretlie departing, got him to the lords, and holpe greatlie afterwards to obtaine aid out of England. After this, the quene and Frenchmen came to Edenburgh, which was peaceablie rendred to them, where they remained all that winter. About the same time, Nicholas Pelue the bishop of Amiens, monsieur de la Brosse, & two doctors of diuinitie, came to Scotland in September, and la Brosse was made lieutenant of the French araine, monsieur Partigues coronell of the footmen.

And with them came a great companie of French souldiers vnto the quene regent, so that then the French power was thirtie six hundred good men of warre, besides two bands of Scottish souldiers, vnder the leading of capteine Anthoine Kenedie, and James Stewart of Cardonall.

The Frenchmen being thus entered France, the value of the chieftest of the nobilitie were assembled at Edenburgh, of whome there was a day required of hearing to be giuen to la Brosse, and to the bishop, affirming that they were sent thither as ambassadors. To whome it was answered, that they did not seeke peace (as they did dissemble) but threaten war: for other wise to what end were it to bring armed soldiers to dispute thereof? For the Scots were not so ignorant of the state of things, that they would commit them selues to that deciding of matters, in which they might be compelled to accept conditions answerable to the mind of the aduersarie. But if amongst weapons it pleased them to make peace, they would also prouide, that they would not rather seme to be drawne therevnto by compulsion, than quietly led by reason. For if they did trulie & from their heart require that in deed which they seme in words, they would discharge those strange souldiers, and meet (as they haue often done in other places) vnarmed, as to a thing that by words and reason is to be decided, and not by swords the strength to be compassed. And thus much for the ambassadors.

Now you haue heard before of the battell of Leith, the besieging and the regaining of Edenburgh; touching which, because it is omitted before in the recting of the things done in those places, I thinke it not amisse (though it come a little out of course) to set it downe (as Buchanan hath placed the same) next after the speeches vsed to those ambassadors. Thus therefore he writeth touching the defense of Leith. These noble men (meaning those at Edenburgh) did write to the quene much after this maner, That they did greatlie maruell, that the regent pronoed with no iniuries, did so sone depart from the former covenants; and expelling the ancient inhabitants of Leith, and placing there a colonie of strangers, she would in that place build a castle to the destruction of the lawes and liberties of the realme, and to the danger of the liues of them all. Wherefore they did earnestlie intreat hir, that she would desist from this thing rashlie attempted (against the faith of hir promise, the publike commoditie, and the lawes and liberties of the kingdome) least she inforce them by necessitie to paie in aid of the whole people.

Besides which also, they which were assembled at Edenburgh, did write to the same effect, about a moneth after that they had dispatched the other letters, adding these petitions to the same last letters. That ouerthrowing the new fortresses, she would command all the strangers and hired people to depart out of the towne, to the end that it might be free for all men (according to iustice) there to traffike and vse their mutuall trade of buieng & selling one with an other. The which if she refused to do, they would take it for a sure token, that she ment to bring this kingdome into seruitude; against which euill they would prouide all that forer remedie that they could. Within three daies after, the quene sent Robert Forman chiefe herald to answer the matter, with instructions and commandements deliuered to him in these words.

First of all, you shall shew vnto them, that nothing could happen vnto vs more contrarie to our opinion, than that there should be anie other hauing authoritie here, besides my daughter and hir husband my sonne in law, vpon whome all our authoritie doth depend; that the former acts of the nobilitie,

Fr. Thin.
Buchanan.
lib. 16.

Buchan. lib. 16.

1559.

Leith besieged

The Scottishmen are banquished.

The quene came to Edenburgh

Frenchmen sent into Scotland.

"tie, and this present request, or rather commande-
 "ment doth well declare, that they acknowledge no
 "other superiouritie; and that their demands (or rather
 "threatnings) with what shew of words soever they be
 "cloked, are sufficientlie enough knowen unto vs, as
 "no new things. Againe, you shall require of the duke
 "of Chastellerault, that he call to mind what he hath
 "promised to vs by his words, and to the king by his
 "letters. Which was, that he would not onelie hear-
 "ken to the kings commandement; but also worke,
 "that his sonne the earle of Arrane should not at all
 "ioine with those tumults of the countrie, and whether
 "the things which he now doth, are the performance
 "of his promises.

"To their letters also you shall answer; that we
 "haue openlie shewed our induer to bzing things to
 "quiet; that we will grant to anie thing, which maie
 "not resist the pietie due to God, and doth not fight
 "with their dueitie towards their king and quene, and
 "that I did neuer so much as once thinke of the ouer-
 "throw of their lawes and libertie; and much lesse, so
 "much as dreame of conquering the kingdome by
 "violence. For to whome, or for whome should I seeke
 "the kingdome, when my daughter doth already
 "possesse it? Touching the defense and fortifying of
 "Leith, you shall aske them this; whether that we at
 "anie time haue attempted anie thing that waie, be-
 "fore that they with manie assemblies, and at length
 "with conspiracie among themselves, did openlie
 "shew that they would shake off the lawfull gouerne-
 "ment, and before that they at their pleasure troubled
 "the whole publike state (unknowledge to vs, who
 "held the place and authoritie of the chiefest gouernor)
 "strengthened their factions with strong cities, and
 "made league and couenants with our ancient en-
 "emies?

"And to omit other things, what cause can they (in
 "the end) bzing forth, whie it was lawfull for them to
 "retein an armie at Edinburgh, to invade the go-
 "uernors of those affaires? And that it is not lawfull
 "for vs at Leith for our owne defense and safetie, to
 "haue anie other gard about vs? Cruelie they seeke
 "thein, that we should labo: to shun their furie
 "(as hitherto we haue done) by continuall and dailie
 "change of places. Is there anie thing in their let-
 "ters that mentioned their dutie to the right magi-
 "strate? Doth there lie open anie waie for the resto-
 "ring of concord? Or do they shew anie token that
 "they would haue these seditions pacified, and that
 "they would all things should be reduced to their for-
 "mer state?

"Let them cloke this with what colour they will of
 "publike commoditie; yet it is manifest that they
 "thinke and seeke nothing lesse. For if they had one-
 "lie staied vpon a concord, we haue often shewed
 "them a waie thereunto. Neither are they ignorant
 "that these French had (by the commandement of
 "their king) bene long before dispatched out of Scot-
 "land, vnlesse their doings had bene the cause of
 "their stay. Wherefore, if they will yet now offer
 "anie honest conditions which may induce vs to hope;
 "and that (the maiestie of the gouernement alwaies
 "saued sound) maie declare that they will modestlie
 "and obedientlie obeie their superiours; we will re-
 "fuse no means to restore a concord & quiet amongst
 "them and vs, nor omit anie thing that maie tend to
 "the publike commoditie.

"Neither are we alone so affected towards them,
 "but also their king and quene; who hath sent vnto
 "them a worthy knight of the order of the scallop
 "shell, and one of the chiefe of the ecclesiasticall order,
 "with letters and commandements touching the
 "same: whome they did so contemne, as that they
 "would not touchsafe them answer, no nor so much

as hearing. Wherefore, you shall demand, and
 command the duke, the nobilitie, and all others of
 what condition soener, that they depart in sunder;
 or otherwise, that they shall not be kept together,
 vnlesse it be by strength of armes. To all this the
 next day, which was the three and twentieth of Oc-
 tober, the nobilitie answered after this order.

"We easilie vnderstand by your letters and com-
 mandements sent by the herald, how obstinatie
 you be euillie minded against pietie towards God,
 the publike commoditie of the realme, and the com-
 mon libertie of vs all: all which things we must
 defend, as of right we ought. Wherefore, from
 henceforth we do suspend and forbid your gouerne-
 ment, in the name of the king and quene, or by
 what other name or title you do vsurpe the publike
 administration of the kingdome; as persons cer-
 teinlie knowing, that those things which are now
 done by you, do with the mind of those princes fight
 against the publike safetie of this realme.

"And as you do not esteeme vs lawfull subiects of
 those princes & of this kingdome, to make a publike
 senate or counsell: so we do not acknowledge you
 for a regent to execute supreme authoritie; speciallie
 with the gouernement (if you haue anie such commit-
 ted vnto you by the princes) is for most iust & weightie
 causes forbidden you: and that in the name of
 the same princes, whose counsellors we are borne to
 be, chiefelie in matters which pertaine to the safetie
 of all the people. And although we haue determi-
 ned not to flee anie danger, in deliuering of that
 towne, in which you haue placed strange and hired
 souldiers against vs: yet for the reuerence which we
 beare vnto you, as vnto our quene mother; we
 earnestlie with all faithfull intreatie beseech you,
 that you depart from thence; whilst the cause of
 publike commoditie doth inforce vs to recouer that
 towne by weapons

"Besides which, we further request, that you will
 leade them out of the towne with you, within foure
 and twentieth houres; if there be anie which do chal-
 lenge vnto themselves the names of ambassadors,
 either to decide controuersies, or to gouerne the af-
 faires. For it is but equitie that we provide for the
 safetie, and willinglie spare the blood of all those
 hired souldiers, aswell for the ancient amitie which
 hath bene betwene the French and the Scots, as
 for the mariage of our quene with their king:
 which friendship we would rather should be increas-
 ed than diminished. The same day also, the said
 herald declared at his returne to the regent, that the
 day before it was perswaded in an assembled coun-
 cell of the nobles and the other commons; that all the
 deeds and sayings of the regent did onelie tend to
 verie tyrannie.

"Herevpon, there was a decre made to take the
 gouernement from hir: so that the whole com-
 panie subscribed, as to a most iust matter: and
 that there they did forbid anie ambassage, giuen or
 sent to hir by hir sonne in law and hir daughter:
 further, commanding hir to execute no gouerne-
 ment, vntill the generall assemblee of a parlement
 to be appointed by them in such place as they should
 thinke conuenient. The five and twentieth daie, the
 lords of the religion sent an herald to Leith, to will
 all the Scots to depart the towne within foure and
 twentieth houres, and to separat themselves from the
 subuerterers of publike libertie. Thus much Bucha-
 nan of this done about the state of Leith, before the
 nobilitie besieged the same (as is before set downe.)
 And so againe to the order of the historie.]

"The lords of Scotland, perceiving the French
 men increased, so that they by their owne forces onlie
 were not able to resist them, sent William Spetel-
 lan

The lords did
 for and vnto
 the quene of
 England.

lan to Elizabeth the quene of England for assistance, to expell the Frenchmen. Which the quene of England granted, not onlie for to serue the Scottish men; but speciallie for the seruice of hir owne realme and state, which as then was thought to stand in danger of trouble, in case the Frenchmen were suffered to remaine in Scotland: considering the euill dealing of the French king and his countrell in some points already shewed. The quene of England therefore sent the duke of Suffolke to Berwick, whither came to him the earle of Argile, the prior of saint Andrews, Harris the maister of Harwell, Robert Carnegie, and the young lord of Arthington secretaire; & made agreement to haue aid of England, to the effect afore said.

They had their request granted them. 1560. Ber. h. 1560. Lett.

Pledges sent into England

And James the sixth was brought into the castle of Argile.

And for sure keeping hereof, the Scottish lords deliuered pledges into England, there to remaine during the life of the king of France, and one yeere after his decesse. The pledges were these: David Hamilton, sonne to the duke of Chateleraut; another called Colme Campbell, cousin to the earle of Argile; Robert Douglas, brother to the prior of S. Andrews; and the lord of Lochleuin, and a sonne of the lord Ruthwen. About the same time, James Hamilton earle of Arrane, eldest sonne to the duke of Chateleraut, and capteine of the Scottish companies of men of armes and archers in France, being fled for religion secretlie to Geneva, from thence came by the conuoy of maister Randall Englishman into England: which at his comming into Scotland he performed, and joined himselfe with the earle of Argile, and other lords in the cause afore said.

The towne of Glasgowe taken.

The duke of Chateleraut, the earles of Argile, Arrane, and others, came to the towne of Glasgowe, and caused the images & altars to be taken downe, seizing the bishops lining into their hands, and toke the castell of Glasgowe pertaining to the bishop, and put certeine gentlemen into it to keepe it. Whereof the Frenchmen being aduertised, marched forward to Glasgowe, to the number of fife thousand men: the bishop of Glasgowe, the lords Scimpill, Seiton, Ros, and diuerse others with them, toke the castell againe, and staid one night of the towne, returned on the next morrow to Kirkintulloch, and from thence to Lithgow and Edenburgh.

Certaine Frenchmen slain.

After their returne from Glasgowe, a certeine number of Frenchmen went to Striueling, and passing by the bidge ouer the water of Firth, came into Fife, in purpose to haue gone vnto saint Andrews, and to haue fortified the towne. But they being in Kingcorme, there assembled together in fife the earles of Arrane, and Mothes, the prior of saint Andrews, the lord Ruthwen, the maister of Lindsey, and diuerse other, hauing with them no great number: but yet they daile skirmished with the Frenchmen, and would not suffer them to come from the sea side; where diuerse Frenchmen were slaine, and one of their capteins, with thirtie of his souldiers, and few Scottishmen, in manner none: except that the earle of Southerland, who chanced to be with them at the picking, was sore hurt and maimed in the arme with the dregge of a calauer shot.

1560. Lett.

The towne of Fife was fortified.

As the Frenchmen were in their progresse, at the mouth of the water of Leuin in Fife, there arrived in their sight a nauie of ships: which at the first hearing they toke to be French ships, but shortly after perceiving them to be the English nauie, they returned with great diligence to Wurnt Island, where they passed the ferrie of Kingcorme in botes and craiers to Leith, and instantlie began to fortifie that towne, casting great trenches about it, and making great blockehouses for their defense, as preuenting such perils as otherwise might haue befallen them, and

using remedies in due time, by warlike policie of present deuise, to prouide against afterclaps. The English ship came to the rode of Leith, where they cast anchor; the fourth Ides of Ianuarie.

In English name.

In the meane time, whilst these of the religion had almost destroyed all monasteries, certeine barons of Perth; partlie for hatred to the catholike religion (as the Romish cleargie tearmeth it) and partlie blinded with desire of preie (as in all assemblies of battell there will be some) ouerthrew the monasterie of the Carmelite friers in Aberdeen. Who going about also to haue spoiled the monasteries of the Trinitie, and of the friers Minors, were hindered thereof by the lord Leslie, and the baron of Buchquharne at the commandement of the earle of Huntlie. Notwithstanding which, they could not be so sufficientlie repressed, but that they went to old Aberdeen (so they call that place in that towne, which is beautified with the bishops palace, the catholike, and the vniuersitie) and would haue assaulted the magnificent and statelike church thereof. But to keepe them from the same, the bishop, & John Leslie (the offestall of that place, the one by counsell, the other by preaching; and both by the aid of the earle of Huntlie) did their induror, at what time the Leslies put them besides their purpose.]

Leslies lib. 10. pag. 560. Fr. Thin.

This Leslie is now called bishop of Ross and compiled an historie of Scotland in Latine, printed at Rome.

The quene regent hearing of the arrivall of the English, sent vnto the viceadmirall of that fleet, named maister Winter, requiring to know of him, for what cause he was come into these waters. This gentleman addresting himselfe to accomplish the commandement imposed and laid vpon him, came face to face to the said vice-admirall, and with countenance, wherein appeared tokens of inward courage, put forth his demand as he was intoned. The viceadmirall answered, that he had bene abroad on the seas seeking after pirats, and in case anie of them came thither, he was arrued there in the forth to wait on them: where as the principall cause in deed was to impeach, that no Frenchman should land there, in case anie came south of France, and also to keepe them that late in Inskith from vitels, and that no Frenchman should passe by sea south of Leith.

Whereupon the quene regent did send vnto the king of Frances orator in that realme, to request the quene of England, that she would call hir ships home againe, and that she would not send aiding souldiers to the lords of the religion (whome Leslies neuer tearmeth by anie other name than sedaries and seditious persons) whereby the peace might be broken with the French, and so occasion of warre giuen. Whereunto hir maiestie answered (with no lesse care of hir kingdome than became the maiestie of so good a mother to haue of hir children) that she had no such mind as to make warre. But because that she certeinlie vnderstood, that great troops of Frenchmen did daile land and increase in Scotland, for what cause she knew not: she could do no lesse than place souldiers in diuerse forts and hauens, which might defend the English from the malice or hurt of such strangers, if they should attempt anie thing. Neither would she suffer that hir people should set foot in Scotland, vnlesse that they were prouoked thereto by iniuries offered them.]

Leslies lib. 10. pag. 564. Fr. Thin.

About the same time, the quene regent, hearing that the duke of Suffolke was come to Newcastle as generall lieutenant of the north, sent an herald with a letter to him, in which letter it was signified that the herald had credit to declare further matter than was contained in the same letter. But when he was demanded what he had to say, he denied to haue anie credit at all. Wherefore William Flower, then Chester herald, and now Forreie king of armes, was

A Scots herald sent to the duke of Suffolke.

The historie of Scotland.

was sent unto the queene, who comming to Holie rood house nere to Edeburgh, was receiued by sundrie heralds, & so was had to one of their houses, and there kept for that night. The next day after he had dined, he was brought to the court, and at his entering within the gates, there were a number of harquebussiers readie with their paces that discharged and shot off the same.

At his comming to the presence of the queene, he with dutifull obeisance deliuered his letters, and after the same had bene read, he was demanded what credit he had to vtter. Whereupon he declared, that the duke of Norfolkke, being the queenes maiesties lieutenant in the north parts of England, maruelled greatlie that she would send an herald with letters, and write therein how she had giuen credit to him; and yet when he was demanded to vtter his credit, he should confesse that he had none. The queene herewith called for the herald, to understand whether he had credit or not: who denied to haue anie at all. Wherewith the queene seemed to be somewhat abashed, but neuertheless she brake forth and said, that the maruelled greatlie that the queene of England should send hir ships into hir riuer, without giuing hir knowledge aforesaid.

Chester answered thereto, that where it was certeinlie knowne, that the French king had prepared to send a power of men of warre into Scotland, without aduertising hir thereof; she could not but thinke that dealing verie strange, and therefore had in verie deed sent certein of hir ships, with vittells for provision to be laid within hir towne and castels on the frontiers. Which ships by tempest being dispersed, might happilie be dizen into the riuer there, albeit he had not spoke with anie of them since there comming forth. But yet (as he had heard by others) they had bene verie vncourteouslie vsed: for comming in after that manner for succor, the canon had bene bent against them. Herewithall the count Martignes standing by, began to speake verie stout words vnto Chester, alleging that where it was perceived well enough, that the queene of England ment to make war against his maister the French king, he trusted she should gaine as little thereby, as his sister had done in breaking with hir father Henrie the late French king. Chester herevnto answered, that he thought to haue found but one regent in Scotland, to whome he should need to make answer: whereupon Martignes was commanded to silence.

All this while the queene had talked with Chester in the Scottish tong. And because he did not so well understand hir, he began to speake in the French language: whereat the queene seemed greatlie to reioyce, & so began againe to discourse with him of hir griefs; and he on the other part made hir answer as fell best to purpose. And at length, when he was demanded what further credit he had; he declared, that where she had requested a safe conduct for monsieur le Brosse to passe through England into France, if she would see him safelie conueied to Berwikke, he durst assure hir of a sufficient safe conduct for his safe passage through the queene his mistresse realme: but at length, there was another gentleman commended to him, in lieu for la Brosse, that was his consine. And now when Chester shuld take his leave, he declared that he had not bene courteouslie dealt with: for since his comming thither, he could not be suffered to passe anie where abroad out of his chamber, but at meale times. And therefore if anie of hir messengers should come into the queene his mistresse dominions, he would procure (if he might) that they should tast of the like intertainment. But the queene seemed not to understand that he had bin

in anie wise so hardlie dealt with, shewing that she was not well contented therewith; and so Chester took his leave, and returned backe into England, without anie reward for his paines taken in that iourne, at the hands of the Scottish queene: how so euer she liked of his message.

In the meane time, there was an armie prepared in England, of seven or eight thousand men, who were sent into Scotland; the lord Greie of England being appointed generall, who came to the linkes, beside the towne of Leith, on saturday the first of Aprill. Before they pitched downe their field on the said linkes, monsieur Martignes, coronell of the French armie, issued forth of Leith with nine hundred harquebussiers of Frenchmen, to a little knoll called the Halkie hill, where a fore, continuall, and hot skirmish was begun betwixt the Englishmen and Frenchmen, with hagbuts, calauiers, and pistolets, which skirmish continued fure or six houres; in the which there were manie slaine on both parties, and diuerse hurt. At length Martignes was forced with his companie to retire backe to the towne of Leith, and the Englishmen pitched downe their campe, and planted their ordinance beside the said hill.

The lord Greie being in Spuskilburgh, sent to the queene regent, that laie as then in the castell at Edeburgh, desiring an abstinence of warre for foure and twentie hours, that in the meane time he might send some of his counsell to declare to hir the cause of his comming with that armie, and to commune of such things as might stand the shedding of blood. The queene granted herevnto, and sent an herald to Leith, to cause the said assurance to be taken: but per he came to the towne, the skirmish aforesaid was begun with forwardnesse inough of both sides.

In this meane time, the lord Greie sent sir George Howard, and sir James Cross to the castell of Edeburgh, to speake with the queene to that effect: who had long conference with hir vpon the blockehouse at the vtter gate of the castell, during the time of the skirmish; where they declared, that the occasion of the comming of the armie, was for the cause aboue mentioned, desiring the queene to procure the Frenchmen to depart the realme of Scotland: and they promised in that case to returne againe into their owne realme, and neither to disquiet Frenchmen nor Scots. Whereupon the queene took time to be aduised till the next day, that she might consult with the principall personages within the towne of Leith, requiring that it might be lawfull for hir to send to them to that effect, which was granted.

The next day she sent one Drummond a trumpet, or herald (as saith Lelieus) with a letter to monsieur de la Brosse, to the effect aforesaid, directing him to passe to the English campe, and to get a guide with him to go to the towne of Leith, as was agreed: and there was one appointed to go with him. But immediatly after his departing from the English campe, he was suddenlie called backe againe, and his letters taken from him, was commanded to repaire to the castell of Edeburgh to the queene, and to declare to hir that they would not haue anie talke, but would be reuenged on the Frenchmen, for the slaughter of their men the night before. Thus the parley ceassing, the siege was enforced with right sharpe pursute, and strong defending on either part.

The Englishmen cast trenches vpon the south, east side of the towne, and raised a little mount which they called mount Bellam after the captains name, and placed their ordinance aloft thereon: but because it was so farre from the towne, they did not so much scath thereto as they intended. The lord Greie, lieutenant of the English armie, lodged (during this siege)

1560.
An English
armie.
Lelieus lib. 10.
pag. 565.

They were
backed with
500 pikers
which kept
a while.

The lord
Greie sent
vnto the
queene.

When are sent
to speake with
the queene
mother.

The French-
men to depart
the realme.

The English
are desirous
to reuenge the
injuries done
vnto them.

A French cast
to little pur-
pose.

Martignes a
forward cap-
taine, but an
vnture pro-
phet.

siege) within the towne of Leith, in the deanes house, and the most part of their demilances and other hoistmen late in the same towne. The footmen with their capteins lodged in bales, tents, and pavilions, upon the south and southeast side of the towne of Leith, and diuerse Scottish lords incamped with them in the fields, as the earles of Argyle, Arrane, Forston, and Glencarne; the lords Boid, Ogiltrie, the prior of saint Andrews, the maister of Sparwell, and others. The duke of Chatelerault, and diuerse with him remained in Holie rod house: and with the queene in the castell, the bishop of S. Andrews, the bishop of Dunkeld, the earle Marshall, the lord Erskin capteine of the castell, maister James Spargill cleark of the register, the prouost of Dunglas, called maister Abraham Cheichon, and diuerse others.

The castell of
Blackenelle
towne.

Howe more
heret in
England.

Lesleus lib 10.
The queene
laboured for
an agreement.

Saint An-
thonies steeple
batter downe.

Mount
Summerfet.

They are bea-
ten backe.

Mount Fal-
con.

On Easter euen, capteine Wood, and capteine Dethicke, seruing on the sea under maister Winter the English admerall there, were appointed by him to passe by the river to Blackenelle, who with their bands going aboard into a barke prepared for that purpose, sailed forward: and on Easter day in the morning, presenting themselves before the castell, it was yielded to them by certeine Frenchmen that were within, and thereupon it was deliuered to the keeping of James Hamilton, an ancient gentleman; and capteine Wood, being set on shore, came to the campe before Leith by land. On blacke Monday, the Frenchmen, issuing forth of Leith, set upon the Englishmen in their trenches, and did much harme: as in the English historie it further appeareth. During the siege thus afoze Leith, the queene regent was sore bered with sicknesse, but neuertheless, she continued to labo: for agreement, not ceasing to send to the lords for to haue the matter taken vp. And for the better accomplishing of hir desire, she procured the earle of Huntlee to come forth of the north, who toke vp his lodging in Edinburgh, and toke great paines to treat betwixt the queene and lords for some agreement: but when he perceiued his trauell to be in vaine, he returned into the north againe, and left the siege lieng still as he found it.

In this meane while, the Englishmen, lodging on the southside of the towne beside mount Pellam, battered with their great artillerie at the parish church of Leith, and at saint Anthonies steeple, in which the Frenchmen had laid certeine peces of artillerie, and at length beat it downe: but perceiuing they could not do anie great hurt to the walles on that side, they cast new trenches upon the south and south west side of the towne, and raised a mount there, naming it mount Summerfet, & placed there on certeine peces in batterie, and so beat the wals, that a great part thereof was ouerthrowne, and a breach made. Whereupon the Englishmen & Scots on a morning came with their ladders, and presenting themselves to the assault, found the breach nothing reasonable, so that although they egerlie pressed forward to enter the towne, yet they were fiercely beaten backe with great slaughter and bloodshed on both parts, but namelie of the assailants.

The Englishmen, perceiuing that they were too rash in assaulting the towne, being not assaultable, deuised other shifts to obtaine their purpose, raising an other mount of earth on the west side of the water of Leith, and named it mount Falcon. Alost on this mount, when it was brought vp vnto a great height, they planted their great artillerie, which continually beat into the towne, soe annoieng them within, but speciallie beating the houses and places by the shore side, so that none might go by nor downe the towne on that part, without danger to be slaine

with shot from that mount. The Frenchmen, during the time of the siege, manie times issued forth towards the sands, and sometimes towards the trenches, so that sundrie foze skirmishes chanced betwixt the Englishmen and them, with the slaughter of diuerse, both of the one part and the other. Amongest other of them within, there were slaine two Scottish men of name, to wit, capteine Kenedie, and young Henrie Drummond: and of them without, there was slaine a Scottish gentleman, called the lord of Cleish.

The English armie was thoroughlie furnished with vittels forth of all parts of the realme, and that upon reasonable prices: but the French within the towne could get none, more than they had prouided before the coming of the English armie, which when it began to faile them, they were constrained to eat their owne horses, whose flesh seemed to them in that necessitie more delitious, than before that time anie manner of venison. Those within Inkeith also were in great necessitie of vittels: but yet neither they within the one place, nor they within the other, would render their strength, looking still for aid forth of France. * Whilist these things were done in Scotland, the French king, to shew how he fauoured the pope, and how farre he maligned the reformed lords of Scotland, sent his ambassadoz John Babone a Burdeseie knight, and that eloquent man Anthonie Apuret of France to pope Pius the fourth of that name, to yeld all the dominions of France & Scotland at the popes commandement.

The towne of
Leith being
nied of vit-
tels.

Fr. Thin.
Lesleus lib. 10.
pag. 568.

In the meane time, the queene regent, perceiuing hir sicknesse so to increase, that she looked for present death, sent for the duke of Chatelerault, and all the lords of Scotland that were in the towne of Edinburgh, and in the campe: who came vnto hir altogether into the castell of Edinburgh, where she made vnto them a graue and pitthe exhortation, persuaading them to vnitie and concord with their ancient friends of France; and now more steadfast to them than at anie time before, by reason of the marriage of the queene their good soueraigne, with the king of France. And herewith she brake out into certeine words, to dissuade them from the amitie contracted with the Englishmen, declaring that the Englishmen aided them not for anie other respect, than for their owne turne and commoditie. Whereupon, for hir owne part she said, that she fauoured the weale of the realme of Scotland, as much as France; considering she had the hono: to be queene and regent thereof, and hir daughter heritable queene of the same.

The queene
sent for the
lords.

The queene's
oration vnto
the nobles.

Furthermore she said, that if she had attempted anie thing that seemed or appeared to the noble men contrarie thereto; the same came to passe rather for lacke of wisdom and iudgement, than for want of anie god will: and if it pleased God to prolong hir daies, she would be glad to amend that had bene done amisse: and if he called hir to his mercie, she praised them most hartlie to acknowledge their dutie vnto the queene their soueraigne, and to mainteine their ancient amitie with the king and realme of France, & to make some good accord with the French that were within the towne of Leith, who would gladly accept the same, to the end that as well they as the Englishmen should depart this realme. For the feared greatlie (as she said) least if the French men departed, the Englishmen would still remaine, and subdue the land to their obedience: and therefore she besought all good Scottishmen to haue respect to the libertie and weale of their countrie.

A mistrustfull
mind.

After she had talked thus a good while with manie teares, she desired the lords to forgive hir in anie thing wherein she had offended anie of them, during the time of hir being in Scotland, which they gladly
ap m. f. seemed

The queene
takeith hir
leau.

The earle of
Huntleie and
Atholl are at
variance.

The matter
is pacified.

Fr. Thin.
Lefleus lib. 10.
pag. 571.

The castell of
Kosse taken.

The castell is
besieged.

The castell
was restored
again.

Ambassadors
sent.
Monsieur
Dionuc bis-
hop of Wa-
lence.

An ambassage
sent by the
queene of
England.

The Scottish
queene mother
departed.
Fr. Thin.

formed to doe: and on the other part, the forgave them with all hir hart (as it appeared) all offenses which they had committed against hir: and thus diuerse of them weeping, she take euerie of them by the hand, and so they taking leau of hir, departed, and returned into Edenburgh, and to their campe. Whilste the siege thus laie before the towne of Leith, diuerse great troubles rose in sundrie parts of the realme, and speciallie betwixt the earle of Huntleie, and the earle of Atholl, so that there was taking of prisoners, and overthrowing of houses on either part, and great preparation made; and armies put in a readinesse to invade either others countries.

But this businesse was pacified by the trauell and good mediation of maister Alexander Gordon, then postulat of Gallowaie, maister John Lesle official of Aberdeen, and William Lesle the young lard of Buchquhan, who agreed them for all matters in controuersie, & caused them to go to either others house. [During which siege of Leith also, the earle Bothwell, and Harlawise, then capitaine of the souldiers, and gouernor of the castell of Dunbar, did at Dunbar with manie light excursions intercept manie of the English and Scots going to Leith, whome they ransomed for a great summe.]

At the same time, one maister Donald Frasher, archdeacon of Kosse, take the bishops castell of the canonrie of Kosse, and kept the same against maister Henrie Sinclair, then bishop there, and the chiefest men of authoritie in that diocesse, as Wadenzee, Balnagoun, Foulis, and the thiriffe Tramerie, who assembled about the same, and besieged the castell, where great force was used, both by them without to win it, and of them within to defend it. The bishop being then resident in Comerce castell, hearing that the house wold not be gotten without great slaughter, thought it against his conscience, his profit, and honor, to win it in that manner: and therefore sending for maister John Lesle, official of Aberdeen, and maister Alexander Dunbar, subchantor of Murreie, by their labour and diligent treating in the matter, the bishop by reasonable appointment recovered his castell of them that held it against him.

The French king, vnderstanding in what distresse his men remained that were besieged within Leith, and perceiuing himselfe not able to send an armie to succour them within the time that the necessitie required, thought good to trie if the matter might be taken by: and to that effect sent two ambassadors, the earle of Randon, and monsieur Dionuc bishop of Valence, who declared to the queenes maiestie of England, the cause of their comming; which was, to desire hir to retire hir armie forth of Scotland, vpon some such reasonable conditions as might be agreed vpon. And herewith they declared that they were sent to the queene, and not vnto the subiects of Scotland: for it was not meet that the king should send to his owne subiects (as they were by the mariage of their queene) to require peace, or to condition with them for agreement.

The queenes maiestie of England therefore sent sir William Cecil knight, hir principall secretarie, and doctor Wotton deane of Canturburie and of Worke, one of the priuie counsell, with the French ambassadors into Scotland. Whilste they were yet vpon their iourne, the queene regent (whome they thought to haue found alieue, and to haue used hir helpe as an instrument to haue furthered the treatie to some good end) consumed partlie through melancholie, thought, and grienous displeasure, and partlie with long and incurable sicknesse, departed this life in the castell of Edenburgh the tenth of June, in the yere of our Lord 1560. & Hir bodie was first conueied into France, to the monastirie of Feschampe,

which is in Normandie, from whence it was caried to the abbey of S. Peter at Rheims in Champaigrie (whereof hir sister was then abbesse) in which it was after most honorable buried. She was a wise and vertie prudent princeesse, and in hir time had learned god experience of the nature and inclination of the nobilitie and people of Scotland.

During the time that she was regent, she kept god iustice, and was well obeyed in all parts of the realme in Dikemeie, and the weserne Isles. And if she had to hir owne experience ioined the counsell of the nobles and wise men of the realme of Scotland, without following the aduise of strangers, there had bene neuer question nor debate betwixt hir and the nobilitie, as some deemed. But because that others, and namelie, monsieur Doffell, and Rubie, were adioined to hir by the estates of Scotland, who daillie pressed hir to deuise new alterations of lawes, impositions, taxations, and such things as were not in vse in Scotland: therefore the estates and people of the land did grudge, although not for anie mistaking they had of hir, who surliie deceased, to the great griefe and lamentation of the whole number of the estates and people of the realme.

The death of that noble princeesse made the French men within Leith, and also the ambassadors more discouraged than otherwise they would haue bene. But neuerthelesse these foure ambassadors of England and France comming to Edenburgh, entered in conference among themselves, vpon articles proposed as well for reliefe of the Scotchmen, as for the weale and suertie of the queene of England and hir subiects. Wherevpon certaine lords of Scotland were admitted to talke with them also: and after long treatie, a peace was concluded the tenth of Iulie, in the yere of God 1560, with certaine articles touching as well Scots and French, as Englishmen. The effect whereof here insueth.

Articles of the peace.

First, it was agreed, that all the Frenchmen should depart forth of the realme of Scotland by sea into France, & to that effect should imbarke and make saile within the space of twentie daies next following: and because the Frenchmen had no ships, the Englishmen should lend them ships, and certaine of the Frenchmen remaine as pledges in England, till the same ships were returned.

2 Item, that they should render the towne of Leith, and the Frenchmen to haue their munition, bag, and baggage, to conueie awaie with them at their pleasure, and that the walls of the towne should be throtone downe and demolished.

3 Item, they should cause monsieur Charlebois capitaine of Dunbar, to demolish and race the fort which they had built before the castell there.

4 Item, that the Englishmen should raise their siege and depart forth of Scotland: after the departure from thence of the Frenchmen, and racing of the walls of Leith and Dunbar.

5 Item, that there should be made an act of oblivion, in which the queene of Scotland, with consent of the French king hir husband, should forget and burie in oblivion all attempts made by the lords of Scotland against their authoritie, from the tenth day of March 1558, to the first day of August in the yere of Grace 1560. And for confirming thereof, a parlement should be holden in Edenburgh, in the moneth of August next ensuing, in which parlement the same should be ratified and allowed by the aduise of the estates of the realme of Scotland.

6 Also it was agreed, that there should be a commission

Lefleus lib. 10.
pag. 569.
1560.
The praie of
the queene
Downes.

The ambassa-
dors came to
Edenburgh.

They haue
conference.
Peace is con-
cluded.
1559. Buch.

Articles of
the peace.

French sould-
iers depart
the realme.

Leith they
should render
it.

The fort be-
fore Dunbar
to be raced.
The English
men should
depart all.

An act of ob-
lition to be
made.

A parlement
to be kept.

mission sent from the French king and the quene of Scotland, to hold the same parlement to the effect aforesaid.

Co put a waite
the armes and
clanne of
England.

Possession to
be kept with
souldiers.

7 Item, that the quene of Scotland and king of France should cause to be put out and put a waite the bearing of the armes of England out of their scutcheons.

8 Item, it was agreed, that there should remaine still in the Ile of Iunkith three score Frenchmen, and as manie in the castell of Dunbar, to keepe (as it were) possession to the quenes use.

The French-
me depart out
of Scotland.

Parlement.

A confession
of faith publi-
shed.

Learned men
called.

A disputation.

Fr. Thin.

Lesleus, lib. 10.
pag. 174.

Kingis be-
haved.

The Scottish
quene went
into Lorraine.

Fr. Thin.

Buch, lib. 17.

The whole number of the Frenchmen (a few excepted that passed through England) went aboard the English ships in Julie, and sailed into France, and in companie with them went the bishop of Glasgowe and the lord Seton. The Englishmen departed also, and in their way caused the fort of Dunbar to be rased, as by the agreement of the peace it was appointed. A parlement was holden in August, and the act of oblivion ratified by the states, & a confession of faith published in the same: it was concluded also to send ambassadors into England, which was done. And shortly after, the lords summoned the principall learned men of the realme for the of the universities of saint Andrews, Aberdeen, Glasgowe, and other parts, to give a reason of their faith.

And amongst other of Aberdeen that took upon them to dispute with John Kanor, John Wullocke, and maister Godman [were John Lesle (doctor of both lawes, chiefe iudge of the diocesse of Aberdeen called official; who shortly after was senator of the high court, and of counsell to the quene of Scots, and lastlie made bishop of Ross) Patrike Pirton the treasurer, James Straguhine canon, and Alexander Anderson a verie graue diuine. At what time these Roman prelats behaved themselves so well, that they were commanded not to depart the towne; but to be present at the sermons of the ministers.]

In the winter, the lords of the counsell gave faculties of benefices to diuerse of their friends, who put forth the prelats, and received the fruits. The earle of Argile disposed Dunkeld and Dunblan. The earle of Arran had the ordering of the bishopricks of saint Andrews, also of the abbasies of Dunfermling, and Melrose, and other small benefices. The like was vsed by other noble men, through all parts of the realme. Shortly after, Francis the French king, husband to the quene of Scotland, departed this life in December, and Charles his brother was crowned in his place. The quene being then widow, and Dowager of France, departed from France (where the court lay when hir husband deceased) and went to the towne of Reims in Champagne, where she remained till the fifteenth daie of April following.

And then purposing to returne into Scotland, she took hir iourne towards Januille, and so into Lorraine, there to take leaue of hir kinsfolke by hir mothers side. The bishop of Glasgowe, and the abbat of Dunfermling Scottishmen, were still attendant on hir in this iourne. There were with hir also the cardinals of Lorraine and Guise, the duke Daumale, and the marquess Dalbeuf hir vnckles. Amongst whom there had bene great disputation touching the quene of Scotlands returning into hir owne realme, whereunto hir vnckles were verie willing; although some did seeme to staie the iourne, whose speeches tended to this effect as followeth.

That the iourne was dangerous, especiallie because the quene of England did not greatlie fauor it; then that she should come to men by nature barbarous & seditious, which would not easilie obeye the

gouernement of a man. Whereof she had fresh examples before hir eyes, of hir father, and of hir mother, whom (when they either could not or durst not openlie oppresse) they forced to a desperation of things with their manie deuises, sith they dallie liued by them in danger of honor or of life.

On the contrarie part, they which would haue the Dowager of France returne to hir naturall countrie, and were skilfull of the affaires of Scotland, did allege that those seditions were rather occasioned by the default of the kings & gouernors, than of the subiects; whilst they strued to reduce that kingdom (which from the beginning had alwaies bene free) to infinit bondage, and to the free power of the lawes: which that nation (being more warlike than welthie) could not indure. When contrarilie, they did not onelie defend all their gouernors (which did not attempt the ouerthrow of their liberties) from the outward enemie, and from the inward tumults of the people: but they also made them (through loue and dutie towards their kings) invincible ouer their enemies, and famous amongst strange nations.

And that the chieffest meane at this time to pacifie all those troubles in Scotland, was not to make alteration of anie thing in Scotland, from the state wherein enen now it standeth. Whereupon she resolved to come speedilie into Scotland, whereof more shall be said hereafter; untill which, we will intreat of other matters done in Scotland. The quene of Scots having hir mind still settled upon hir returne into Scotland; Roalius a senator of Burdeane landed before this in Scotland (whither he was sent) a little after the end of the publick parlement, for which cause he was staied and turned ouer to the next assemblie of parlement, which was appointed the twelfth kalends of June.

But when at that time also the nobilitie assembled did not sit in counsell, because they were yet uncerteine of the quenes mind; in the meane time James Steward returned out of France, and brought with him a commission, which gaue them authoritie to hold a parlement, therein to treat and conclude of matters touching the common wealth. Whereupon in the end there was audience giuen to the ambassador, the effect of whose legacie was, to renew the old league with France, to vndo the league with England, and that priests should be restored to their livings, out of which they had bene thrust by violence.

To these things it was answered, that concerning the league of France, they were not anie waie guiltie of the breach thereof; and contrarilie that the French had manifoldlie neglected the same; but speciallie of late, in seeking the authoritie of their publicke libertie, in that they would haue brought the people (their friends and gilles of anie euill) unto miserable seruitude. For the league with England, they could not by anie meanes dissolve that, except they should be counted most vnthankfull, recompense so great a benefit with great wickednes, & conspire against the defenders of their liberties. And as touching restitution for such as they called priests, they did acknowledge that they had not anie office, use, or authoritie in the church.

In this counsell also it was decreed, to ouerthrow all the monasteries of monks, for which cause diuerse were sent out into all places of the realme to execute the same. By occasion whereof, the quene being in France, and desirous to haue peacefull landing in Scotland; would not for this present meddle with religion, but dissembled the same: although Durens abbat of Ferline, and John Sinclair latelie appointed bishop of Brechin, did vehementlie perswade and laboꝝ hir to the contrarie.

pm. ij.

In

The historie of Scotland.

In this yeare also on the ninth of March, was the election of superintendents at Edinburgh, which was published to serue for the election of all other ministers in this forme following (John Knox being the minister thereof.) First was made a sermon, in which these parts were intreated; principallie the necessitie of ministers and superintendents. Secondly the crimes & vices that might vnable them of the ministerie. Thirdlie the vertues required in them. Fourthlie & lastlie, whether such as by publike consent of the church were called to such office, might refuse the same.

The sermon finished, it was declared by the same minister John Knox (the maker of that speech or sermon) that the lords of the secret councill had giuen charge and power to the churches of Louthian, to chuse maister John Spotswood superintendent, & that sufficient warning was made by publike edict to the churches of Edinburgh, Louthithgue, Strueling, Treuent, Haddington, & Dunbar, as also to carles, lords, barons, gentlemen and others, which haue or might claime to haue voice in the election to be present that daie at the same houre. And therefore inquisition was made, who were present, and who were absent.

After this was called the said maister John Spotswood, who answering to his name, the minister Knox demanded, if anie man knew anie crimes or offenses of the said Spotswood, that might disabill him to be called to that office. Which thing thise demanded, there was after question moued to the whole multitude; if there were anie other whome they would put in election with the said Spotswood. Then the people were asked whether (if they admitted the said Spotswood for their superintendent) they would honor and obeye him as Churche minister in euerie thing pertaining to his charge.

Whereunto the people answered that they would, which thus granted, there were further questions and matters touching the articles of the apostles cred, and concerning the state of religion propounded to the superintendent, intended to be created. Whereunto, when he had answered affirmatiuelie, the people were againe demanded for his allowance; which they easilie granted with the consent of the nobilitie. These things thus performed, and a certeine praier (to obtaine the spirit of God to be powred into this new elect vessell) finished, the rest of the ministers (if there be anie) and elders of the church present, in signe of their full consent, shall take the elected by the hand.

And so the chiefe minister giuing an especiall benediction (the forme whereof is there set downe, with the exhortation which they must also vse to the elected) this election is wholie finished (without anie imposition of hands on his head) and he sufficientlie created a superintendent minister; of whose election of elders, deacons, excommunications, and other ecclesiasticall regiment, I meane not to speake anie more (as matter impertinent to my discourse, though not to the nature of an ecclesiasticall historie) sith I haue onelie here in hand the politickall and temporall gouernement, and not the discourse of religion and essentiall forme thereof.]

Before this, in the beginning of the winter this yeare, the lords sent the earle of Morton and Clericame, and the young lard of Leidingten secretarie, ambassadors into England; to giue thanks to the queens maiestie of England, for the aid which they had receiued of hir, to expell the Frenchmen. The earle of Purreie passed through England into France. He departed from Edinburgh the eighteenth of March, and in Aprill came to Vitrie, as hereafter shall appeare; where he found the queene,

meaning to submit himselfe. But the day before he came, maister John Lesle officiall of Aberdeen was come thither, who was sent from the earle of Huntleie, and other the lords spirituall and temporall of the north parts; he took ship in the roade of Aberdeen, and landing at Bule in Holand, passed through the lowe countries in post till he came to Paris, and from thence vnto Vitrie aforesaid [the eighteenth kalends of March] where he found the queene, whom he most dutifullie saluted.

After which (being most courteously receiued of hir) he opened vnto hir the effect of his ambassage, which consisted speciallie vpon these parts; to admonish the queene that she should not suffer hir selfe to be blinded or deceived with the flattering wordes of James the prioz of saint Andrews (hir bastard brother) for his onelie drift was, that he (hauing no French aid with him into Scotland) might obtaine of the queene the whole gouernement of the kingdom, vnder the colour whereof he might more easilie teare & cleane ouerthrow the catholike religion; which he did assault by all meanes possible.

Wherefore Lesle did with all the firmest aduise and counsell which he might, vage the queene not to yeeld to his cloaked wordes. For the obtaining of which demand from the queene, he did filie ad to his persuasions, that James did rather aspire to the kingdom, than that he fixed his mind and eye vpon the ouerthrow of religion. Wherefore, if she had anie care of hir owne and the realms affaires; she must prouide that this James should remaine in France, untill she were arrived in Scotland, & had pacified all the tumults there.

But if she would not do so, that yet at least she should take order, that she with hir naue should land in the north parts of Scotland, & first go to Aberdeen; for by that meanes she might prouide, that the settled lords of the religion might sone be pacified, and the rest which were yet wauering, might more easilie and willinglie be brought againe to the catholike religion. For there was another order to be bled in Scotland, than that which the French obserued, whilest they gouerned there; at which time undoubtedly the Scots were hopelesse euer to haue inioied the presence of the queene.

But now, sith that the Scots do understand, that their queene (contrarie to their hope) will retorne vnto them, hir presence will (like the rising sun) so cause the clouds of all tumults to vanish out of the minds of all hir subiecs, that they will easilie incline to the mind of the queene, whatsoeuer she shall thinke, attempt, set downe, or decre, in restoring of religion. For the Scots are of that mind towards their princes, as they will in all things obeye their vpright gouernors; and are accustomed with no lesse mind to resist tyrants, if they sharpe vpon them in exaction of authoritie.

Wherefore Lesleus did earnestlie persuaue the queene in the name of the earle of Huntleie, and the other nobilitie, that she should not giue hir selfe (as vanquished) into the hands of the enemies, and especiallie of James Steward hir brother, from whome (as from a founteine) all their seditions haue had beginning. For James Cullen (kinsman to the earle of Huntleie, an expert scrutor in the warres by sea and land) was sent forth with Lesle (as capitaine of that iourne) to bring hir safe to Aberdeen. For all the nobles of the north prouinces will sone be readie with twentie thousand men to gard hir to Edinburgh, and to defend hir against all the counsels, decreits, and forces of all men.

Which message being thus ended from the mouth of Lesle, the queene commanded him not to depart from hir, untill she returned into Scotland; and further

Euerie nation
is to haue his
peculiar go-
uernement in
religion, as
is best liking
to the godlie
disposers of
the religi-
on of that
countrie, sith
vniuers monstrie
multitudo capi-
tur.

Ambassadors
sent into
England.

farther gaue in charge, that letters should be written to the peers and nobilitie of Scotland, to let them vnderstand of his comming into Scotland, & to be a witnesse of his good will vnto them. The next day after came to the quene at Altrie, in Champagne, James Stewart (which is toucht a little before) the prior of S. Andrews. Who after he had in reverence done his dutie, bound himselfe with all felicitie, trauell, and diligence, most religiouslie vnto hir; faithfullie further promising, that he would prouide that the Scots should willingly obeye hir, without anie forgotten powers to be brought by hir into Scotland.

For it was thought that he went into France for that purpose, to dissuade the quene that she should not bring any power of the French with hir. But in the end, vnto his mind more fullie, and putting awaie all suspicion of deceit, he did with more familiaritie request the quene to honor him with the erldome of Murray. Wherevnto the quene did courteouslie answer, that she would satisfie his request when she came into Scotland. Wherefore, when this James perceived that the quene was somewhat well bent towards him, and that she credited his words, he attended on hir vnto Fanculle, and there remaining with hir a certeine space, did after go into Scotland (as is before said) to prepare the minds of the people, that they might receive the quene comming vnto the realme, with good consent and dutifull honor; who passing through England, came into Scotland in the halends of Maie.

The nobles assemble at Edinburgh.

Ships wait in the narrow seas.

A safe conduct required.

Certaine ships taken.

Monsieur Daill.

The quene was conducted into Calis.

Ships taken by the quene into Scotland.

The quene arrived at Leith.

The duke of Chatelerault, the earles of Huntly, Atholl, Marshall, and all other the noble men of the realme, aduertised of the quens comming, assembled at Edinburgh with all possible diligence. In the meane time, whilst the quene was preparing to take hir iourne, and to come into Scotland, the quene of England set forth some of hir great ships to the seas, to watch & guard the coasts of hir realme. Whereof they being aduertised in France, sent the abbat of saint Colmes Inch to the quene of England, to desire of hir a safe conduct, in case by wind or tempest she chanced to land in England. But before he was returned to Calis therewith, as he was appointed: the quene and hir retinue were safely landed in Scotland; neuertheless, the English ships took some of the Scottish lords, as the earle of Glenton his ship, and others, which were brought into England, and staid for a time; but were after released, and sent home into Scotland.

The quene also, by the aduise of the K. of France, sent monsieur Daill into England, to passe through the same into Scotland before his coming, there to haue received the forts of Dunbar and Incheith, of monsieur Charlebois, and to haue kept the same till his comming. But he was staid, and passed no farther than to London: for it was thought that his going into Scotland would turne to no great benefit of that realme; because that he & monsieur Aubrie were the principall authors of all the troubles in Scotland, betwixt the quene regent, and the nobilitie there. She was attended on from Paris vnto Calis with manie noble men; namelye hir six vnckles, the dukes of Guise, and Daumall, the cardinall of Lorraine and Guise, the grand prior, and the marquesse Dalbeuf, also the duke de Beigners, and other of hir friends and kinsmen.

There were two gallies prepared, and certeine other ships to go with hir into Scotland, and there went with hir three of hir said vnckles, the duke Daumall, the grand prior, and the marquesse Dalbeuf: also monsieur Danulle the constable sonne, and diuerse other. She arrived at Leith the twentieth day of August, in the yeare of our Lord 1561, where she

was honorablie receiued by the earle of Argyle, the lord Erskin, the prior of saint Andrews, and of the burgesse of Edinburgh, and conueied to the abbey of Holie rood house. For (as saith Buchanan) when some had spread abroad hir landing in Scotland, the nobilitie and others assembled out of all parts of the realme, as it were to a common spectacle.

Fr. Thin.

Buchanan, lib. 17.

This did they, partly to congratulat hir returne, & partly to shew the dutie which they alwaies bare vnto hir (when she was absent either to haue thanks therefore, or to prevent the slanders of their enemies; whereof not a few by these beginnings of hir reigne did gesse what would folio: although in those so variable motions of the minds of the people, euerie one was verie desirous to see their quene offered vnto them (vnloked for) after so manie haps of both fortunes as had fallen vnto hir. For when she was but six daies old, she lost hir father among the cruell tempests of battell, and was by great diligence brought vp by hir mother (being a cholen and worthy person) but yet left as a price to others, by reason of ciuill seditions in Scotland, and of outward warres with other nations, being further laid abroad to all the dangers of frowning fortune, before she could know what euill did meane.

For leauing hir owne countrie, she was nourished as a banished person, and hardlie preserved in life from the weapons of hir enemies, & violence of the seas. After which, fortune began to flatter hir, in that she honored hir with a worthy marriage, which in truth was to this quene rather a shadow of ioye, than anie comfort at all. For shortly after the same, all things were turned to sorrow, by the death of hir new yong husband, and of hir old and grained mother, by losse of hir new kingdome, and by the doubtful possession of hir old inheritable realme. But as for these things she was both pitied and praised; so was she also for gifts of nature as much loued and fauored; in that, beneficiall nature (or rather good God) had indued hir with a beautifull face, a well composed bodie, an excellent wit, a mild nature, and good behavior; which she had artificiallie furthered by courtlie education and affable demeanour. Whereby at the first sight, she won vnto hir the hearts of most people, and confirmed the loue of hir faithfull subiects.]

Being thus come out of France, she brought into Scotland manie rich and costlie iewels of gold & ioyes, pretious stones, orient pearls, & such like, as excellent and faire as were to be found within Europe, with rich furniture of household, as hangings, carpets, counterpoints, and all other necessities for the furnishing of hir princelie houses. The chiefest part of the hangings and other furniture of household, was shipped at Rone, and arrived at Leith in the moneth of October next following. After the quene of Scots had remained the space of foure or five daies at Holie rood house, the duke of Chatelerault, the earle of Argyle, and diuerse other of the nobilitie being present, there was an act made by the lords of the counsell [in which none of the cleargie (as saith Lesleus lib. 10. pa. 80) were present] with consent of the quene, that to remoue all causes of trouble in time to come for the matter of religion, it was ordeined, that no alteration of the estate of religion publickely standing within the realme, at hir arriuall in the same, should be made; & that nothing should be attempted, either publickely or priuatly to the contrarie, vpon great paine, which was put forth and published through all parts of the realme with great diligence.

Costlie iewels

Hir household stuffe.

In that made concerning religion.

Fr. Thin.

After this, there were eleuen temporall lords, and one bishop chosen to be of the quenes secret counsell, by council.

33 m. 17.

Secretarie.
Comptroller.
Lords of the
private council.

by whose aduise she should rule and gouerne things, sir of them to remaine continually with hir in rowne of officers, as the secretarie, comptroller, and others. The lords of the priuie counsell were these, the duke of Chateleault, the earle of Huntley, the earle of Argyle, the earle of Atholl, the earle of Sparthall, the earle of Glencarne, the earle of Spontroll, the earle of Erroll, master Henrie Sinclair bishop of Ross, and the lord Erskin, with the prior of S. Andrew. * But among these reioicings of the quenes intertainment into hir kingdom, there happened a light fault, but such as did depeleie enter into the minds of both the factions, of the catholikes (forsooth) and of the reformed religion.

Fr. Thio.
Buchanan.
lib. 16.

For where it was agreed by the quene and the nobilitie, that no alteration should be had of religion in the publike state, yet was masse permitted to hir and to hir familie priuile to be vsed. For the preparation wherof whilest the vestments and other things were caried through the hall into the chappell, one of the companie snatched a waie the war candels and brake them: by occasion wherof (if some of the household had not come betwene to helpe in that action, and ended the same) all the other furniture had bene throwne downe. Which matter was taken of people diuerslie, some blaming it as a most sacrilegious part; others interpreting it, that it was onelie done to trie the patience of the priest: and some iudged and said that the priest was worthy to be punished with that paine which the scripture appointeth to idolaters.

Which matter in the verie beginning was appealed by James the quenes bassard brother, not yet created, but in expectation earle of Surreie. For which cause he would not offend the quene, as I suppose, though afterward he not onelie offended hir, but deposed hir, and set vp hir sonne; as moze plainlie shall hereafter appeare. At the quietting of this matter (saith Buchanan) George Gordon was greatlie grieved, being a man bent to all occasions of troubles, who thinking now to win fauor to him thereby, did say to the quenes vncles that were present, that he would reduce the countrie beyond Callidon vnto the old religion. The which being indeed suspected of manie, and feared by such as had heard manie other things of his wit; they caried the same to the quenes brother, by meanes wherof this little sparke in the beginning was the occasion of all the long ciuill dissention in Scotland, as I am led to iudge by manie reasons.

Leileus lib. 10.
pag 587.

But now although the gouernment (as befoze is touched) was appointed to twelue befoze named, or at lest to six, which by turnes should be assistant to the quene: yet the whole deed of ruling did in effect depend vpon hir bassard brother James, by reason of the fauor that the quene especiallie did beare vnto him. Wherefoze this James, vsing the quenes authoritie at his pleasure, did bestow manie liberrall gifts vpon his fellows. Which the nobles so much misliked, that in the end manie of them began egerlie to beare his authoritie, as hereafter shall be moze touched.

Danmalt went
with the two
gallies into
France.
The rest went
through Eng-
land into
France.

A preparation
of triumphs.

The duke Daumall, after he had remained with the quene a certeine time, tooke his leaue of hir, and with the gallies returned into France. The grand prior, and monsieur Danuille taried some what longer, and passed through England into France. The marquesse Daulbrut taried in Scotland all the next winter, till the spring of the yere, and then returned into France through England. The towne of Edinburgh prepared great and collie triumphs for the quenes entering, which she made into that towne in the moneth of September. After this,

she passed vnto Strueling, and from thence to Perth, and then to Dundee, and also to saint Andrewes, into which towne she was receiued with great honor and triumph. From saint Andrewes she returned vnto Edinburgh, where she remained all the next winter. In December there was a great assemblie of all the principall lords, spirituall and tempozall of the realme; where it was demanded of the prelates, to grant the third part of the fruits of their benefices to the quene, towards the bearing of hir charges for the maintenance of hir traine, and to sufficeine the ministers, till some order were taken to mainteine hir household, and a gard to tend on hir, by the aduise of the estates.

The quene
visited the
townes.

An assemblie
of the lords.

The third
part of the spir-
ituall livinge
demanded.

The prelates agreed for the quenes pleasure to support hir with the fourth part of the fruits of their benefices, for one yeres space onelie, to helpe to beare hir charges, and to sufficeine hir gard; and in the meane time order might be taken by the aduise of the whole estates for the same. But notwithstanding the refusall of the prelates to paie the third part, the lords of the priuie counsell made an act, and set forth letters, that all the prelates and beneficed men should be charged to paie pærelie to the quenes comptroller and his collector, the whole thirds of all fruits of their benefices; and that it should be lawfull to the comptroller and his deputies, to take the third of what part of euerie benefice where he best pleased, and to deale therewith at his pleasure: also to haue to do with the rents of brotherhoods of common churches, and such like. This order hath bene obserued euer since, not without great grudge of the prelates, and other beneficed men of the realme, and their friends, as well those that professed the reformed religion, as others.

An act for the
charge.

* Whilest these things were in doing, William Spettellan the younger was sent ambassadoz into England, to salute the quene of that realme (as the maner is) & to declare the good mind that the quene of Scots bare vnto hir, & the desire that his mistresse had to haue peace and vnitie preserved betwene them. Besides all which, and manie other demands touching Scotland (which I suppress for manie reasons, because (as Salomon saith) *Corregis insinuatibiles*, & the mysteries of princes gouernment are not to be laid open to common eyes and cares) this ambassadoz deliuered letters to the quene of England from the nobilitie of Scotland. In which there was a courteous remembrance of hir former fauor, and of their good will. Requesting further that the quene of England would shew a publike and priuat liking and friendship to their quene, to the end that the quene of Scots prouoked by hir benefices, might not onelie remaine steadfast in the amitie already begun: but might also (if it were possible) be dealt moze and moze fast bound vnto hir; and they for their parts would not omit ante occasion with all god will and diligence to continue this amitie.

Fr. Thio.
Buchanan lib. 17.

To which ambassadoz the quene of England made no lesse honozable than wise answer: the effect wherof, because it concerneth matter of great importance, & is long and largelie already set downe by Buchanan, in hir maiesties singular commendation to the whole world in the Latine tongue, I thinke it not necessarie here to repeat: and therefore I do purpofelie omit the same, least I might seeme by flatterie to intrude my pen into the eloquent speech of hir maiestie; and not being able to deliuer it with such grace as both she spake it, and Buchanan peneth it, I might dishonor hir, & overthrow my selfe, like vnto Phaeton. For as he, taking vpon him to rule the chariot of the sunne, was by his insufficiency therfore consumed with the heat and glorie thereof, so should I in presuming with unskill to pen the tale

tale of such a worthy prince, consumes my credit, in misreporting or defacing the maiestie, grauntie, wife, dome, and life of his singular wit and eloquence. For which cause, leaving the same, we do in this sort bring backe our pen to the continuance of the historie of Scotland.

Buchan. li. 17.

The quene of Scots had a brother called John, a man desirous of authoritie, but yet not so seuerie in mind as was James the other brother. This John easlie perswading himselfe to obeie the quene in all things, was the more dære vnto hir, and most fit for hir, desirous (as saith Buchanan, but how trulie I know not) to confound all things. With this John (in absence of the other brother James) he did consult to hir a companie of souldiers to be about hir, the cause whereof was this. In the night there was a tumult or stir, as though the earle of Arran would, in the absence of the nobilitie, secretly set vpon the quene, and by strength haue labored to carie hir to his castell, which was fouretene miles from thence. All which seemeth likely to be but a tale, either for the quenes mind that was estranged from him, or for the immoderat loue which he bare vnto hir: both which were sufficientlie known to the common people. Which tumult being spread abroad, these souldiers after they had all night scowred the fields, riding vp and downe hither & thither, they shewed themselves the next day before the court gates, to the offense of some, and the iell of others.]

1562.

James Stewart made earle of Arran.

Fr. Thin.

Fr. Thin, Buchanan lib. 17.

The Sunday before Shouetueidaie, being the eight day of Februarie (as some write) James Stewart then prioz of Saint Andrews, and earle of Arran, brother to the quene, was made earle of Arran, [in place (as saith Buchanan) of the earldome of Arran, which belonged to John Arskine] by the quens speciall gift, and was married the same day vnto Agnes Bethy, daughter to the erle Marshall, with great feasts and triumphs, lasting three daies. * In which marriage he did so much exceed, that he greatlie offended the minds of his friends, and ministered matter to his enemies to speake euill of him; and that the more vehementlie, because he had before time in all his life behaued himselfe far more temperatlie than he did at this time.]

The quene of England desirous to speake with the quene of Scotland.

The meeting time was appointed.

Fr. Thin, Buchanan, li. 17.

The quene of England desirous to haue a meeting betwixt hir and the quene of Scots hir cosine, sent diuerse messengers with letters, desiring hir most instantlie to come to Porke, where she would meet hir, to talke with hir of diuerse matters, that might make to the confirmation of the amitie and friendship which nature had knit betwene them, by consanguinitie and affinitie of bloud. And after consultation had with hir counsell, the quene of Scots agreed thereto: and so they were appointed to meet at Porke in the moneth of Iulie next following. But when things were prepared and put in a readinesse for the iournie, the quene of England sent word to the quene of Scots, that she could not keepe the appointment made for their meeting, desiring hir to haue hir excused for that time. Which message was accepted, and so the iournie failed.

* Much about this time, or rather somewhat before, as in truth I suppose it was, James Hamilton being duke of Chatelerault, and father to the earle of Arran, first wrote to the quene, then after went he vnto hir to Saint Andrews, and with manie praies requested hir that she would vpon sufficient pledges deliuer to him the earle Bothwell, and Caluyn Hamilton, but he could not obtaine aie thing therein at hir hands. At what time also the quene went to Dunbarton (which Hamilton held since the time that he was gouernor) to demand the deliuerie of the same into hir hands, which was accordingly deliuered vnto hir. * Wherupon after, the quene of Scots

toke his iournie towards the north parts of Scotland, and set from Striueling in the moneth of August.

About this time it chanced that the lord Ogilvie, and John Gordon of Finner, sonne to the earle of Huntclie, met on the callesie of Edinburgh & fought, where (after manie blowes and stripes giuen and taken) the lord Ogilvie and his companie were hurt. Wherefore John Gordon was taken, & put in ward at the tolbutth of Edinburgh, out of which he escaped, after he had remained prisoner therein about twentie daies, and toke his waie northward: whereupon followed great trouble hostlie after to the house of Huntclie. The quene accompanied with the earles of Argile, Arran, and Morton, the lord Erskin, and others, passed forwards in his iournie towards the north part, and caused John Gordon of Finner to be summoned to appeere and answer the law at Aberdeen, for breaking prison, and hurting the lord Ogilvie. The quene comming to the towne of Aberdeen, was honorable receiued with diuerse orations, and Latine enterludes, before the grammar schole and college.

* These things thus done at Aberdeen, as the quene determined to go further, she was intreated by John Lesle a noble man, and follower of the Gordons, to boughsafe his house in his waie, being 12 miles from the towne: to which she granted, & went vnto the same. This place, because it was no common place of resort, was thought verie convenient for the execution of the earle of Arran, whose death was conspired (as after shall appeere.) Where vpon Lesle, who was not ignozant of this secret counsell, besought the quene that she would not laie such a note of infamie vpon him and his familie, that he should seeme to haue betraied the chiefest brother of the quene, no euill man, and one that was not his enimie, whereby he might come vnto his death at his house. Wherevpon it then ceased, and the next night was also quietlie passed ouer at Rothmie, a towne of the Abernethians, because the next day the quene was determined to go to Strabogie.]

Wherevpon the earle of Huntclie, hauing before heard that his sonne was thus summoned, assembled the principall earles, lords, barons, and gentlemen of the north, who came with him to Aberdeen, to helpe his son at the law day appointed for his appearance, which was in September. The earle came vnto the quene himselfe, and at length it was agreed, that his sonne the said John Gordon should retorne to prison againe in Striueling castell, there to remaine during the quenes pleasure. But he following the euill counsell of some young heads that were with him, neither fulfilled the quenes pleasure, nor his fathers appointment, but attempted to reuenge his extreme handling (as he toke it) vpon the earle of Arran, whome he put most in blame for the rigor shewed against him, but his enterprize toke not effect. Now the quene aduertised of his disobedience, went not to Strabogie, notwithstanding there was great preparation made for hir in that place, for the receiuing of hir and hir traine: but she went vnto Balluanie, the earle of Athols place, and from thence to Kiltlos, to Larnelwaie, and so came to Inuernesse, and there lodged.

In this meane while, the earle of Huntclie, purposing to attend on the quene at Inuernesse, caused prouision to be made in the castell for his lodging. The quene suspecting his dealing, least this should be done vpon some policie, commanded the keepers of the castell to render the same to one of hir heralds: but it was not deliuered till the next day, and therefore the captaine of that castell called Alexander Gordon, for refusing to deliuer it, was hanged vpon the towne hanged.

The quene made hir progress into the north parts of Scotland. Lord Ogilvie and John Gordon fight together.

John Gordon breaketh prison.

John Gordon is summoned by the quene.

Gordon is accompanied with a great companie.

Fr. Thin, Buchanan lib. 17.

Gordon is commanded to Striueling castell.

He disobieds.

The quene suspected the earle of Huntclie.

Alexander Gordon was towne hanged.

toluene bridge. The lord Gordon & his brother John Gordon of Finntater came that night within a little space distant from the toluene of Inuernesse, which caused great feare in the toluene, so that there was a diligent watch all that night. The earle of Huntley being come to Kinlosse, and hearing that the castell of Inuernesse was commanded to be giuen vp into the hands of an herald, sent with all diligence to the keepers, that they should deliuer it, & returned himselfe to Strabogie.

Fr. Thin.

The quene remained in Inuernesse the space of foure or fve daies, where the principall captaine of the clanes of the countrie came to hir, and with a great companie [of the ancient Scots (as hath Buchanan) whereof the chiefe were the Fraissers and Murreies, valiant families in those parts] conueied hir to Spine, where she was informed that the earle of Huntley had gathered an armie to come against hir, and made their assemble at Spaie. Whereupon, they toke with them all the artillerie ouer Spine, and caried the same in carts, and all other kind of munition, and passed forward to Bamf that night. The earle of Huntley all this while came not forth of Strabogie. The quene as she passed forward, rode to the place of Finntater, and there in hir owne presence, caused the keepers thereof to be charged to deliuer it, which they refused to do. From Bamf the quene rode to the lard of Seichtis place, called Seicht, and the next day there was great preparation for hir entrie into the new towne of Aberdeen. She lodged one night in the bishops palace, and the next day she was honorablie receiued, and lodged in the prouosts house of the towne, where she remained all the time of hir abode in Aberdeen.

She came to Aberdeen.

The earle of Huntley is sent for.

The earle of Huntley is sent into the quene.

The Gordons are imprisoned.

The earle Bothwell escaped out of prison.

Fr. Thin. Buchan. lib. 17.

After this, the lord John prior of Coltingham, with diuerse gentlemen, was sent against the earle of Huntley to Strabogie, but he was escaped before they approached. The ladie Huntley receiued them verie courteously, and gaue them good intertainment, and so they returned. There was charge giuen to Louthian, Jffe, Angus, Stratherne, the Merns, and to the shire of Aberdeen, to come to Aberdeen quarterlie, ouer the countrie to remaine there fiftene daies; and so they did, during the time of hir abiding there. The earle of Huntley sent his wife in message to the quene and counsell, but she was not admitted to come within a mile of them, but commanded to returne. After this, he sent a messenger, offering to enter in ward till his cause might be tried by the whole nobilitie: but this was refused. In the meane time all the principall of the Gordons that were landed men, were charged to enter into ward. About the same time James Hepburne earle of Bothwell, who (upon displeasure conceiued against him about a quarrell betwixt him and the earle of Argyll, had bene committed to prison in Castles Wyke last before past) escaped out of Dauidis towne in Edenburgh at a window.

The earle of Huntley, vnderstanding by his friends at the court how things passed, determined to flee to the mountains: but after (trusting to the promises of his friends) he determined to abide battell in a place of some strength. Whereupon in October he came with his armie to Cornethie in Mar. By reason whereof the earle of Murreie, who at the first had scarce a hundred horsemen with him, began with James Douglas earle of Morton, and Patrick Lindseie, to lead an armie against his enemies, and gathered a greater number of eight hundred people of the regions adjoining. Wherefore he first placed souldiers about the water passages, to keepe all those places, that Huntley should not escape, and with the rest went forward on a soft pale, to meet his enimie: whose coming Huntley did av-

bide, with three hundred men, keeping their places, although not a few of that companie were fled from the Gordons the night before.

When the earle of Murreie was come to the side of a hill, from whence he might see all the marshes about him, he incamped there in a slender order of battell. At length the armies met, at what time manie on the earle of Murreie his side did flee awaie, hauing before giuen a signe to the enimie. But the earle Murreie, which saw there was no succour in fleeing, stood to it valiantlie, called his men together, set upon the enimie, caused them (which before folloved his men fleeing awaie) now to flee as fast backe as they came forward. Which change of fortune when the traitors that before fled did perceiue, they came afresh and pursued the Huntleys, and (to cleare them from the first fault) committed all the slaughter that was done that daie.

There was killed of the part of Huntley a hundred and twentie, and a hundred taken: but on the other side not one. Amongst such as were taken, was the earle Huntley himselfe, and his two sons, John and Adam. But the father being old and short breathed by reason of his grossenes, was slaine betwene the hands of such as toke him, and the rest were late in the night brought to Aberdeen. The quene seemed sozie for the earles death. Yet in Nouember John Gordon was beheaded in Aberdeen, and shortly after the quene returned southwards, leaving foure commissioners in Aberdeen, the treasurer, maister James Murgill, maister John Spens of Candie, and the lard of Pettarroto, to compound for the effects of them that were in the field with the earle of Huntley. Great summes of monie were taken and leuied of them for that trespass. The earle Bothwell was commanded the first kalends of December by an herald to yeld himselfe againe to prison, but because he would not, he was declared a publick enimie.

John Gordon is beheaded.

Fr. Thin. Buchanan. lib. 178.

The lord George Gordon, eldest sonne to the earle of Huntley, was taken by the duke of Chateherault his father in law, at Camernoull, and brought to Edinburgh, where he was put in the castell, and after by a iurie conuict, forsailed, and condemned to die, and sent to Dunbar castell, there to remaine in ward, where he continued till the yere of God, 1565. At this time was a monie muld set upon such as did eat flesh in the time of Lent. The setting forth thereof was not so much for religion, as for publick commoditie, by the iudgement of Buchanan. The archbishop of saut Andrews, because (after an edict made therefore at the quenes coming into Scotland) he did not abstaine from hearing and saying masse, was committed prisoner to the castell of Edinburgh, and the rest that were found in such actions: were confined, with promise of a greater punishment to be laied upon them, if they were found offending againe in that sort.

The lord Gordon is taken prisoner. 1562. Buch. 1562.

Fr. Thin. Buchanan. lib. 17.

The quene held a parlement in Edenburgh, where the earle of Huntleys dead bodie was brought presented before the estates in the tolbooth, and forsailed. The earle of Sutherland George Gordon was forsailed also, and diuerse other of their friends. And in this parlement the act of obliuion was ratified and approued, and diuerse other new acts made. This yere in August, the quene went on progresse into Argyle. This yere deceased diuerse counsellors or senators of the college of Justice: as maister John Sathephanson chancelor of Glasgou, and the prouost of Cosgrophine. In place of the first maister John Leche, official of Aberdeen, was promoted; and in the prouosts place maister James Baulfour succeeded: where came an ambassado: from the king of Sweden, to treat of a marriage to be contracted with the

1562. A parlement.

The act of obliuion ratified.

The quene goeth on progresse.

New officers.

1564. Ambassadors from Sweden.

quene, but his message was not regarded. The second of Julie, Henrie Sincle bishop of Koffe shipped at Leith, to passe into France, to procure some helps of his disease. He was cut of the stone in Paris, and died the second of Januarie next after. There succeeded to that bishopricke of Koffe, maister John Lelle, parson of Dunc, being then one of the senators of the session and college of iustice.

In the moneth of August, the quene passed into Atholl in progresse, and from thence to Hadzenoch, to Inverness, and to the canonrie of Koffe, and returned through Hurreie to Gartleie, Aberdeen, Dunnoter, and so to Edenburgh, where she remained the next winter. In the moneth of October, the earle of Lennor came into Scotland, and for his came there was a parlement holden in December, in which he was restored to all his lands, honors, and dignities, within that realme. In December also, the bishop of Dunblane deceased, and after him succeeded maister William Gresholme his brothers son.

In Januarie, the quene took hir iourneie through Fife, and in manie gentlemens places was banqueted. In which time, Henrie Stewart, lord Darnleie, a godlie man of personage, and sonne to the earle of Lennor, came into Scotland, where he came to the quenes presence in the Wicames, the ninth day of februarie. The quene so well liked him, that she assembled all the temporall lords together at Striueling, in the moneth of Aprill, and there obtained of them their consents, that she might marrie the said lord Darnleie. After this, he was made earle of Koffe.

In the meane time, the quene of England sent sir Nicholas Throckmorton into Scotland, to understand the proceedings in the quenes mariage with the lord Darnleie, and for other affaires, who came to the assemblee at Striueling to that effect. The quene of Scots sent maister John Haie abbat of Holmerinloch into England to the quene, to mitigate hir displeasure towards the lord Darnleie, and to obtaine hir consent to the mariage; who answered, that she went to send an ambassado: of hir owne into Scotland for that and other causes, and (according to hir promise) she sent one. Shortlie after, certeine captains & men of warre in saint Andzweles, Dundee, and saint Johns towne, received monie about the same time of the earle of Hurreie, to take part with him, for the which they were after punished. After the assemblee at Striueling, the quene seemed not to like of the earle of Hurreie so well as she had done before: whereupon he departed the court, and repaired to saint Andzweles, where (through the counsell of certeine persons) he sought waies to stop the mariage.

The quene neuertheless sent the bishop of Dunblane to Rome for a dispensation to marrie with the lord Darnleie, being hir cosine in the second degree of consanguinitie, which he obtained, & sent it home shortlie after. The quene was then principallie counselled by the earles of Atholl, and Lennor, the lord Ruthwen, and their friends. In the meane time, the earle of Hurreie perswaded the duke of Chateaurault, the earle of Argile, and sundrie other, to meet at Striueling, where they made a bond to stop the mariage, alledging the same to be made for maintenance of the religion. The quene advertised thereof, released the lord Gordon forth of prison, wherein he had bene kept within the castell of Dunbar, and restoring him to his fathers lands, created him earle of Huntleie. She also sent for the earle of Bothwell to returne home, who was banished, and was then in France [and the earle of Southerland to returne out of ffawders.]

In the moneth of Julie, the lord Darnleie earle

of Koffe was made duke of Albanie. And on saterdaie at euen, the eight and twentieth daie of the same moneth before the mariage, he was proclaimed king by the quenes commandement at the market crosse of Edenburgh. And on the nine and twentieth daie of the same moneth, he was married to the quene in the chappell of Holie rood house, at five of the clocke in the morning. Shortlie after, the duke of Chateaurault, the earles of Argile, Hurreie, and their companies, were summoned to appeare before the quene and hir counsell within six daies; & because they refused so to do, they were put to the hozne.

The king and quene thereupon assembled their power, and by a herald demand the deliuerie of the castell of Hamilton. But (he returning without the effect of his message) they addresse themselves to warre. At what time the lords of the congregation were at some variance amongst themselves, as severed into diuerse opinions: for the Hamiltons that were of greatest power in those places, did affirme, that they should haue no firme conditions of peace, except the king and quene were made awaie: for so long as they were in health, they could hope for nothing but new warres, new deceipts, and dissembled peace; a thing farre more dangerous than open war. For though manie times the iniuries of priuat persons maie be laied downe by trauell and perswasion, and maie be recompensed againe with great commodities: yet there is no waie to appease the displeasure of kings, but by taking them awaie.

Upon which had speech, the earles of Hurreie and of Glencarne (which well understood that the Hamiltons did not like the publike commoditie, but their owne priuat riches as persons that were next to the crowne after the quens death) did abhor the slaughter and gouernement of the Hamiltons, whom of late they had felt to be both cruell and contentious: and did therefore giue more mild and sound counsell, saing that this dissention being ciuill, was not yet come to be bloudie: in which hitherto they had onelie contended with words & not with swords, being not yet so far, but that (if it were possible) the same might be ended with honest conditions.

To the perswasion whereof, he said that there were manie in the camps of the two princes, which graedilie desired to heare of peace, & would not faile to further their endeuor therein, nor to defend themselves & their cause with needfull weapons: all which did perchance foresie that the king and quene (by reason of their youth) had not yet faulted so greatly, as that it turned to the vtter ouerthrow of the common-wealth; & if they haue faults (as who hath not) they were such as were rather to their owne priuat reproch than otherwise, and therefore they ought not to be punished with flat death: but rather to be cured with easier remedies. For he did remember it to haue alwaies bene obserued heretofore, that in the life of kings, we should alwaies couer their secret vices, we should mildlie interpret their doubtful faults, and we should with patience beare their knowne evils: so that they did not by them bring vtter destruction to the common-wealth.

When this opinion was pleasing to most of the hearers, the other Hamiltons (except James, which was head of that familie) determined to rest in quiet; but he accompanied with sirtene hostes remained with the lords. Who being now so weakened of their power, that they could neither wage battell, nor safely passe to their owne; did giue place to the time, and went that night to Hamilton. The quene assembled an armie, and went to Glasgow to pursue them [at what time (as saith Buchanan) the earle of Lennor was made warden of the east marches; and the duke and earles with other of their companies

The bishop of Koffe came into France.

The quene progresse.

The earle of Lennor came into Scotland.

Progresse.

Lord Darnleie came into Scotland.

1562. A parlement.

Lord Darnleie was made earle of Koffe.

The quene of England understood that mariage.

Embassage sent into Scotland.

The earle of Hurreie aspired into the quene.

Dispensation had from Rome for mariage.

Consultation to stop the mariage.

Gordon created earle of Huntleie, Bothwell sent for.

Lord Darnleie.

He is made duke of Albanie. Lord Darnleie is proclaimed king. The quene is married.

Certain lords refused to appeare before the quene.

Edin. Buchanan lib. 17.

Which countess fell at waies, & was killed.

An armie gathered against them.
The lords went into Dunfreis.

Certeine townes are punished.

A great armie

The lords fled into England.

Their controuersies got their paroon.

The quene returned againe into Edinburgh.
The quene sent into France for aid.

The lords sent to the quene of England.

The quene of England sent to the quene of Scots.

nie came to Edinburgh, where the castell shot off at them, and therefore they departed towards Dunfreis, and were receiued by the lord Heris.

The quene hearing thereof, by aduise of hir counsell assembled forth of all the parts of the whole realme an armie, appointing the same to be at Begggar, in the beginning of October, to pursue the rebels. In the meane time, the hearing that the townes of saint Andrews, Dundee, and saint Johns towne, had helped the lords to raise men of warre for their support, passed thither hirselle, and toke inquisition thereof, giuing order in those townes, that no such thing should afterwards be put in practise. But there were none that suffered death for that matter; but diuerse were committed to prison in the north parts of the realme, as the prouost and bailheys of saint Andrews: also certeine of the towne of Dundee, and saint Johns towne, and other were banished; and diuerse barons, as Lundie, Lango, and Walward, were sent to Arburden, and to other parts, where they remained the winter following.

About this time, the quene toke the castell of Tantallon from the earle of Hoxton, because he was suspected to fauor the rebels. The hearing thereof was giuen to the earle of Atholl. The quene returning to Edinburgh in September, prepared all things necessarie for the armie, and departing from Edinburgh, came to Begggar, where all the noble men with their retinues were assembled the eight of October. From thence they passed forward to Dunfreis. In the meane time, the duke of Chatelerault, the earles of Surreie, Glencarne, Rothis, the lord Ochiltre, the abbat of Kilwinning, the lords of Grange, Cunningham, Herdie, Pettarow, maister James Haliburton tutor of Petcur, and others, hearing of the quens coming with an armie, fled into England: came to Caerleill, where they were receiued, the earle of Bedford at that time being lord lieutenant of the north.

The lord Heris then maister of Martwell conuened them to the water of Sulweie, and afterward returned to Dunfreis to the quene, where (of hir clemencie) he got pardon of his offense; and the lords of Lochinwar and Dunlanrig likewise. After the armie had taried certeine daies, putting direction for obseruing of good order in the countrie, the quene returned to Edinburgh, where she remained all the next winter. The quene sent the maister David Chalmer chancelor of Rolse into France to the king, with letters for his assistance against hir rebels. And shortly after, the French king sent a gentleman called monsieur Paluolier into Scotland, with verie friendlie letters vnto the quene, promising his helpe & assistance against the rebels; which message was most thankfullie receiued, and the said Paluolier honorable at his departure rewarded.

The duke of Chatelerault, and the other lords with him departed from Caerleill to Newcastle upon Tyne, and from thence sent the earle of Surreie, and the abbat of Kilwinning to the quene of England, making sute to hir grace for aid to be restored to their countrie againe. The quens matellic promised them, that she would send a gentleman to the quene hir sister, and moue hir in their fauors, as she did; and so they returned to Newcastle, where the duke of Chatelerault, perceiuing no other helpe appearing, sent the abbat of Kilwinning into Scotland to the quene with letters, submitting himselfe to hir graces will, and so he obtained pardon for him and his friends, with licence to passe into France, there to remaine the space of five yeares, and shortly after he passed through England, and so ouer into France, according to his appointment.

The king passed the most part of that winter in the countries of Fife, Stratherne, Stricklingthire, Louthian, spending his time in hawkking. The quene remained at Edinburgh with the nobilitie, and because she was conceived with child, travelled little abroad. About this time was a new order taken for placing the king and quens name in all their writings and patents. For where, until this time, the kings name was set before the quens; now quite contrarie, the name of the quene was written before the kings: besides which, afterward the quene hir selfe would onelic set hir name to the writings in place of hers and his; and David the secretarie was appointed in his place to haue a stampe of the kings name, to vse when need required.

In the meane time a parlement was called, to be holden in the moneth of March next ensuing, and summons decreed against the earle of Surreie, and the other lords that remained in England, and also against the earle of Argile, lieng then in his countrie of Argile to heare them forsailed. The French king sent monsieur Kambeneuillet into Scotland, as ambassador from him to the quene, with commission, to make the king hir husband knight of the order of S. Michaell. Which with great solemnitie and reuerence was accomplished in the chappell of Holie rood house the tenth of February, being sunday: after the which, the said Kambeneuillet returned into France, being highly rewarded.

From that time that the parlement was proclaimed, and the summons also published, the earle of Surreis friends being in Scotland, neuer ceased to seeke all the waies and means they could deuise to staie the same: in so much that the earle of Hoxton, the lord Ruthwen, and the lord Lindseie, secretlie perswaded the king to staie the parlement, and also to consent to the restoring of the erle of Surreie and his complices, making to him faithfull promise, that if he would follow their counsell, he should be made & crowned king of Scotland absolutelie, and the quene so to haue lesse to doe with the gouernement afterwards, where through he agreed to the m.

And so after the parlement was assembled, the lords of the articles being chosen the seventh day of March, they perceiuing the forsalture like to proceed, and iudgement thereof to be giuen, the eleuenth of March next following, the king with the assistance of the said earle of Hoxton, the lords Ruthwen, and Lindseie, entred into the quens priue chamber about eight of the clocke in the night, being saturday, and the ninth of March; where being arrived in warlike manner, the lord Ruthwen declared vnto the quene, that they would not suffer hir anie longer to haue the gouernement of the realme, to abuse the same by the counsell of strangers, as she had done; and therefore pulled violentlie out of hir chamber David Kicheo an Italian, that was one of hir secretaries, crieng pitiously, *Iustitia, Iustitia*: and in hir otter chamber they suddenlie slew him with great crueltie. The king himselfe was also present, and his dagger was likewise found sticking in the dead bodie.

The quene was shut vp within hir chamber, and certeine appointed to attend hir, and to keepe all the doores and gates about the palace. The earles of Huntleie and Bothwell escaped by a backe window forth in their chamber, whereof the king and his compaite were right sozie. The erle of Atholl and others being with him, departed in the night season by a ferric ouer the Forth, called the quenes ferric, and went to S. Johns towne. On the morow being sunday (the quene being secretlie kept) proclamation was made, that all the lords that had voice in parlement

The king went a hawkking.

Fr. Thin.

Bucha. lib. 17.

A parlement.

The lords that were exiled are summoned.

The king receiued the order of saint Michaell.

I 566.

They perswade with the king.

The king some persons sed.

The king entered into the quens priue chamber.

David Kicheo is slain.

The earle of Huntleie is slain and the residue also.

The earle
of Arreie
comes into
Scotland.

ment, should depart out of the towne of Edinburgh: and after none the same day, the earles of Arreie and Mothes, with other of their companies that came forth from Newcastle the Saturday before, came to the abbey of Holie rood house about six of the clocke in the afternoon; where they were thankfullie received by the king and his companie. They spake also with the quene, who had no great comfort of their coming.

They make
their protest-
ation.

The morrow following, being monday, the earle of Arreie, and the other that were summoned, passed to the tolbooth of Edinburgh, & made their protestation there, that they were ready to answer in parliament, and none appeared to accuse them. After this, it was concluded to keepe the quene in strict ward. But by hir politike demeanour, their purpose in that behalf was broken: for by secret conference with the king, she perswaded him to thinke, that he had joined himselfe with those that would be his destruction, if it happened with hir otherwile than well; as was no lesse to be doubted, by reason of the high displeasure that she had taken being quicke with child: through the which perswasion, and other misliking of things, he departed secretly with hir in the night season, accompanied onlie with two men, and first came unto Seiton, and after ward from thence to Dunbar.

The king
was some
perswaded.

Huntleie and
Bothwell.

Proclama-
tion made.

Whither the earles of Huntleie and Bothwell hastily repaired, by whose counsell and others then with hir, she caused proclamation to be made in diuerse parts of the realme, charging all manner of men in seats of warre, to come unto hir to Dunbar, & to passe from thence vnto Edinburgh within six daies after. She also sent letters to the same effect vnto diuerse noble men of the realme, who prepared themselves with great diligence to meet hir. The earle of Arreie and the rest of the lords being with him, hearing the preparation that was made against them, and perceiuing themselves not able to resist, thought good euerie of them to seeke some particular meane to obtaine remission at the quens hands. Which they obtained all of them, except the earle of Arreie, the lords Ruthwen, Lindseie, and such other as were with them at the murder of David Riche. Whereupon they desparing of pardon, fled into England; where the lord Ruthwen died at Newcastle shortly after; as in place ye shall heare.

Pardon is
craved and
obtained.

The murder
was excu-
sed.

Some par-
doned.

The quene
commeth to
Edinburgh.

The earle of Lennox, being partaker with them, came to Dunbar, and got pardon: the earle of Glencaigne and the lord of Cunningham head came thither also, and were pardoned. Likewise the earle of Mothes purchased his pardon at the same time. The earles of Argile and Arreie, and the lord Bothwell, being at Lethquh, sent to the quene for their pardon, and obtained it, being commanded neuertheless to passe into Argile, and to remaine there during hir graces pleasure, which comandement they obeyed. The eighteenth of March, the quene well accompanied came to Haddington towards night: and on the nineteenth day, the bishop of saint Andrews, and the Hamiltons met hir at Hushelburgh, and so likewise did the lords Levingston, Fleming, Hume, Bothwell, and manie other noble men, and conueied hir vnto Edinburgh.

She lodged in the bishop of Dunkelds lodging, and taried there a certeine space, hauing with hir the earles of Huntleie, Atholl, Bothwell, Crawford, Sparshall, Southerland, Cathnes, the bishops of saint Andrews and Ross; the lords Levingston, Fleming, and diuerse other noble men, by whose counsell order was taken for redressing of the state of the realme, whereby the same was shortly brought to great quietnesse. After this, the quene perceiuing herselfe to be at nere the time of hir deliuerance, went to

the castell of Edinburgh, there to remaine till she were deliuered of hir birth. In the moneth of Maie, Thomas Scot shiriffe, deputie of Perth, & a priest called sir Henrie Paie, seruant to the lord Ruthwen, were apprehended for being diuers in the slaughter of David, and were hanged and quartered. Their heads were set aloft, the one on the towler in the abbey, and the other on the nether towe.

Execution
was done
upon the
murderers.

In the moneth of April this yere, the bishop of Brechin president of the session, deceased, and in his roome succeeded to that bishopricke, a friend and counsellor to the earle of Argile, called Campbell. In the end of Aprill, the quene, willing to haue the earles of Argile and Arreie joined with the rest of the counsell, sent for them to come to the castell of Edinburgh, where all griefs and controuersies that rested betwixt them on the one side, and the earles of Huntleie, Atholl, & Bothwell on the other side, were referred to the quene, who agreed them, and they all remained with hir the residue of the summer. The quene hearing that the earle of Arreie, the lord Ruthwen, and the other their assistants were receiued in England, and remained at Newcastle; she sent maister James Thontson chantor of Arreie, with letters to the quene of England, and also to the king of France, and other hir friends there; declaring by the tenor of the same letters the abuse and presumptuous attempts of certeine hir subiects against hir, desiring them not to receiue them with in their realmes or dominions.

The quene
agreed all
the lordes.

The quene
made letters
to the quene
of England.

Shortly after, the quene of England sent a gentleman called Henrie Killigrew into Scotland, with letters and message to the quene, promising to cause them to depart forth of hir realme of England: and withall sent vnto them warning to depart betwixt that present time, and midsummer then next ensuing. But in the meane time the lord Ruthwen departed this life at Newcastle, with great repentance of his former life: giving God thanks, for that he had lent him time to call to him for mercie and forgiveness, whereof he did assure himselfe. And from thenceforth the earle of Arreie, and the maister of Ruthwen, remained secretly nere to Antwerp, and other places of the borders, till they obtained pardon, and were restored. About this time there came from the king of France a well aged gentleman, named monsieur la Croche, as his ambassado, and remained in Scotland all the winter following.

The quene of
England hir
answer.

The lord
Ruthwen
repented.

An ambassa-
dor from the
king of France.

In the moneth of June, the quene perceiuing the time of hir deliuerance to approach, wrote vnto all the principall noble men of hir realme, to come and remaine within the towne of Edinburgh, during the time of hir deliuerance, where they assembled: and the king hir husband, with the earles of Argile, Arreie, Atholl, and Spar, remained with hir in the castell; and the earle of Huntleie, Bothwell, and the remnant of the lords lodged in the towne. And vpon the nineteenth day of the same moneth of June, betwixt 10 and 11 of the clocke before none, hir grace was deliuered of a goodlie man-child, to the great comfort of hir highnesse, and all hir subiects, whereof the nobilitie did greatlie reioice. And incontinentlie all the artillerie in the castell was shot off, and all the lords and people came together in the church of saint Giles, to giue thanks to almighty God for his great and beneficiall goodnes shewed to them, in giuing to them a prince, and withall made their humble praier vnto his diuine maiestie, to inuue him with the feare of God, with vertue and knowledge to gouerne the realme and subiects thereof, when soeuer the same should fall into his hands.

A prince
borne.

The same night at euen, there were great fires set on fire in the towne of Edinburgh, and in all

the countrie about, and likewise through all the whole realme, as by advertisements were certified thereof. The quene remained still in the castell of Edinburgh all the moneth of Julie following, till shee had recovered hir health and strength. In the beginning of August, she passed up the water of Forth to Allowaie, where she remained certeine daies, the earles of Murreie and Mar being of companie with hir, and there the king hir husband came to visit hir. The same time monsieur d'Aluoir came into Scotland from the king of France, bringing letters to the quene, who was conueied by the bishop of Ross to Allowaie, where he was iustlicie received, courteously intertained, and highly rewarded. The quene of England sent maister Henrie Killgrewe to the quene with the like message, reioicing for hir safe and happie deliuerance, who likewise was received in most thankfull manner, and well rewarded.

The princes
godfathers &
godmothers.

Fr. Thin.
1. Stow pa. 113
in quart.

Here is to be noted, that shortly after she was brought to bed, she sent one of hir gentlemen called monsieur Clarimouth, with letters to the king of France, and to the duke of Sanoie: desiring them to send ambassadors, which in their name (as godfathers) might receive hir son at the baptism. Whereouer, she sent James Meluine to the quene of England with the like message, desiring hir maiestie to be godmother [who by hir ambassado: Francis earle of Bedford, sent a present to the quene of Scots, (as I. Stow hath noted) a fount of gold curiously wrought & enamelled, weighing 33 ounces, amounting in value to 1043 pounds 19 shillings of English monie.] These princes were glad hereof, and promised to send ambassadors to that effect, as afterward they did. In the later end of August, the quene accompanied with the king hir husband, the earles of Huntlie, Murreie, Bothwell, and diuerse other, went into Peggat land, there to passe the time in hunting; where they remained certeine daies: and returning to Edinburgh, caused the pince to be conueied vnto Striueling castell, where he was committed in keeping to the lord Erskin, after erle of Mar, and his ladie. And from thence the quene went on progresse into Glen Arkenie.

Fr. Thin.
Buchan. li. 17.

* The king as a solitarie person goeth to Striueling, after which the quene determineth to go to Jedworth to assemble a parlement. About the beginning of October, Bothwell prepareth a tourne into Lidisdale, where he was hurt with a calener by a base theefe. Whereupon with vncertaine life he was carried to the castell of Hermitage, to which the quene (bearing of his mishap) came, attended with a small traine from Bothwicke, and from thence having scene Bothwell, did in short time after returne to Bothwicke, whither shee caused Bothwell to be brought: after whose comming thither, the quene fell so grievously sicke, that she was in danger of hir life, at what time the king came thither vnto hir.

1567.

In Januarie the king came to Glasgow, where he fell sicke, and removing from thence went to Edinburgh, and the quene accompanied him. She lodged at Holie rood house, but hee was lodged at a house within the towne, nere to the kirke a field, within the which, on the tenth of the moneth of Februarie in the night he was shamefullie murdered, together with one William Parat. He was cast into an orchard, and herewith the house was blotone up with gunpowder. [Some giue report of his death, but touch not the manner thereof, onelie saying that he was shamefullie murdered in a morning (a beaurie byrkefast) by his owne (but vnnatural and rebellious) people, whose innocent blood crieth out for vengeance at the hands of God, who in iustice will (when he seeth due time) giue them their portion with malefactors agreeable to their merits,

The king
murdered.
1566. Stow.

The earle of Bothwell was euen at the first beheimently suspected to be the principall offender in this most heinous and detestable murder. But the matter was so handled, that he was not onelie acquit by an assize, as they call it; but also shortly after married the quene. By reason whereof, the suspicion that men had already conceived, that she should be also pite to the murder, was nothing diminished. But as I haue not to deale in that matter, so yet it is manifest, that some of the Scottis nobilitie, sore repining and maligning at such the speedie advancement of Bothwell, who (as euery man perswaded himselfe, was the principall author of the murder) got them to armes on the sudden, before the quene or Bothwell were advertised of their meaning, they being then at Bothwicke castell, eight miles distant from Edinburgh.

The earle of
Bothwell
murdered
the king.

The lords
got them to
armes.

* Thus leaving the lords awhile at Edinburgh, we will say somewhat out of Buchanan, of things done by Bothwell & the quene, before that she was taken by these noble men of the congregation, hauing at that time taken armes against hir. After the death of hir husband, whom she had caused to be buriedt not farre from David Richeo hir secretarie, saine (as was thought) by the meanes of the king of Scots: the quene (I say) after that, and also after the clearing of Bothwell from the murder of hir husband, was forceably taken (as she was on hir tourne) by the earle Bothwell, and carried to his castell, where she remained not long, but yet honorably intertained. Which fact of his bred great dislike in the peoples minds, and brought him in danger of his life, had not the quene (of hir clemencie) pardoned him the same.

Fr. Thin.

Buchan. li. 17.

This done, there was a consultation had for a marriage to be solemnized betwene hir and the earle Bothwell, which (after a dispute had betwene this earle and his then wife Katharine Gordon, granted by the iudges spirituall & temporall; and after the solemn bands asked betwene the said earle James Hepburne, and the quene Marie Stewart) was with great solemnitie of the nobilitie by their hands in writing consenting thereto) consummat at Edinburgh. Against which onelie the bishop of Dornie was found to resist; and at which monsieur de Crocke the French ambassado: then in Scotland would not be present: being a thing which did greatly occasion the Edinburghers to dislike of the quene.

Which marriage breeding some euill opinion of the said quene of Scots, not onelie in hir owne realme, but in the mouths of forreine nations, she wisely consulted with hir friends, how she might establish hir power, and provide to saue hirselfe and hir kingdome from tumults and insurrections. Whereupon, first she determineth to send an ambassado: into France, to reconcile the minds of the king, and of the Guises, offended with this marriage. Which office of ambassage was laid vpon William bishop of Dunblane, with this charge (as saith Buchanan) almost word for word.

60 Buchanan) almost word for word.
First, you shall excuse to the king, and to our vncles, that our marriage (to be consummate) came to their eares, before that we had opened our counsell touching that matter by any messengers. This excuse (as it were to a foundation) doth leane to the true exposition of his whole life, and chieslie to the offices and duties of the duke or capitaine of the Dukes towards vs, euen vnto that day in which it seemed god to vs to take him to husband. For the opening of the historie whereof you shall take occasion to treat from the beginning of the last times of his adolescencie (youth, or yeeres of discretion, as we terme it) in this sort.

That when he first began to manage his owne affaires

“*fatres* (being from the death of his father one of the chiefe of the nobilitie) he did wholie dedicate himselfe to the dutie and seruice of the princes and kings of Scotland, as one bozne of a famous familie for his ancient nobilitie, & of great reuenues in this kingdome which he possesseth by right of inheritance. At that time also he did especiallie and altogether consecrate himselfe to our mother, whilst she had the gouernement of the realme.

“*In* which dutie towards hir, he did so constantlie perseuere, that although the greater part of the nobilitie, and almost all the towne were fallen from hir obedience (vnder the colour of religion) yet he would neuer decline from hir authoritie, as a person that could not be wone by anie promises or benefites, or feared with anie threats, or losse of his linings, to neglect his dutie in anie part vnto hir: but that he would rather suffer his principall house, which was the head of his patrimonie, with his plentifull and pretious store of furniture thereof to be taken from him, and all his other lands to be left for spoile to the enimie, than violate his faith to our mother. Besides which, being destitute of helpe both of vs and our people (when the English host was brought by our domesticall enimies into the bowels of our kingdome, which directed their weapons to none other marke, than that our now husband at that time earle Bothwell, should by force be enforced to flee) he fled into France, forsaking all his patrimonie, where he honozed me with all dutie and seruice (that he might) vntill my returne into Scotland.

“*Neither* are those exploits to be omitted, which were done by him in the warres against the English before my returne into mine owne countrie, where he shewed such parts of warlike valure and graue wisdom, that he was iudged (being then verie young) meet to haue the gouernment of ancient persons, to be made chiefe capteine of the armie of the countrie, & also to be chosen or substitute deputie and chancelor: as in truth he was. In which office he did not deceiue the hope and expectation which men conceiued of him. For (by his affaires valiantlie atchieued) he left a singular praise and fame of him, as well amongst his owne people, as amongst the enimies.

“*After* our returne into Scotland, he employed all his induoz to the enlarging of our authoritie, and spared not to put himselfe in danger, in subduing those rebels which dwell about the borders of England. The dispatch wherof being shortly performed, and they brought to great quiet, he was appointed to do the like in all the other parts of the kingdome. But as enuie doth alwaies accompanie vertue, so the Scots repining thereat, and desirous of innouation, did laboz to diminish our fauour towards him (for his great labozs imployed in our behalfe) in misconstruing his good deeds.

“*By* which in the end they wrought so much with me, that we committed him to prison; partly to satisfie the minds of such as were emulous against him, and could not bzoke the increase of his following honoz and greatnesse; and partly to appease such seditions as were likelie then to bzeake forth to the destruction of the whole kingdome. But he (escaping out of prison) got him into France, to giue place to the powder of his enimies, where he remained almost two yeres next following. At what time the authors of the former sedition, forgetting my clemencie towards them, and their dutie towards vs, did raise warre, and toke weapons against their quene.

“*From* thence was he called backe into Scotland, & being refozsed to his former honozs & possessions, he was againe made generall of all the armie: by whose helpe our authoritie began afresh so to flourish,

that all the rebels (suddenlie forsaking their countrie) were enforced to flee into England, vntill part of them vpon humble submission were receiued anew into our fauour. But how traitorously I was handled by the rest that were refozsed (and expectallie such, whose ancestors I had with benefites much promoted) our kinde is not ignorant, and therefore we will touch that no more.

“*Neither* is it to be ouerpasse in silence, with what diligence he deliuered me from the hands of such as deteined me prisoner, and with what speed (and singular prouidence of his) I did both escape from prison, and recovered my former authoritie: after that I had dispersed the factions of the contumacious and seditious persons. In which trouble I am enforced to confesse, that his dutie and diligence at that time shewed towards me, was so acceptable vnto me, that I could neuer after forget it. These things although they be great of themselves, yet he hath himselfe thereto increased them with such diligence and carefulnesse, that we cannot desire greater dutie, or with more assured trust in anie man, than we haue found in him; vntill these last times which followed the decay of our husband.

“*But* from that time, as his thoughts did seeme to tend higher, so his actions did after a sort seeme to be more insolent. And although the matter went so far, that we were to take all things in the best part: yet these things did then most grauenously offend me; but especiallie his arrogancie, in that he thought that there were not other sufficient abilities in vs, to recompense his desertings, vntill we gaue our selues to him in marriage. Touching which, at the first he vsed secret reasons and counsels: but in the end, when he saw them not to succeed after his mind, at length, shewing an open contempt of my authoritie, he fled to the benefite of violence, and vsed force (to the end his attempt might not want due effect) to bring me vnder his gouernement.

“*Wherefore* all this course of his life maie be an example, to shew how craftilie they can contriue their drifts (in attempting great things) vntill they haue obtained their purpose. For I did suppose, that all this his continuall dutie and carefulnesse in spee, die obedieng of my commandements, had not issued from anie other founteine, than of a vehement desire to shew his obedience and good will towards me: neither did I hope that a little more fauourable countenance (which we are accustomed to be to the more worthy persons, to the end to win their minds to be more obedient to vs in dutie) should so haue raised his stomach (more than anie others) that he would promise to himselfe anie larger good will to proceed from me towards him, than he had before.

“*But* he taking aduantage of all haps, & drawing all things (that chanced) to the furtherance of his purpose, and keeping all his counsels secret from me, did still shew his accustomed dutie, nourished my old fauour to him, & secretlie attempted a new thing by the helpe of the nobilitie. Which he brought to passe with such speedie diligence, that (vnto me) he obtained of the pæres of the realme (in the assembly of the parlement here) a writing with all their hands set therevnto, for the more credit of the same. In which writing was contained, that they did not onlie assent vnto the marriage; but that they also further promised to spend their life and goods (offered to all dangers) in the executing thereof, and that they would be offer enimies to all such as should laboz to hinder it. For the more easie obtaining of whose consents in this sort, he had perswaded the said nobilitie, that the same was not done against my mind and consent. At length, when he had purchased this writing from them, he began by little and little (with ear-

“nest intreaties & flatteries) to obtaine our consent. But when at the first our answers did not content his desire, he began to laie before me almost all those things, which are accustomed to happen in the attempt of such matters.

“First, the outward tokens of our good fauour towards him, the reasons by which our friends or his enemies might hinder the same, & manie other things which being objected or willinglie happening, might frustrate his hope, or change the minds of such as had before subscribed. At length (fortune fauouring him therein) he determined to pursue the matter, & in one instance to hazard his hope and life about the same. Wherefore, when he had determined with himselfe, with all importunitie to attempt the successe of his determination, he foure daies after hauing conuenient time and place therfore in the high waie, set vpon me with a strong band, as I was comming from seeing of my deere sonne, and with great speed caried me to Dunbar.

“Which euill deed how greuouslie we toke (especially done by him, from whence all our subiects neuer looked to haue such things to proceed) euerie bodie maie easilie consider. For there I did vpbraid him, with what fauour I haue alwaies vsed him, what honorable opinion I haue had of him, and of his conditions in my speech vsed to others, and of his vnthankfulness to me therfore; with all other things that might deliuer me out of his hands. These matters I laied against him with bitter wordes. But his answers therunto were more mild, and tempered with gentler speeches, in this, that he would still vse all honoz and dutie towards vs, and laboz by all means to haue our good will, whom he would not offend.

“As touching this, that he had against our will caried vs into one of our own castles, he humble craved pardon therfore (in that he was inforced therunto) although in the same he had forgotten that reuerence and dutie, which euerie subiect ought vnto vs. Whereunto he added, that he did the same for our safetie and defense. At which time also he began to repeat vnto me the whole course of his life, lamenting his fortune, to haue them (whome he neuer hurt) so greuouslie offended with him, that their malice had not ouerpassed anie occasions vniustlie to hurt him withall.

“But especially in this, that their great enuie had burdened him with the murder of the king, and that his power was vnequall to resist the secret conspiracies of his enemies, whome he could not know; because they did in shew and speeches dissemble their friendship: & not knowing them, there was no waie for him to foresee and auoid their deceipts. Whose extreme hatred was now growen to such height, that he could not liue in safetie in anie place, or at anie time, except he might be assured of the quenes vnchangeable fauour towards him. Which certaintie of his fauor could not be shewed but by this one meane, to persuaide his selfe to receiue him into the marriage bed. At what time he did most holilie sweare, that he would not after anie extraordinary gouernement, or that he would leape to the highest step of supreme rule thereby; but onlie to reape this fruit thereof, that he might serue and obey his as long as he liued, in such sort as he did before. Whereunto he added the desires of such speeches as that matter required.

“But in the end, when he saw that we could not be moued therunto, either with prayers or promises, he shewed vnto vs what he had done with the whole nobilitie, and the chiefe of the parlement, and that they againe had promised vnder their hands. Which being suddenlie and vn hoped for laied against vs, whether it did with iust cause greatlie astonish vs, we

leane to the consideration of the king, the quene, our vnckles, and the rest of our friends. Wherefore, when I perceiued my selfe a prisoner vnder the power of an other man, farre from the helpe of all those whose counsell I did and should haue vsed; yea and that I saw them before my face, in whose former faith and wisdome I did repose my selfe; whose strength did defend our authoritie, and without which our power was but small or none: when (I say) I had some all these to haue bowed themselves to serue his desire, and that I was alone left a prey for him, I did with my selfe in my mind consider manie things, but could bring none of them to effect.

“Besides which, he gaue to vs but short time to take anie aduise, but incontinencie and importunitie did still vze the same vnto me. At length, when I saw no waie to escape by flight, nor anie person of all our kingdome which had anie care of our libertie (for we well perceiued by their hands giuen, and by their deepe silence at that time, that they were all bawen to take his part) I was compelled (after that I a little pacified mine anger & displeasure against him) to refer my selfe to the discusse and consideration of his demands, & to laie before my selfe his dutie in times past, and the hope which we had of the following continuance of the same towards vs.

“And further, how greuouslie our people would suffer a strange king, and beaustlie receiue one vnacquainted, and not mixed with their lawes and customs, that they would not suffer me long to liue married, and that the people (being by nature facious) could not be kept in obedience, except our authoritie were supported and pacified by a man which could equall them in bearing laboz, and were able to bryde the insolencie of rebels in the administration of the common wealth: the weight of which charge, our power (being weakened and almost brought to nothing by continuall tumults and rebellions, since our comming into Scotland) was not able anie longer to susteine. For by reason of these seditions, we were inforced to appoint foure or more deputies in diuerse parts of our realmes, which after ward also did (vnder the colour of the authoritie which they were permitted to vse vnder vs) inforce our owne subiects to take armes against vs.

“For all which causes, when we well perceiued that if we labored to preferue the dignitie of kinglie maiestie, that they would inforce me to marriage, that our people could not abide a forren prince, and that amongest our owne subiects, there was not anie which for the nobilitie of his familie, for his wisdome and valure, or for other vertues of bodie and mind, might be preferred before or equalled vnto him, I commanded my selfe to ioine with the whole consent of the parlement, and assemble of the nobilitie before mentioned. After that my former constant determination was thus somewhat mollified by these and other reasons, he did lozing from me partlie by force, and partlie by intreatie, a promise to him of marriage.

“Which done, we could not yet by anie meanes and persuation obtaine of him (fearing an alteration in our mind) that the time wherein this marriage should be performed, might be deferred so long, as that we might participat the same with the king and quene of France, and such other friends as we had remaining in those parts. For he beginning with a bold attempt (after that he had once thereby attained the first step of his desire) did neuer after that cease to ioine importunate prayers to his persuasions and arguments of reason, vntill he did without violence inforce vs to set end to the toweke begun, and that at such time, and after such order, as seemed most conuenient vnto him for the execution of his determination

nation. In which matter I cannot dissemble, but that I was otherwise intreated by him, than either I would or had deserved.

For he was more careful to satisfie them, by whose consent (he used at the beginning) he thought himselfe to haue obtained his purpose, though he did both deceiue them and me: than to gratifie me, or to wote how meet it were for me, being brought up in the precepts and rites of our religion; from which, neither he nor anie man living, whilst I did live, could draw me awaie (alike) by anie action. In which thing trulie, though we do acknowledge our error, yet we willingly desire, that the king and quene his mother, our vncle, or anie friend of ours, do not eraske with him, nor anie waie laie the fault vpon his charge.

For sith things be now so ended, as that they cannot be againe vndone, we take all things in the best part: as he is in deed, so he is to be accounted our husband, whome from henceforth we haue determined both to loue & reuerence. Therefore all they which profess themselves to be our friends, must also shew the like to him which is ioined vnto vs with an indissoluble knot. And although he hath in manie things behaved himselfe lesse diligentlie, & almost ouer-rashlie, which we willingly impute to his immoderat affection towards vs; yet we desire the king, the quene, our vncle, and the rest of our friends, no lesse to loue and fauor him, than if all things had till this day bene done after their aduise and determination; in the behalfe of which our husband, we promise that he shall in all things (which shalbe required of him hereafter) alwaies gratifie them in what he maie.

These remedies being found to defend the quens credit amongst forren princes, other remedies were to be sought for: defense of hir owne person against hir owne subjects. Therefore after that the earle of Spurrrie was appointed to remaine as banished beyond the seas in France, whither he toke his iourne through England; the quene (deliuered of such a feare as he was to hir, & therefore better able to rule, or at least to make better shift, with such other as were conuined, to vse Buchanans word, against hir) vsed that diligence she might to gather forces, especially in the Spers and east Lothian.

The quene gathereth forces.

Carbarrie hill.

The number of the quens power.

The power of the lords.

And thinking that the enterprise of the lords had bene broken and disappointed, they marched from Dunbar on saturdaye the fourth of June, first to Bathington, & there resting till the euen, set forward to Gladinoze, and taking there deliberation in the matter; they lodged that night at Seiton, and in the morning marched in order of battell towards Carbarrie hill, and there chose forth a plot of ground of great aduantage, appointing to fight on foot, because the power of the lords in number of horsemen, was stronger than the quens, and of greater experience. There were with the quene and Bothwell, the lords Seiton, Pesser, and Bothwicke; also the lords of Wauclinton, Bas, Dymisson, Wedderburne, Blackater, and Langton. They had with them also two hundred arquebusers wages, and of great artillerie some field peeces. Their whole number was esteemed to be about 2000: but the more part of them were commons & countriemen. The earles of Forth, Atholl, Mar, Glencarne, the lords of Hume, Lindseie, Ruthuen, Sempill, Saugubar, the lords of Dumlangrid, Culbardein, Grange, and young Selsford, were assembled together at Edinburgh with a power like in number to the quens, but for the more part consisting of gentlemen, although not furnished with anie number of arquebusers, except a few of the townsmen of Edinburgh, that willingly ioined with them in

that quarrell. Upon the fifteenth of June, they came forth of the towne, and approached their aduersaries. But there was monsieur la Croque, the French kings ambassadour, who toke great paine, in travelling betwixt the parties to reduce them to some agreement. The by his interpreto; laid before them how careful he had studied for the commoditie & tranquillitie of the publike state of Scotland before this; and that now also he caried the same mind with him. Therefore he did vehementlie desire (if it were possible) that the matter might be so taken vp, for the commoditie of both parties; that it might be ended without force or bloodshed. For the compassing thereof, he would imploye all his traueil, sith the quene also did not refuse to heare the counsell & perswasion of peace. For the more certeintie wherof, he did at that time promise them pardon and better forgetfulnesse of all things passed before time; & did with great holinesse there pledge him selfe, that no hurt should fall vnto anie man there, for taking weapon against the highest gouernour.

Fr. Thin.

Buchan. lib. 18.

After that the interpreto; had deliuered these things, the earle of Forth answered, that he did not take armes against the quene, but against him that had killed the king. Whome if the quene would deliuer to punishment, or separat him from hir, he should well vnderstand, that they & the rest of hir subjects held nothing more deere vnto them, than to continue in their dutifull obedience: without which granted to them, there could be no agreement made; because they came not thither to craue pardon for anie offense which they had committed (whereunto the earle of Glencarne added) but rather to giue pardon to such as had offended.

Therefore the ambassadour Croque returned backe to Edinburgh, and the quens part began to decrease, diuerse thinking awaie from hir; so that after it began to grow towards the evening, Bothwell fled to the castell of Dunbar. But the quene desirous to talke with William Caircadie the lord of Grange, went to him, accompanied onelie with one capteine, and after some talke with him, she passed to the lords, who toke hir with them to Edinburgh, [she being in a short garment, base, & twoine, coming a little beneath hir knees; as saith Buchanan] of which lords she requested that they would suffer hir to depart, & not to keepe hir in that sort. The Hamiltons were on the wale comming to alitt the quene, with seven or eight hundred horsemen; but before they could reach to the place, the quene was in the hands of the lords, and so they returned.

The quene cometh to the lords.

Fr. Thin.

The lord of Cragmiller [then prouost of Edinburgh] and sir James Balfoure also the capteine of the castell, were ioined in this confederacie with the lords, as shortly after it appeared. The quene after this was conueied ouer the Forth, and brought to Lochlein, where she was appointed to remaine in ward vnder the safe keeping of William Dotoglas lord of that place. The earle Bothwell, escaping to Dunbar, found means to flee into Denmarke, where he was traied and committed to prison, wherein at length he died. Diuerse persons afterwards were apprehended as parties to the murder of the king, and thereupon condemned, were executed, confessing the said earle to be the principall executor of the same murder. Leaving the quene therefore in this miserable plight, we will not yet forget (for the honor she once had) to set downe certaine verses made by Alexander Seton a Scot, in the commendation of hir ancestors, and of hir; who in the first yeares of hir gouernement vsed hir selfe to the good liking of all hir subjects. In which verses Seton doth further meane, that Lelle should hereafter set forth hir gouernement, as he hath done that of

Fr. Thin.

The quene is sent to Lochlein.

Fr. Thin.

Ann. y. other

Lesens be-
fore the pre-
face of his
eight booke.

other king before him. The verses be as followeth.

*Clara atavis, genus antiquo de sanguine regum,
Nympha Caledonij gloria rara soli,
Maiorum hic laudes, totas quas insula ab orbe
Dixisti, toto cernis ab orbe legi.
Hoc illis peperere decem, non gloria regni,
Non genus, aut diues gaude, fauorque virum:
Sed pietatis honos, fidei constantia, morum
Integritas, belli gloria, pacis amor;
Quis tua maiores superet quam viuenda virtus:
Que tamen meritis laus fuit aqua tui?
Primum hoc Iulio superest, tua fortia facta
Scribere, consilij multa peracta suis.
Et mihi sunt verbis saltem tua facta canenda:
A prouis ne sim degener ipse mei.]*

James the
sixt.

The nineteenth of Iulie, Charles James the yong prince of Scotland, after a sermon made by John Ianor, was crowned king of the Scots in Sterling church, where were read certene letters of commission and procuracion, with the quene's princie seale at them, for the establishing of the same coronacion. The first, for his resignation of the crowne and gouernement of the yong prince his sonne. The second, to authorize the earle of Spurreie to be regent during the kings minozitie. The third, to giue authoritie and power to senen other joining with the said earle of Spurreie, in case he should refuse to exercise the same alone; that is to say, the duke of Chatelebraunt, the earls of Lennox, Argyle, Atholl, Moray, Glencarne, and Mar. The tenors of which letters of commission and procuracion do here insue, as we find them imprinted at Edinburgh by Robert Lekpeneic printer to the king of Scots, the first of Aprill 1568, among the acts of parlement begun and holden at Edinburgh, the fiftenth of December, in the yeare 1567, by James earle of Spurreie lord Abernethie, &c: regent vnto the said king.

The tenor of the commission, where-
by Marie the queene of Scots resigneth
the crowne to hir sonne, appointeth
his gardians, and maketh the earle of
Murreie regent.

Marie be the grace of God queene of Scots, to all and sundrie our iudges and ministers of law, liegis and subiectis, quhome it effectis to quhais knalege thir our letteris fall come, greeting. For samekle as by lang trelsome and tedious trauell takin by vs, in the gouernement of this our realme and liegis thair of, we are sa verit and werit, that our bodie, spirit, and sensis are altogeddr become vnhabill langer to trauell in that royaume: and thairfore we haue dimittit and renuncit the office of gouernement of this our realme and liegis thair of, in fauours of our anelie maist deir sonne, natie prince of this our realme. And because of his tender youth and inhabillite to vse the said gouernement in his atwin persoun, during his minozitie, we haue constitute our derrest brother James earle of Spurreie, lord Abernethie, &c: regent to our said sonne, realme and liegis foirsaidis.

And in respect that our said derrest brother is actually furth of our realme, and cannot instantlie be present to accept the said office of regentrie vpon him, and vse and exercise the samin during our saidis derrest sonis minozitie; we quhill his returning within our relme, or in cais of his decess haue maid, constitute, namit, appointit, & ordainit, and by thir our letteris makis, constitutis, namis, appointis, and ordainis our traist consingis and counsalouris,

James duke of Chatelebraunt, earle of Arrane, lord Hamiltoun, Mather earle of Lennox, lord Dornie, &c: Archibald earle of Argyle, lord Campbell and Loche, &c: John earle of Atholl, James earle of Portoun, Alexander earle of Glencarne, and John earle of Mar, regentis to our said derrest son, realme and liegis; & in cais our said brother James earle of Spurreie cum within our realme, and refutis to accept the said office of regentrie vpon his singular persoun, we make, constitute, name, appoint, and ordene, our traist consingis and counsalouris foirsaidis, and our said brother regentis of our said deir sonne, realme, and liegis.

Geuand, grantand, and committand to thame, or onie fiue of thame coniunctlie full power for our said sonne, and in his name to ressaue resignatiounis of landis, make dispositiounis of wairdis, nonentresis, releuis, mariageis, beneficis, elchettis, officis, and otheris casualiteis and priuilegis, quhat sumeuer concerning the said office, signatouris thair vpon to make, subscriue, and cause be past through the seillis. And to vse and exercise the said office of regentrie in all thingis, priuilegis, and commoditeis, siclike as frelie and with als greit libertie as onie regent or gouernor to vs or our predecessouris vbit the samin in ony times bigan. Promittand to hold firme and stabill in the word and faith of ane prince, to quhat sumeuer thingis our saidis traist consingis dois in the premissis.

Charging beifore you all and sundrie our iudges and ministers of law, liegis and subiectis foirsaidis, to answer and obeie to our saidis traist consingis, regentis foirsaidis in all and sundrie thingis concerning the said office of regentrie, during our said derrest sonis minozitie, and ay and quhill he be of the age of seuentene yeiris compleit. As ye and ilke ane of you will declair you lussing subiectis to our said maist deir son, your natie prince, and vnder all paine, charge, and offense that ye and ilke ane of you mate commit and inrin agains his maiestie in that pairt. Subscriuit with our hand, and giuen vnder our princie seill, at Lochleuin, the four and twentieth day of Iulij, and of our reigne the fiue and twentieth yeir.

The commission, authorising certene
noble men in the queens name, to re-
nounce the kingdome to hir sonne,
and authorising others to receiue
the same in hir sons name.



Marie be the grace of God queene of Scots, to all and sundrie our iudges, and ministers of law, liegis, and subiectis, quhome it effectis, to quhais knalege thir our letteris fall cum, greeting. For samekle as sen our arriual, and returning within our realme, we willing the common commoditie, welth, proffit, and quietnes thair of, liegis, and subiectis of the samin, haue emploist our bodie, spirit, hail sensis, and forcis, to gouerne the samin in sic sort, that our rofall and honozabill estate might stand and continue with vs, and our posteritie, and our lussing and kind liegis might iniole the quietnille of true subiectis. In trauellling quhatrin, not anelie is our bodie, spirit, and sensis sa verit, brokin, and vnquietit, that langer we are not of habillite be onie meane to indure sa greit and intollerabill painis and trauellis, quhair with we ar altogeddr werit, bot als greit commotiounis and troublis be sundrie occasiounis in the meintime hes ensuit thairin, to our greit greit.

And seing it hes bene the plesour of the eternall
God,

God, of his kindlie lufe, mercie, and gudnes to grant unto vs, of our awin persoun, ane sone, quha in cais be the hand of God we be besett, will, and of richt, and of equitie man, and aucht to succed to vs and to the gouernement of our realme. And knowing that all creaturis ar subiect to that immutabil decret of the eternal, aims to rander and gif by this life temporall (the hour and time quhair of is maist vncertane) and in cais be deceis we be takin fra this life, during the time of his yuinozitie, it maye be dovit greittie, that resistance and troubill maie be maid to our said son, now native prince of this our realme, in his tender yetres (being swa destitute of vs) to succed to that royaume and kingdome, quhill maist iustlie of all lawis aperteneis to him. Quhill inconuenience be Godis helpe and gud providence we mene to preuent, in sick maner, that it fall not lie in the power of onie vnnaturall subiects to resist Godis ordinaunce in that behalfe. And vnderstanding that na thing eirdlie is maist iolous, and happie to vs, nor to se our said decret sone, in our awin life time peccable placit in that royaume, and honorabill estate quhairto he iustlie aucht and man succed to: we of the motherlie affectioun we beir toward our said onlie sone, haue renuncit, and dimittit, and be thir our letteris scellie, of our awin motiue will renuncis, & dimittis the gouernement, guiding and gouerning of this our realme of Scotland, liegis, and subiects thair of, and all intronissoun and dispositioun of onie casualteis, properties, benefices, and offices, and all thingis appertaining, or heirtofor is knawin, or heirefter fall happen to appertein thairto, in fauouris of our said decret sone. To that effect, that he maie be plantit, placit, & possedit thairin, be & exerce all thingis belanging and thairto, as native king, and prince of the samis, & siclike as we or onie our predecessouris, kingis of Scottis, hes done in onie times bypass.

Attour, that this our dimissoun maie tak the maist solempne effect, and that name pretend ignorance thair of, we haue giuin, grantit, and committit, and be thir our letteris, geuis, grantis, & committis our commissoun full, fre, and plane power, generall, & speciall command, to our traist cousingis, Patrike lord Lincolne of the Biris, and William lord Ruthuen, and to ilk ane of thame coniunctlie and seuerallie, to compeir before fa monie of the nobilitie, clergie, burgessis, and ither pepill of our realme, as fall happen to be assembleit to that effect in our burgh of Strivelling, or anie ither place, or placis quhair it fall be thocht maist conuenient, at onie daie or dais, and thair publiclie in thair presence, for vs, in our name, and vpon our behalf dimit, and renunce the gouernement, guiding, & reuling of this our realme, liegis, and subiects thair of, all intronissoun with the propertie, casualtie, or itheris things appertaining to vs thairby, and all richt, and title that we had, hes, or maie haue be onie maner of way thairto, in fauouris of our said son, to that effect, that he maie be inaugurat, placit, and rowmit thairin, and the crowne roiall deliuerit to him, and be obeyit in all thingis concerning the samin, as we, or our predecessouris hes bene in times bypass.

And in likewise be thir presents geuis, grantis, and committis our full, fre, and plane power, to our richt traist cousingis, James earle of Hootoun, lord of Dalkeith, John earle of Atholl, &c: John earle of Mar, &c: Alexander earle of Glencarne, William earle of Pentheith, John maister of Crahan, Alexander lord Hume, Adam bishop of Orkney, the prowis of Dundie, Montrois, or onie of thame, to ressaue the said renuntiatioun, and deliver it in fauouris of our said son, and thair efter the ressauiing thair of, to plant, place, and inangur

rabhtin in the kingdome, and with all ceremonies requisite to put the crowne roiall vpon his heid; in signe and takin of the establisshing of him thairin, and in his name to make, and gif to the said nobilitie, clergie, burgessis, and itheris our liegis, his prince, lie and kinglie aith dettfullie, & lauchfullie as effectis and to ressaue thair aithis, for due and lauchfull homage to be maid be thame to him, in all times curreing, as becumis subiects to thair native king and prince. And generallie all and sundrie ither thingis to do, exerce, and be, that for sure performance and accomplishment heirof maie, or can be done, firme and stable hold, and for to hold all and quhatsumeuer thingis in our name, in the premissis leidis to be done, in the word and faithfull pountis of ane prince. And ordanis thir our letteris (gif neid be is) to be publiit at all places neidfull. Subscriuit with our hand, and giuin vnder our prerie seill, at Lochleuin the foure and twentieth daie of Julij, and of our reigne the five and twentieth year, 1567.

The commission, in which the earle of Murreie is alone appointed to be regent of the yoong king, and of his kingdome.



Be the grace of God, quene of Scots, to all & sundrie our iudgis, and ministeris of our lawis, liegis, and subiects, quhome it effectis, to quhais knalege thir our letteris fall cum, greting. Forsamuche as efter lang, greit, and intollerable painis, & labouris takin be vs sen our arriual within our realme, for gouernement thair of, and keeping of the liegis of the same in quietnes, we haue not anelic bene verit in our spirit, bodie, and sendis thairby, bot als at length at altogitder fa verit thair of, that our habilitie, and strenght of bodie is not habill langer to indure the samin: thairfore, and because na thing eirdlie can be maist confortabill and happie to vs in this eird, nor in our life time, than to se our deir son, the native prince of this our realme, placit in the kingdome thair of, and the crowne roiall set on his heid, we of our owin fre will, an speciall motiue, haue dimittit, and renuncit the gouernement, guiding, and gouerning of this our realme of Scotland, liegis, and subiects thair of, in fauouris of our said son, to that effect: that in all times heirefter, he maie peccable, and quietlie entioie the samin, without troubill, an be obeit as native king, and prince of the samin be the liegis thair of.

And vnderstanding that (be resoun of his tender youth) he is not of habilitie in his awin persoun to administrate in his kinglie royaume and gouernement, as equitie requiris, quhill that heirefter, he cum to the yetres of discretioun; and als knowing the proximity of blude standand betuixt vs, our said sone, and our decret brother James erle of Murray, lord Abirneithie, &c: and hauand experience of the naturall affectioun, and tenderlie lufe he hes in all times borne, and presentlie beires towardis vs, the honour & estate of our said sone, of quhais lufe and fauour towardis him we can not bot assure our selfe: to quhome na greter honour, lov, nor felicitie in eird can cum, nor to se our said sone inaugurat in his kingdome, seirrit, reuerencit, and obeit be his liegis thair of. In respect quhair of, and of the certanetie, and notorie, of the honestie, habilitie, qualification, and sufficiencie of our said decret brother, to haue the cure and regiment of our said sone, realme, and liegis forsaids, during our said sonis yuinozitie: we haue maid, namid, appointit, constitut,

tute, and ordanit, and be thir our letteris namit, appointis, makis, constitutis, and ordanis our said verrest brother James erle of Murray, regent to our said derrest sone, realme, and liegis foirsaidis, during his minoritye and les age, and ay and quhill he be of the age of seuintene yertis compleit. And that our said brother be callit, during the said space, regent to our said sone, his realme, and liegis.

How that our said sone efter the completing of the yertis foirsaidis, in his awin person may tak upon him the said gouvernement, and vse, and exerce all and sundrie privilegis, honours, and otheris immunitis that appertenis to the office of ane king, als twell in gouerning his realme and pepill, according to the lawis, as in repelling the violence of sic as wald inuaid, or intuslie resist him or thame, or his authoritie rofall. With power to our said derrest brother James erle of Murray, in name, authoritie, and behalfe of our said maist beir sone, to ressaue resignationis of quhatsumeuir landis halbin of him, or zit of offices, castels, towris, fortalices, milnis, fischingis, wooddis, beneficis, or pertinencis quhatsumeuir; the samin againe in our said sonis name to gif, and deliuer signatutis thairvpon: and vpon the giftis of twairdis, nonentressis, and releuis of landis, and marraigeis of atris falland, or that fall happin to fall in our said sonis handis as superiour thairof.

And als vpon presentation of landis, beneficis, eschetis of gunds monabill and vnmouabill, dettis and takkis, respittis, remissionis, supercedereis, and vpon the dispositioun of officis vacand, or quhen they fall happin to baik, to subertue, and cause be past the seillis the said office of regentrie, to vse and exerce in all thingis, privilegis, and commoditeis, siclike as frelie, and with als greit libertie, as ony regent, or gouernour to vse, or our predecessouris vbit in ony times bigane, and siclike as gif euerie beid, privilege and article concerning the said office wer at lenit exprestit and amplifit in thir our letteris. Promissand to bald firme and stabill in the word and faith of ane prince, to quhatsumeuir thingis our said derrest brother in the premittis happinnis to do. Chargeing heirfoir zow all, and sundrie our iudgis, and ministreis of law, liegis, and subiectis foirsaidis, to answer and obcy to our said derrest brother, in all and sundrie thingis concerning the said office of regentrie, as ze and like ane of zow will declair zow lussing subiectis, to our said maist beir sone, and vnder all paine, charge, and offense that ze and like ane of zow may commit, and inrin againis his maiestie in that part. Subscriuit with our hand, and geuin vnder our ppetie seill, at Lochleuin the 14 day of Julij. And of our reigne, the twentie five yert.

The kings
oib.

Fr. Thin.

These commissions being read, the bishop of Argle, with two superintendents, proceeded to the coronation: the earle of Morton, and the lord Home toke the oth for the king, that he should rule in the faith, feare, and loue of God, and to mainteine the religion then preached and exercised in Scotland, and to persecute all aduersaries to the same. The whole ceremonie was done in the Scots English tong, the quene mother to the king remaining at that time prisoner in Lochleuin. * But before we enter into the augmentation of the historie of this kings time, I thinke it not vnmeet to deliuer one thing, which I haue with some wonder obserued in all the kings of Scotland descended of the Stewards: that neuer anie one of them except the first & second king of that name was of the age of man, or of one and twentie yeres when they put on the kingle ornaments. A rare thing, and not vnmeet to be considered of, although we can not enter into the

secret iudgements of God. The proofe of which matter, being after this sort, I haue set downe in a catalog of the orderlie descent of those kings. In the computation of the yeres of whose age and first comming to the crowne I haue followed Lescles.

Robert Stewart the first king of that surname, was 57 yeres old when he began his reigne, in the yere of our redemption 1370. John Stewart son of the said Robert began his reigne 1390. These two alonk were of full age, when the title of the kingdome descended vnto them. James Stewart, the first of the name of James, & the third of the name of Stewards, was within age at the death of his father, when the title and crowne descended vnto him: who although he receiued not the crowne at Scone (because he was about eightene yeres honozable kept as a prisoner in England) vntill he was of mans age: yet being king in right, and the crowne inuested in him when he was within age, I doubt not to make him king from the death of his father, and so within age to haue obtained the kingdome, though not the kingle vse thereof, beginning his reigne in the yere of our redemption 1424.

James the second, and the fourth of the Stewards, was six yeres old when he was crowned, in the yere of Christ 1436. James the third, and fifth of the Stewards, being seuen yeres old, was crowned king of Scotland in the yere that the word became fleshy 1460. James the fourth, and first of the Stewards, being sixteen yeres of age, was adorned with the ensignes of the kingdome, in the yere of our saluation 1488. James the fifth, and the seventh of the Stewards, being one yere, five moneths, and ten daies old, was crowned king of Scotland, in the yere from the birth of Christ 1513. Marie the eighth of the name of Stewards, being but seuen daies old, was crowned queene of Scots, in the yere of Christ 1542. Henrie Stewart, sonne to Spathe the earle of Lennox, and husband to the said Marie Stewart, was not one and twentie yeres old, when he came to be king in the right of his wife Marie: for he was not past one and twentie when he was slaine, as before in the yere 1567. Charles James Stewart, the first of the name of James, and the ninth of the surname of Stewards, sonne of the said Henrie Stewart and Marie Stewart, being about a yere old, began his reigne in the yere that God became man 1567. To whome Andrew Melvill (this yere 1585 in England) did whille he was in Scotland dedicate these verses following:

*Dum tu, magne puer patribus das iura vocatus,
Et populi penfas crimina lance pari,
Iura tibi, tuus ille Solon, tuus ille Lycurgus,
Qua recte puri fontibus hausit auitis,
Nobilium regum exemplis obsequat auitis,
Hic, vbi quid fugias, quidne sequarum habes.
Felix, si fugias fugienda, sequenda sequarum!
Felix cum populo tuq, patresq, tuo.*

There was order taken by the magistrates of the reformed churches, assembled for that purpose, touching the discipline of excommunication, and the excommunicated, diuided into these heads: that is to say, what crimes be worthy of that seuer censur of the church by excommunication: how the minister shall behaue himselfe in publike audience of the people: of confession of the penitent: of the offenses which merit publike repentance: of the order to proceed therein: the forme and the order of publike repentance: an admonition to the church: a thanksgiving for the conuersion and repentance of the censured: the forme of the excommunication: the prayer for the obstinate that will not repent after that censur: the prayer before the excommunication:

Out of the
booke printed
thereof.

cation: the maner to innocate the name of Iesus, with the sentence of excommunication: the order to receive the excommunication againe into the church: the forme of the absolution: and lastlie the prayer for the church. Which booke containing the discourse of these matters at large, with authoritie of scriptures and reasons, was set forth by John Kinor minister, and commanded to be printed by the generall assemblie, in the yere of Christ 1569, beinge scene and allowed by those which follow, appointed to that function by the said assemblie: whose names were John Willike, maister John Crage, Robert Pont, John Row, David Lindseie, William Christison, James Greg, &c.

Parlement
holden at
Edinburgh.

An act for
the abolishing
of the popes au-
thoritie in
Scotland.

The castill
of Dunbar and
the fortreffe of
Insketh to be
rased.

Fr. Thin,
Buchanan,
lib. 79.

On the fifteenth of December a parlement begun, beinge holden at Edinburgh before the earle of Murraye lord regent, in the which divers acts and statutes were devised, made, and ratified: as first concerning the quenes demission of hir crowne, and resignati-
on thereof made to hir sonne king James the first.
And likewise concerning the instituting of the earle
of Murraye in the regencie of the realme, which he
toke upon him the two and twentieth day of August
last past, according to hir letters of commission and
procuration aboue specified. Also there was an act
made for the abolishing of the pope, and his usurped
authoritie. And an other act for the annulling of for-
mer acts made in parlement for maintenance of su-
perstition and idolatrie. And hereto was annexed
a confession of the faith and doctrine received by the
protestants of the realme of Scotland, authorised in
the same parlement. There was also an act made for
the indemnitie of those that had lenied warre, and
apprehended the quene at Carbarrie hill, the fif-
teenth of Julie last past, and concerning the detei-
ning of hir in Lochleuin.

Moreover, it was ordeined by an act passed in this
parlement, that the castill of Dunbar, and the for-
treffe of Insketh, should be demolished and rased
doone to the earth. To be brieve, there were one and
fortie acts or statutes made and stablished in this pa-
lement, as by the register thereof it maye appere.
* In the first beginning of the spring, the gouernor
determined to make a progresse ouer the realme,
with the iudges that were appointed to adiminister
law: which he ment to do, to the end that he might
amend and establishe such things as were indamaged
by the tumults of the yere before. Which matter
workinge diuerse opinions in those of the quenes fac-
tion, did cause that Metellane and John Balfurie
sought meanes to deliuer the quene out of prison.
Touching which matter also the Hamiltons labored
who beinge next to the crowne, if the yong king were
gone, and the quene made alwaie, both which per-
haps was no great matter to procure: did soine
with the quenes faction and fauourers. Whose part
in like manner the earles of Atholl and Huntlie re-
fused not to take, because the mother of the one, and
the wife of the other, were of the familie of the Ha-
miltons.

William Murraye of Tillbartine, for his con-
trarie opinion in the controuerfies of religion, and
for priuat quarrels, beinge estranged and grieved
from and with the gouernor, did not onelie now de-
part from the kings faction (although before he shew-
ed great diligence in taking the quene) but did al-
so draw with him a great companie of his friends in-
stited thereunto with no small hope of benefit to rise
vnto them thereby. And as these were heads and
chiefe of such as sought the quenes deliuerance: so
there were a great manie other, whom priuat neces-
sitie, secret grudge, desire of reuenge, hope of ad-
uancement, and necessitie of alliance to those which
are before named, procured to follow, and to further

the cause of the quenes libertie. In the meane time,
whilst the regent was at Glasgow to minister law
to such as required it (and that he had there heard of
these things) this determination of setting the
quene at libertie was put in execution, the manner
whereof was in this sort. There was in the castell of
Lochleuin, wherein the quene was kept as prisoner,
the mother of the regent, and three of his brethren by
an other father, with a great troupe of women: but
none were admitted to see the quene, save such as
were well known or sent thither by the regent.

Of all this household companie, there was none
that seemed so meet to the quene to execute anie
matter, as was George Dologlas the yongest bro-
ther of the regent, beinge a man of a pleasant wit,
and easilie to be ouertaken with the faire speeches of
women. This man had access vnto the quene to
plate at cards, and to vse hir with other courtlie pa-
stimes: who determining to set hir at libertie, did
with promises and gifts win the seruants of the ca-
stell to fauour him and his enterprises. Whereupon
this Dologlas (not unwitting as was thought to
his mother) omitted nothing that might seeme to
serue for the quenes libertie: the which although ma-
nie there did perceiue & toke not in berie good part,
givinge intelligence thereof to the regent; yet he gaue
such credit to his owne people there, that he changed
(as hath Buchanan) none of the keepers in that place,
but onelie commanded his brother George to depart
out of the Island. This said George, when he passed
into the next countrie adioining to the lake, in which
the castell stood, did more liberallie than before (by
corrupting the keepers with monie) consult with the
quene of all hir affaires.

Wherefore not onelie the Scots (whome the pre-
sent state of things did mislike) beinge drawn into
that faction; but also the Frenchmen by James Ha-
milton (which had bene regent not manie yeres be-
fore) and James archbishop of Glascow solicited
thereunto, the Scots promised their bodilie force, and
the French promised their helping purse. Now about
the end of April, an ambassador came out of France
requiring in the name of his king, that he might
haue leaue to go to the quene: which if he were deni-
ed, he made shew that he would presentlie depart.
Whereunto the gouernor answered, that it was not
in his power to grant it: that the quene was not
committed to prison by him, and that he could not de-
termine anie thing herein without the knowledge
which first restrained hir of libertie, and after by de-
creé confirmed that deed: but he would not cease in
pleasuring his sister, and such a friend as the king
(his maister) was, to do all that he might: and fur-
ther, that he would take order for an assemblie of the
nobilitie the twentieth daie of the next moneth. Untill
which time the ambassador seemed somewhat appeased,
and the regent applied the administration of the
lawes.]

On Saturday the second of Maie, in the yere
1568, at supper time, the quene escaped out of Loch-
leuin, by the meanes and helpe of George Dologlas
brother to the lord of Lochleuin. The lord Seton, the
lord of Riccarton, and James Hamilton of Drib-
ston, were readie to receiue hir, and conueied hir o-
uer the quenes ferrie, first to subdite the lord Seton
his house, and from thence to Hamilton castell, where
she remained till the thirteenth daie of Maie being
thursdaie, gathering in the meane time such forces as
she might from all places. The earle of Murraye lord
regent was in Glascow, at that time she thus esca-
ped out of Lochleuin; and vpon knowledge had ther-
of, ment at the first to haue withdraue himselfe to
Sterling: but suddenly changing his purpose in
that behalfe, he determined to continue at Glas-
cow,

The quene
gathereth a
power.

The historie of Scotland.

392

The regents determination to stae at Glascow.

Fr.Thin. Buchanan, lib. 19.

colow, which is not pass eight miles from Hamilton, because he was persuaded, that if the should shynke backe neuer so little, he should incourage his aduersaries, and discourage his friends, and so consequentlie weaken his part greatlie. * Which they also supposed was the more weakened, by the departure of Robert Boid (unto the quenes part) having untill that time twone a great opinion of his constancie towards the regent.

This man, being of a famous familie, was now in the decaie of his house meanelie and sparinglie brought vp vnder his father, a valiant gentleman, and one that followed the frugalitie of the Scots, who (willing to prepare a waie to the readuance of his house, as manie of his other kindred did) was now content to seeke meanes therefore: for which cause both he and his father did first follow the Hamiltons then ruling all things. But after that their gouernement was possed ouer from them to the quene mother the regent; and that contention was moued about religion: he ioined himselfe to the lords of the congregation, from whome his father was most estranged: in which this Robert Boid firmelie continued untill the quenes retarne out of France. By means whereof, there was a great opinion of his valure & wisdom, on whose counsell Coline Campbell earle of Atholl did almost wholie depend. But when by chance certeine of the nobilitie had conspired or conspired (to vse Buchanans word) for no euill act, but for the defense of the king, he subscribed to the same league.

But after, with like lightnesse both he and the earle of Argile (which hong vpon his aduise) wrote vnto the quene euerie thing that was done in the same assemblie, from which time this Boid was partaker of all the quenes secrets against his old friends, who with the quene did yet obtaine no greater opinion of constancie, than he did amongst others of lightnesse and inconstancie. But after that the quene was imprisoned, and the earle of Spurreie made regent, he went then to the part of the gouernor: with whome he shewed such proofe of his wit and industrie, that he was admitted into the priue counsels of the regent, contrarie to the opinion of others. But after when the matter should be tried by fight betwene the regent & the quene (after his escape from Lochleuin) he fled againe to the quene.] All which notwithstanding, the thirteenth daie of Maie afore mentioned, the quene with hir power marched from Hamilton, by the south side of Clede toward Dunbarton; and out of Glascow on the other part marched the lord regent with his forces: so as at length both the armies met at a place called the Langside, nere to the house of Cathcart within two miles of Glascow.

The armies met at La.igside.

Lords on the quenes part.

Lords on the regents part.

They ioine in battell.

There were on the quenes part the earles of Argile, Castles, Gginton, and Kokes, Claud Hamilton sonne to the duke of Chatelerault, the lords Seton, Sommershill, Weller, Bothwicke, Leuingston, Herries, Parivell, Sauguhar, Boid and Kofse, lards and knights, Lochinwar, Was, Wlaughton, Dalhousie, Kosen the striffe of Aire, sir James Hamilton, and manie others. On the regents part were these accounted as principall, the earles of Forston, Mar, Glencarne, Penteth, the master of Graham, the lords Hume, Lindie, Ruthwen, Sempill, Ogiltre and Cathcart, of lards and knights, Bargawp, Blacquhan, Dymulanrig, Sellof, Lus, Buchanan, Tulibardin, Peteur, Grange, Lochleuin, Lethington, and sir James Balfour. At the first ioining there was a verie sharpe encounter: for after they had bestowed their shot of harquebuzes and arrows, they fell to it with speares and swords. But at length, after thre quarters of an houres fight, the

quenes part was put to flight.

The victorie remained with the regent, who suffered none to be slaine but those that were killed in the fight, before they turned their backs: among the which were foureteene of the surname of the Hamiltons killed. There were taken prisoners about thre hundred, of which number the principall were these: the lords Seton and Kofse, sir James Hamilton, and manie other of that surname. Of the regents part, the lord Hume was hurt in the leg and face, and the lord Ogiltre in the necke, by the lord Herries: the lord Lindie, and the lards of Dymulanrig, and of Grange, bare themselves verie valiantlie that day, failing not in anie point that belonged to the dutie of hardie captieins. The quenes part was thought to be nere at the point of sir thousand men, and the regents was reckoned to be foure thousand: so that there were ten thousand men in the field that daie, what vpon the one side and the other.

The earle of Huntie was coming forwarde to haue assisted the quenes part, but the battell was stricken, and hir people discomfited (as ye haue heard) per he could come, and so he returned. In this battell the baliance of an Hieland gentleman named Macferlane, stood the regents part in great stead. For in the hottest bzunt of the fight, he came in with two hundred of his friends and countrie men, and so manfullie gaue in vpon the flanke of the quenes people, that he was a great cause of the disordering of them. This Macferlane had bene latelie before (as I haue heard) condemned to die for some outrage by him committed: and obtaining pardon (through sute of the countesse of Spurreie) he recompented that clemencie by this peece of seruice now at this battell, [which was (as saith Buchanan) fought the third daie of Maie, and the eleuenth after the quene had escaped out of prison.]

The quenes part discomfited.

Fourteene of the Hamiltons slaine. Prisoners taken.

The earle of Huntie coming forward to aid the quene.

Fr.Thin.

The quene of Scots fleth into England.

Fr.Thin. Buchanan lib. 19.

The quene perceluing the ouerthrow of hir people, fled from the place where she stood to behold the battell, and withdrew to Cratford towne, and so by the Sauguhar to Dunbarton in Gallowaie: and after she had taried there two or thre daies, she toke ship and passed to Wokington in England, where she was staied & conuied to Caerleill, and from thence to Bolton castell, belonging to the lord Scrope, who with sir Rafe Sadler (being sent downe for that purpose) had the custodie of hir, till at length she was committed vnto the earle of Shrewsburie. * The French ambassador, which looked for the good successe of this battell, and did promise to himselfe assured victorie on the quenes part, vnderstanding the contrarie, and being deccied of his former hope, changed his copie, and with horse and guides halfed all he could into England, without bidding the regent farewell. In which iourne he was robbed by thieves: but James Dologlasse, capteine of the marches of Dymulanrig, did this honor to the ambassador, that he had all his goods restored vnto him.]

But now to the dowings in Scotland. The regent sent to summon Hamilton castell, but the answer was respited till the next daie: and then he that had the charge came to Glascow, and offered the keies to the regent. The castell of Drassan was also yielded at the same time to the regent. The eighteenth of Maie, the regent made proclamation, that the inhabitants of the shires of Sperris, Angus, Fife, Pers, Louthian, Kile, and Carricke, should prouide themselves of vittels for sixtene daies, and to met him at Weggan the tenth of Iune, to ride with him into the south west parts of Scotland, to chastise certeine theues, and other disobedient persons. Wherevpon, the eleuenth of Iune, the regent marched south of Edinburgh, and came that night to Weggan. The armie being assembled, contained foure or five thousand

The regents iourne into the south west parts of Scotland.

land hostemen verie well appointed, beside a thousand footmen, gunners and halberdiers: of boies and young men that went with the carriage, there were about foure thousand.

The castell of
Boghall.
Shirling ca-
stell.
Crawford.

The castell of Boghall, pertaining to the lord Fleming, was surrendered to them. The twelfth of June Shirling castell was rased (a faire house) to the end that other vnderstanding therof, might be put in greater feare. That night they came to Crawford, where the castell was to them surrendered; it belonged vnto sir James Hamilton, whom they had in their hands. The thirtieth of June they marched to Saucher, a castell, the which being rendered they spared, because the lord Cheynton the owner thereof, promised at a certeine daie to come to the regent to Edinburgh. The fouretenth of June they came to Warbascall, where they laie that night, and the lord Wederborne was sent to speake with the lord of Louchinware. Wednesday the fiftenth of June, they marched to a place called saint John Schlagban, staing there in trust of the lord of Louchinwares comming vnto them, but he came not: whereupon, the next daie being the sixtenth of June, they rased the house of Benmure, and an other house also, for that the owners were friends to the said Louchinware.

Saucher.

Warbascall.

Saint John
Schlagban.

Benmure.

The water of
Mr.
Dunfreis.

The sevententh of June they came to a gentle mans house, standing by the water of Mr, where diuerse gentlemen came in, and were receiued. The eightenth of June they marched to Dunfreis, and remained there all the next daie. A strong house standing in that towne, & appertaining to the lord Sparwell, was offered vnto them. Diuerse of the Sparwells, Johnstons, Pretwines, Grahams, and Wels, came vnto the regent, and offering themselves to be obedient, were receiued. Two daies before this, the lord Sparwell, the lords of Johnstons, Colwhill, and Louchinwar, had bene at Dunfreis with a thousand men, and spent all the vittels. It was thought that the lord Sparwell would haue come in, if the other had not counsellled him to the contrarie. The twentieth of June they marched to Hoddom, a place belonging to the lord Herries: a thousand of the broken men were assembled and offered skirmish; two or thre were taken, they laie within a mile of the regent that night.

Hoddom pe-
bel to the re-
gent.

The land of
Dumlanrig.

The one and twentieth the house was yeilded, and the custodie thereof committed to the lord of Dumlanrig that was appointed warden of those marches. It was thought verie strong, so that the defendants might haue kept it longer if they had bene disposed. Great hunger began to pinch the armie, a pint of wine was sold at seven shillings Scotish, and no bread to be had for anie monie. The regent sent forth the earle of Morton, and the lord Hume with a thousand men, to trie if they might haue drawn the broken men to a chase: but it would not be, for they went their waies, and would not farrie it. The two and twentieth of June the campe laie still, but the regent with a thousand men went to Annand, and had it deliuered vnto him. Here he met with the lord Scrope, and after returned to the campe. The thre and twentieth of June they went to Lochmaben and receiued the castell, the which the regent deliuered to Dumlanrig: but some of the Sparwells being close lie hid within an old corner of the house, after the regent was gone, brake out and seized the house againe into their hands.

Annand deli-
uered to the
gouernor.
Lochmaben.

Two houses
called John-
ston taken by
the regent.

The same daie, two houses belonging to the lord of Johnstons, the one named Lochwood, and the other Loibhouse, were taken, but not burnt: because the lord Johnstons had put in suertie to come in by a day vnto the regent. The same daie they took great store of cattell, and that night with a shot of the great artillerie, they shote two sheues among thre score or

thers that came and approached verie nere to the armie, as the manner of the pickers is. The armie laie that night at Milton holms. The foure and twentieth of June they came to Waples, and the next day to Edinburgh, so ending that iourne, in the which they had passed through the countries of Clidesdale, Gallowaie, Piddesdale, Annandale, & Tweedale. Much a do and great trouble arose within Scotland, by reason that the Hamiltons and their adherents made parts against the regent, and those other lords that gouerned vnder the king; whereof as I haue no certeine notes, so I must passe the same with silence.

Great trouble
in Scotland.

* Whilst these things were thus in doing, letters came to the regent from the queene of England: for she was perswaded by such as were fled with the queene of Scots into England, that there was great iniurie done vnto the queene of Scots, being burdened with high matters, through the enuie of hir euill subiects, in which chiefie the kinglie authoritie was reuelled, and the regiment of sacred maiestie defaced. A thing which did not alone pertaine to the priuat person of the queene of Scots, but to the example of all other princes. Which euill of expelling kings, was speedilie and soundlie to be prevented, least it might creepe anie further. By which and other perswasions, the queene of England required of the regent to send sufficient men, that should declare to hir the order of all things as they were done, and that should answer all such reproches as were laied against him.

Fr. Thin.
Buchan. lib. 19.

Touching which matter, although it appeared grieuous and heauie in it selfe, to call things in question which before were by parlement established; and to bring in by a new kind of iudgement of their causes before forein iudges and kings who were their enimies, and first perswaded against the regent by such as maliced him and his faction; and that after a sort the same seemed dangerous and full of shame: yet on the other side there were manie things that enforced him to accept that request of the queene of England, although it were vniust. Wherefore when he had determined to send ambassadors, and that they could not agree who they should be, sith the chiefest, and those of the nobilitie refused it: at length the regent professed that he would take that iourne upon him. For the performance whereof he chose certeine persons to accompanie him into England, contrarie to the mind of William Metellan, which onelie denied and stood against it. Wherefore he cari- ed the said Metellan with him (fauoring the queene) not doubting in the end by one meanes or other to win him to his part.

The rest that went willingly with him, were James Douglas, Patrike Lindsete, being of the nobilitie; the bishop of Dornie, & the abbat of Fermilindon, churchmen; James Macgill, and Henrie Balnane, lawiers of the college of iudges. To whom as the ninth was ioined George Buchanan author of the Scotish historie: with whom the regent accompanied to the number of 1000 hostes, toke his iourne into England, and came the fourth nones of October to Poike, to the assemble appointed there by the queene of England. On which day, and almost at the same houre, Thomas Howard duke of Northfolke came thither also; to which duke were associat in commission, to heare the controuersie of the Scots, the earle of Suffre, and sir Rafe Sadler knight. After a few daies, came thither such as were sent by the queene of Scots, which did complaine of hir vnkind subiects, and required helpe to restore hir to hir kingdome. These men being heard (fundered from the regent and the earls) did (after they had protested that they came not vnto them as iudges, hauing anie right to make lawes to bind

bind them with manie words open the injuries which the Scottish subjects had done unto their quene, and required of the quene of England, that either she would persuade hir unkind people to receiue their prince againe; or if they refused the same, that she would giue them an armie, with which they might compell them thereto.

In few hours after this, the regent (calling the matter to the deciding of law, before equall arbitratours) did contend (sith nothing was done but by right, by law, by the ancient custome of their countrie, by the determination of the assemble of parliament, and by the subscription of manie such as were there present to accuse them) that he alone by his authoritie could not vnderstand the same; but when the English commissioners had denied that they could be satisfied with those things done at home, & here pronounced by the Scots, except some cause were shewed that enforced them so seuerely to pronounce against their quene; the regent answered that he did chiefly see that matter, least he should be bound to accuse his quene and sister. Which he denied to do, not willing to late abroad to foreign nations his wicked deeds, as Buchanan fearmeth them. To the contrarie whereof he would not be enforced, unless the quene of England would promise to defend the cause of the now king, and to take him into hir protection: if he did manifestly proue, that the quene of Scots had murdered the king of Scots his husband. Whereunto the English answered, that they had authoritie onlie to heare both parts, and to declare their whole request unto their quene.

By reason whereof, in the end they wrote to the quene of England all the state of their doings; who did write backe, that the earle of Murreie should send one or more to the English court, fullie to informe hir thereof, sith she would do all therein that belonged unto hir. Which letters received, the earle of Murreie sent Metellan (a man before suspected, and that did after soine in conference with John Lesle bishop of Ross) to the court of England, associated with James Macgill. Now after these men were come to the quene at London, it was thought most convenient by hir and hir counsell, that the regent himselfe should be present, when all matters of controuersie were intreated upon. For which cause, sending part of his companie backe into Scotland, the regent came with a small traine to London: where the same difficultie was objected against him which was done at Forke: to which he answered as before. Whilst these things were doing at London, the quene of Scots did by James Balfoure moue warres in Scotland. For the furtherance whereof, she wrote letters to hers and Bothwells friends, and made manie deputies to execute hir authoritie in Scotland.

When the regent saw himselfe thus beset on euerie side, he determined to returne with all speed into Scotland aswell as he might, without dispatch of that for which he came. Wherefore the English still instantlie vying him to tell the cause (which being untold, they could not determine anie thing therein) that moued them to do those things in Scotland: the regent (loth to offend the quene of England) made a long protestation how unwilling he was to accuse the quene, and his sister; and therefore requested one thing, that they which were the occasion to lead him into this battell might be present therat; for because he would vse their witness in the weightiest matters. Which for manie great reasons being denied by the English, the quene of England required, that the quene of Scots (by force and armes expelled) might be restored home; & therewithall giuing the regent a day, to shew cause why the re-

uengers of the kings death had taken armes against the quene; although the erle of Murreie were none of them: for he was in France at the time of the deed done. Wherefore the regent shewing all he could against the quene of Scots for the defense of hir aduersaries; in the end, the quene of England deferring the same to another day, permitted the regent to depart home to appease the troubles there, and that he should leaue some one of his behind him, to answer all such enils as should be objected against him.

But the regent desired them whilst he was there, that his accusors might be brought out. Whereupon the accusors being present, and saing that they had not then anie thing to saie; but that they would further shew their accusation where it pleased the quene: the matter with much controuersie ended on both parts, & the counsell brake vp without anie finall sentence therein. But whilst the regent remained thus in England (as is a little before touched) there were manie things without successe attempted by the quene of Scots followers. For James Hamilton (who a little before had bene gouernor) being grieued with the mishap of things at home, falling out contrarie unto his mind, did therefore depart into France, where (remoued from all companie, and onlie attended vpon with a man or two) he did secretlie liue to himselfe.

But when the quene of Scots was escaped the prison of Lochleuin, and that she was after subdued in battell, being within a few daies after compelled to land in England; the Frenchmen that could not draw the earle of Murreie (now by his friends called home into his countrie) into their faction, thought it best for manie reasons (sith they might not for the troubles in France send him succor or monie) to raise by the said Hamilton against the earle of Murreie, and especiallie at that time whilst the regent was in England. Wherefore he comming out of his den abroad into the world, intriched by the French with a few golden crownes, and overcharged with manie faire promises, was importuned by his friends and kindred, whilst he hastened from England into Scotland, that the quene of England with the authoritie of the quene of Scots, would induce the earle of Murreie to deliuer by his regentship of Scotland unto him; sith that place was of right due unto him (by the manners and lawes of all nations, but chiefely by the custome of his countrie) as next in blood, and next in succession.

For the proue whereof, it is not necessarie to reckon by the memoires of histories from the first times, considering it is knowne to all men, that gouernors haue bene giuen to those of yong yeares (not able to rule the kingdome) of such as haue bene nearest of blood. For so, after the death of James the third, Robert his uncle had the gouernement in the absence of James the first; and Mordac the son of the same Robert succeeded him therein. And of late time in our remembrance, John duke of Albany did gouerne the yong yeares of James the fifth; and Hamilton himselfe, in the minority of Marie the quene that now is, being as then neither fit for a husband or a kingdome; did a few yeares rule all the affaires of Scotland. Who now by certeine rebels, was through vnlawfull voices excluded thereof with force and violence, and that (which is worse) a ballard is aduanced thereto in contempt of lawfull blood. Which honor, if it were restored unto him, he would hartlie appeale all those cruell brailes; and restore the quene of Scots unto hir kingdome; without anie force or tumult of armes.

Whereunto the king of Scots legats did answer, that Hamilton did not onlie demand a thing quite contrarie

contrarie to the lawes and old customs of Scotland; but also a thing most vnusall, if no authoritie of law were against it. For our ancestors (by reason of many murders committed by those of the kings blood) almost a thousand three hundred yeares past, did change the order in creating of their kings. For whereas before, they which were of the familie of Fergusius, the first king of that name, were in the life of the king chosen after to reigne, not as necessary of blood; but as persons most worthy to weild a kingdome: Kenneth the third (to the end to take awaie from the court all treacherie towards the kings familie, and cruell murders of kindreds amongst themselves) did establish that order which is now obserued in creating of our kings; which was, that the next in blood should be aduanced to the place of the deceased king.

But afterwards, when men were taught by the successe of things, that it could scarce be chosen; but that in such inconstancie of fortune, the right of the chiefest magistrat must sometime light vpon children and vpon heires also vnfit for gouernement, they did ordeine, that he should be chosen to the administration of the publike wealth; which did creell others in wealth and wisdom. Which course our ancestors haue kept almost these six hundred yeares, leauing the kingdome whole & sound to posteritie. According to the which, when Robert Bruce was dead, there were gouernors chosen by voices: which were Thomas Randolph earle of Murraie, Donald earle of Mar, Andrew Murraie, John Randolph, & Robert Stewart. For sometime, as manie were chosen gouernors togither; so when James the second was a child, Alexander Leuingston, being no kin to the king, no not so much as of the nobilitie, but onelie a knight, was appointed gouernor to the young king.

Which may not be excused, in saieing that the same was then so done, because there wanted men of the kings blood to supplie those places. For at that time were liuing John Kennedie head of the familie, the kings kinsman by the sister of James the first; and the vncle by his fathers side: James Kennedie also, bishop of saint Andrews, a man of most account in the kingdome for all kinds of vertue, being borne of the kings aunt; and Douglas also, earle of Angus, with Archibald earle of Douglas, both of the kings blood; whereof the last was in riches and power almost equall to the king, but far beyond the wealth and power of all others; of whome, none did ever complaine to the parlement, when they were put besides the gouernement, and others not so nere of blood appointed thereunto. Not long after, foure tutors were appointed to James the third, which were not made in respect of blood; but chosen by the voices of the nobilitie.

And although of late, John duke of Albanie was by the nobilitie called out of France to the gouernement of Scotland, during the tender yeeres of James the first, and confirmed in the same by publike decrees of parlement; yet was it not giuen vnto him in respect of nearenesse of blood. For he had Alexander his elder brother in life, who although perhaps he was inferior to the duke; yet he was farre about James Hamilton (in all kind of vertue) which did sometimes reach after that place. But in the absence of James the first, Robert his vncle ruled the kingdome. But by what right? Was he admitted thereunto for nearenesse of blood? No trulie.

What then? Was he chosen of the people? No. How then was he made? Marie when king Robert the third was not sufficient to rule the kingdome, either for strength of bodie or mind, he did substitute Robert his brother as his deputie, & commended his

children to his gouernment; who in the end furnished David the eldest, and also threatened death vnto the younger sonne James, which he did auoid by fleeing Scotland. Which Robert being in the possession of authoritie by tyrannie (and his brother killed with thought) did leaue the same to Murdoch his sonne. So that it cannot be doubted that the mind of the last king Robert was to his brother, for he would neuer (if he had liued and bene in health) haue made him tutor of his children, whom at the houre of his death he cursed as the butcher of his children.

That time also, in which this Hamilton gouerned, both remember vnto vs manie things (though what sooner was then done, is no proofe that it was well done) which are to be considered of. For when the cardinall Beaton did labor by subtiltie to innade the chiefe gouernement, this Hamilton rather leaning to the hatred which good men did beare towards Beaton, than trusting to the fauor of the people towards himselfe, did leape into the empty place of a gouernor; in which he ruled with much crueltie and couetousnesse, and in few yeeres after, both sold the gouernment (obtained by force) and the quene, whom he had vnder his authoritie. At what time was shewed the fauour which the people bare vnto him, when they preferred the gouernement of a strange woman, before the bondage which they had vnder him.

You see now (I hope) the request of the Hamiltons to be against our countrie lawes, and decrees of our ancestors, and that so contrarie vnto them, that wanting other sufficient arguments, he is constrained to confirme the same onelie with lies. But if there were anie such custome, I suppose there is none but doth see how vnusall it were. For what can be more vnrighfull, than to commit yong, weake, and faultlesse yeeres to his faith, which doth daile either looke or wish for the death of the pupil? Whose whole familie hath alwaies bene at daile and deadly warre with the house of the king that now is? What defense can be here by nearenesse of blood against old malice, vnrimeasurablenesse, and the headie violence of (alreadie tasted) tyrannie? Laodice the quene of Cappadocia is supposed to haue killed hir owne children, as they came to yeeres of discretion, and to haue bought the small continuance of hir gouernement with the blood of hir sonnes.

Wherefore, if the mother spated not hir owne flesh, for the gaine of short authoritie; what will old enimities do, inflamed to crueltie with the brands of couetousnesse (nay rather what is to be thought that they will not do) against a child, which deserueth respect of their hope of gouernement? If this example seeme ouer old or obscure to anie man, or to be ouer farre fet, I will lay downe some nether home, and those most notable. Who is so ignorant of this late lie done, that he knoweth not that Calcas Sfortia (growne to discretion, a husband, and sonne in law to a most mightie king) was slaine by his vncle Lodowike; to whom are the calamities vnknewne, which followed so cruell a parricide and kin-slaier? For the most beautifull countrie of Italie was almost brought thereby to utter destruction: the familie of the Sforties, the mother of manie a valiant person cleane destroyed, and the barbarous people (from whose crueltie and couetousnesse nothing was safe) brought into the pleasant places about Padus. Who is he that is borne in Britaine, that hath not heard of the crueltie of Richard (the third king of that name in England) against the children of his brother? But with what bloodshed was that in the end purged?

Now, such these did not feare to do such evils to their

their nearest blood, by the onelie enforcing desire to gouerne, being otherwise two/thie persons: what shall we looke for from him, whose inconstancie of mind all the Scots doe know: Whose unskillfull gouernement they haue tried with manie slaughters: And (which is moze) whose familie not content with the murder of this kings great grandfather, did go about to intrap his grandfather by the mothers side, whilest he was in life; and when he could not kill the grandfather by the fathers side, he thrust the poze father out of the kingdome, brought forth the mother to be slaine as a sacrifice, & sold hir kingdome (when they could not inioy it) to strangers: out of which bondage she (by the prouidence of God) being deliuered, they haue throwne themselves into these troubles in which they now are. Whereby we may easilie vnderstand, what the iudgement of the common people was touching that matter, in that those men doe now seeme to be deliuered out of a prison of miserable bondage, and to behold the sweet light of libertie, when they (which knew not how to order it) did sell their gouernment to a strange woman.

These things being thus heard on both sides before the councell of England, the quene thereof by hir said councell declared to Hamilton, that he required an vnusall thing, and that he should not hope for anie aid from hir; and that she hath promised the kings ambassador, that Hamilton should not depart England, before that the said ambassador had leaue likewise to go home. After that these things were done, and that the regent somewhat indifferently dispatched his affairs in England, he obtained leaue to depart, and was honorably conducted home with the English, who sufficientlie garded him: but especially the nobilitie and companie of the north parts, sith it was great honor for hir maiestie safelie to returne him home, who (vpon hir letters had) was come out of his owne countrie. Which regent comming to Edinburgh the next day after the kalends of Februarie, he was there receiued with great pompe.

Buchanan,
lib. 19.

Few daies after this, those of the kings faction assembled at Striueling, where the regent declared vnto them what he had done in England; which being well liked, was in the end confirmed by all the nobilitie. Such about that time, James Hamilton chiefe of that familie came out of England, being by the quene of Scots authorized with a new and arrogant letter: in that she called him hir father, and made him hir vicar and deputie of the kingdome. This man at his first comming made proclamation, that no man should obteine anie other than such as were substituted by him. Wherevpon those of the kings part (bestowing summes of monie vpon soldiers, to make them readie, if need required, to the bittermost conflict) met on a day appointed at Glasgow.

But when there was a great assemble of the common people at Hamilton, moze than they looked for, a meanes of agreement was attempted, with this condition: that Hamilton, comming to Glasgow, should acknowledge the king for chiefe gouernor: which if he did, all other things should easilie be agreed; but if he denied that, he should come in vaine: all which he promised to do, and the kings armie was dismissed. When he came to Glasgow, they obtained their former goods and honors the same day, in which he and his friends professed themselves subiects to the king: but yet so, that in the meane time they should remaine in prison, or else giue pledges of their next kin; with further notice, that if anie of the said part would so do, they should also be receiued on the same covenants, wherevnto the earle of Argile and the earle Huntlie refused to subscribe.

Hamilton comming at the day appointed to Edinburgh, did deferre the performance of his promises, deuising manie delaies; vntill the other principals of the factions were come, whereby the covenants might be established by all their consents, for which he prayed day till the tenth of Aprill: and that in the meane time he might vnderstand the mind of the imprisoned quene of Scots: all which in the end was denied vnto him. Wherevpon Hamilton (confessing the truth) said, that he consented to those conditions by compulsion; and that (if he were free) he would not allow of anie of them. For which answer, Hamilton & Parwell were committed prisoners to the castell of Edinburgh. The earle of Argile was suffered to be quiet at home, but the earle Huntlie was moze hardlie dealt withall, because that in the absence of the gouernor he had taken manie, and had made deputies about Crawford and Agilvie.

Wherevpon there was day giuen vnto them both to meet at the assemble at Saint Andrews, whether the earle of Argile first came: with whom there was no extreme dealing, because he ceased to trouble the realme anie moze, was of kindred to the gouernor, and they two were of great friendship together euen from their young years. But when the cause of Huntlie (long before his comming) was well debated, the gouernor pronounced, that he would pardon all priuate faults done to him, or to the king: but that he neither could nor would pardon anie injuries done to any other. And if Huntlie, or his friends that followed his faction, could passe away with those spoils, he would willinglie labor that arbitrators chosen by both parts, should temper the value of the damage. At what time also there grew a further mischief, whether all they which took part with Huntlie should also be pardoned; but in the end, vpon deliberation, all things seemed indifferently well pacified.

During these things, the quene of England sent letters into Scotland in the behalfe of the imprisoned quene, either that she might wholie be restored, or iointlie rule with hir sonne; or admitted to liue priuatlie in hir owne countrie. All which being denied to be granted, the Scots sent Robert Pethercarne, a man of great wisdome and fidelitie, to deliuer their answer vnto the quene of England. Whilest these things were in doing, the gouernor fearing the power of the imprisoned quene, which now waxed great, did call William Pettellan before him, from Perth to Striueling; who requested the earle of Argile to go with him for his better suretie. Afterwards, this William sitting in the councell, was accused by Thomas Crawford of the kings death, wherevpon he was commanded prisoner to a chamber in the castell, and others were sent to appeare head James Balfurie.

But in the end, the gouernors mildnesse suffered no great hurt to fall vpon them; for Balfurie by his friends sone obtained pardon; and Pettellan being led to Edinburgh, was left in a house there not farre from the castell: to whom certeine housemen were appointed keepers, vnder the charge of Alexander Hume a noble young man, appointed chiefe ouer them. But William Bircadie, capteine of the castell of Edinburgh, about ten of the clocke at night, did counterfeit letters signed with the hand of the earle of Purrie, and brought them to Alexander, willing him to deliuer William Pettellan, which he did accordingly. Wherevpon Pettellan was caried by Bircadie into the castell, to the great dislike of the nobilitie, being almost vncertaine whether they should impute the deed to Bircadie, or to the gouernor, not being vnacquainted with the boldnesse of Bircadie: in such sort, that the same was like to grow to a commotion, if the innocencie of

Buchanan,
lib. 19.

of the gouernour had not before bene sufficientlie knowne.

In the yere 1569, the earles of Northumberland and Westmerland raised a rebellion against the queenes maiestie of England; but by the good diligence and prouident circumspection of the earle of Sussex, then lieutenant of the north parts, and by such direction as was giuen by hir maiestie and hir counsell, for the leuening of an armie vnder the leading of the earle of Marke, and the lord admirall Clinton, the said two earles were kept so in feare, that they durst not aduance farre forward in their backed begun enterprise, but were constrained to retire backe towards Durham. Whereupon the earle of Sussex, supposing that their meaning was for their last refuge and safegard to take the castels of Alnewike and Markebworth, he wrote vnto sir John Foster lord wardren of the middle marches, either by force, policie, or some other means, to get into his hands the possession of those two castels, and the same to fortifie with such number and garisons of men, as to his discretion should be thought conuenient, for the safe custodie and gard thereof.

Sir John Foster, being at his house nere to Alnewike, when he receiued these letters, accompanied with his seruants, friends, and tenants, & some souldiers that were come to him from Berwicke, marched vp to the castell on foot, where finding the house garded with a great number of the earle of Northumberland's seruants, retainers, and tenants, he made proclamation before the castell gate, that euery of them within the castell should come forth, and withdrew to their owne houses, vpon paine to be reputed rebels to the queenes maiestie: and that which of them sooner did refuse to obeye this proclamation, stating either in the castell or elsewhere in a nic vnlawfull assemblee, it should be lawfull for euery man to spoile his goods, and him to kill if he made resistance.

This proclamation notwithstanding, they with in the castell, at the first refused to yeld it vp. And thereupon sir John Foster marched through the towne into the market place, and there made the like proclamation in behalfe of all the inhabitants that were the earle of Northumberland's tenants, for their repairing home to their houses. And coming here with backe towards the castell, they within perceiving themselves destitute of succor, and sir John Foster to increase in power, did vpon better aduise yeld themselves vnto him, who saued all their liues. After the same manner he got also the castell of Markebworth, and fortified them both with sufficient number of men. This done, he assembled such forces as he was able to make, so that he got together to the number of eleuen hundred ho'stmen, and toke order to forlaie and stop the passages, so as the earles friends and tenants in Northumberland should not go vnto him.

After this, hauing in his companie the lord Diggle, and Thomas Foster his brother, and other gentlemen, he went to Newcastell, where, with Thomas Gower esquire, that had the principall rule therof at that time, he toke order for the defense of that towne against the rebels. With him came to him sir Henrie Perrie, offering his seruice against his brother, and other the rebels, to the uttermost of his power. Whereupon diuerse excursions were made forth of Newcastell into the bishoprike, where the two earles were incamped, and sundrie skirmishes chanced betwixt the two parties, though no great hurt followed thereof. The earles yet on a day came from Durham, and with their armie marched towards Newcastell. Sir John Foster, and sir Henrie Perrie, hauing intelligence thereof, issued forth of Newcastell with

all their forces, and certeine p'ces of great ordinance. They had also with them certeine bands of the souldiers of Berwicke, meaning thereto haue ioined battell with the earles: sir Henrie Perrie shewing himselfe as willing and forward thereto as any other in all the companies.

At Chester deane, midwaie betwixt Durham and Newcastell, the armies approached the one nere to the other, a small brooke running in a hollow diuiding them asunder, so that there was no passage for them to conueie their ordinance ouer, the bankes on either side being so steepe and cumberlome. Where, vpon the earles perceiving that they were disappointed of their purpose, after some skirmishes betwixt the ho'stmen, they returned vnto Durham: and from thence the next day they went to Berham, and after being in bitter despaire, fled into Scotland: where the erle of Westmerland lighted among those that shifted him abwaie so from place to place, that he escaped out of that realme, when he could no longer remaine there in suertie. But the earle of Northumberland fell into their hands, which deliuered him vnto the regent, who thought he could do no lesse than put him in safe keeping, considering the amitie that was betwixt the two princes, the queenes maiestie of England, and the king of Scots.

But shortly after, the regent (as he was riding through Lithgow) was wickedlie shot in with an harquebuse by one James Hamilton, and so wounded, that the next day he died of the hurt [as saith Buchanan out of a wood gallerie, in which were clothes hanged as it were to an other vse.] * But the night before the slaughter of the regent, Walter Scot, and Thomas Bar also of Fernibird entered into England to spoile the borders, which they did more cruellie than euer was done before, rather for desire of reuenge of some iniurie, than for the gaine of anie booties. Besides which, the capitaine of the castell where Mettellan was prisoner, was now commanded to set the same Mettellan at libertie: who vpon oth before the nobilitie (which allowed and confirmed the same) did purge himselfe of the death of the king, and of the ciuill warres moued in England (wherewith he was charged) adding that he would proue the same at anie time when day should be appointed to him thereto. After which, there was an assemblee made for the election of a new gouernour.

At that time Thomas Kandolph, being sent thither ambassado: for the queene of England in the life of the regent, had audience granted vnto him; whose message was, to demand the deliuerie of such rebels of England as had fled thither: which ambassado: the deceased gouernour had before refused to heare at Striueling. Whereupon, sith all things were then in a turmole by his death, they departed. But now, when there was a parliament for the choosing of a new regent, Kandolph which had bene in Scotland some yeres before, because he seemed best to know the men and their conditions of Scotland, and because he had before dispatched some other ambassages for the benefit of the realme, was held vere and well esteemed of the nobilitie, and therfore was brought into the counsell.

Who, after that he had declared what the mind of his prince had bene vnto the Scots, he shewed that he would not now abbate the same vnto them in these troublesome times, no more than he had before done. After which he remembred the inuasions made into England, with the slaughters, spoiles, and burnings committed a little before: all which he well knew was not done by the counsell or labor of the publike state: and therefore his queenes fauor was not diminished to them, but that the same good will

Chesler deane.
The earles of Northumberland & Westmerland fled into Scotland.

1571. Buch.
1570.
The earle of Northumberland
regent slain.
Fr. Thin.

Buchan, lib. 10.

1569.
Proclamation in the north of England, by the earles of Northumberland & Westmerland.

Proclamation made at Alnewike by sir John Foster.

The castell of Alnewike and Markebworth fortified by sir John Foster.

Sir John Foster kept with Thomas Gower against the rebels.

Sir Henrie Perrie against his brother the earle of Northumberland.

did remaine to them now, as ample as euer it was. And where she was grievouslie offended (and that without hir desert) yet she was not now determined (although by right she iustlie might) to demand publicke restitution and recompense for such enligthening to exact punishment of the whole nation for the murthering of a felo.

For she was not ignorant what tumults and troubles of all things was of late raised amongst them. notwithstanding this euill, she did not yet aenie whit doubt of the fauor of the good and vertuous men vnto hir: and that she would not onlie for their cause separate the offense from the publicke consent: but also (if they themselves for the domesticall seditions could not enforce the disturbers of the quiet to make restitution of such spoiles) that she would ioine hir power with them, to the end by common counsell they might take iust punishment vpon the truce-breakers. Which if they could not then do by that meanes, that yet she would prosecute those iniuries with hir owne people, whose armie should without aenie damage to them passe through such places as would be quiet, and take no reuenge vpon anie that were not guiltie of that iniurie. The rest of the parts of his ambassage did containe admonitions alwaies profitable in all lawfull assemblies, but most necessarie for the present state of Scotland.

Whereof the first aduise was for the defense of religion, with an especiall care of diligence therein: sith the same alone doth teach vs the forme of our dutie, and peace towards God, our prince, our equal, & christian neighbors. For no common-wealth diuided in it selfe can long continue: for which cause they must chuse labor with all their power, with might and maine, with saile and oes, that peace and quiet maie be holie and vertuouslie nourished at home amongst their people. For sith God the creator of all things, hath imparted a kingly gouernement ouer this nation, it is iust and meet that they obeye their princes; and in dutifull sort bestow all honor, reuerence, and obedience vpon them; sith peace, concord, amitie, and loue, with all men (as much as in vs lieth to vs) is most acceptable to God, and doth take awaie (or at the least hinder) the thirst and shedding of mens blood, a fault which God of all others doth most hate.

Which vnitie increasing the wealth of euerie one, maketh all nations moze fearefull to their enemies, and is the preferuer of iustice: whose chiefe part consisteth in punishing the euill, is especiallie to be imbraced: when contrarie dissention and treason is a thing most detestable to all lawfull gouernement: sith such kind of people are to be pursued with all extremitie, and not be succored with anie fauor, with aenie mercie, or with anie pardon, into that countrie fouer they flee for refuge of their hated wickednesse. All these things did Randolph both goodlie and wiselie admonish vs of, and iustlie and modestlie require from vs.

But because there was no regent chosen for the supreme gouernement, there could no certeine answer be given therevnto: for which cause he was for that time put backe to the kalends of Maie. At last, William and James Douglasse, brothers of the flaine regent by one mother, were heard in this parlement, who required that the vntimely death of their brother might be reuenged, sith the same was taken awaie not for anie priuat grudge, but for the common-wealths cause. Upon the opening whereof men were of diuerse opinions about his death, though they all agreed that the offenders should be punished: for some would haue a day giuen to such as were suspected of the murther: for the names of manie persons were there shewed to answer the

same. But it better pleased other not to wait for anie appointed day of law to be giuen to them, who had already taken armes with violence to defend that deed which they had already done; & that they should not onlie raise their weapons against them, but also against all such as were condemned in that assembly of the nobilitie.

To which opinion all the knights and souldiours did some agree, who yet could not hold their determination on, especiallie sith the earle of Atholl and Forston did dissuade them from it: whereof the first would haue them tarrie, vntill there were a greater assemble of the nobilitie: and the other supposed that it would come to passe, that if they ioined manie faults in one, that the reuenge of the regent would perill and come to nothing, and the matter would burst out to ciuill wars, whereby all they that feared peace, would flee to the part of such as were guiltie of the murther. Wherefore their faults were to be diuided, and (if it were possible) to treat of them by law, and that nothing should be done or changed vntill the kalends of Maie, on which there was an assemble of parliament appointed.

Upon which perswasion the companie was dissolved, though the greatest part of the nobilitie did condemn this delate, as moued therunto: because that the other would saie that all things were done at the becke of the kings enemies, who had thus protracted the time, to the end that the malice of the death of this regent might by little and little vanish in the meane time, and the aduerser faction gather greater power together. Which opinion of the common people was confirmed by manie things that went before, and manie things which followed. For presentlie (before the death of the regent was fullie spread abroad) James Hamilton (mortgaging his lands to John Summeruill of Caninechame) borrowed monie thereof: with which, and with other monie taken vp of the rest of his friends, he lent to his fauorers (to hire souldiours) being warned before, that they should alwaies be ready at all times, and for all causes which should happen by the taking awaie of their deadlie enemy, the earle of Sparrie: neither after that time did the quenes factions cease from meeting in diuerse distant places.

On the fifteenth kalends of March, there did assemble the chiefe of the rebellious faction (for by that name and epitheton doth Buchanan alwaies terme those that take the quenes part) to deuise of their affaires. At what time the earle of Argile, and the lord Boyd did write vnto earle Forston, that they would willingly (sith they did not yet know who killed the regent, and who were consenting thereto) consult with the other nobilitie about the same matter, both to search out and to punish the same: and that they would not come to Edinburgh about that matter. But if the kings faction would be so perswaded, they would willingly come to Litchow, to Frankirke, or to Strueling, there to meet with them. Whereupon, the earle of Forston, consulting with Metellan about the same (for so it was desired in the letters) in the end it came to no effect. At the same time, Thomas Bar wrote to Linch (to vse Buchanans word) to the gardian of the castell, to see if he could obtaine of the quene of England to staie hir armie: which if he brought to passe, that then he would take such order, that he would easilie pacifie the borders without anie further trouble, and that they should remaine in that dutie which they were wont: but if he did refuse this condition, he would continue in his attempt, not doubting but the good subjects would shew their obedience towards their imprisoned quene, & would ioine themselves together, because also would shoudie come out of France vnto them,

On the first nones of March, the Hamiltons, the earle of Argile, and Boyd came to Lithquo, but the murder of one hired souldier, did trouble all their de-
 uise by a sudden tumult that was raised thereupon. Therefore the next day after the archbishop of saint Andrews did bring the Hamiltons home, the rest of the quenes faction, especiallie the earles of Hunt-
 leie, Atholl, Crawford, and the lords Ogilvie, Hume, Seton, and Metellan, met at Edenburgh: in which the earle Morton was accompanied with a small
 10 traine, untill the earles of Glencarne and Spar were come with their retinue. The fourth nones of March the chiefe of the factions met together to consult of the estate of things: but the same did proceed verie slowlie, by reason of the absence of the earle of Ar-
 gile, whose power and authoritie was then verie great.

This man did Huntleie seeke to perswade to iointe with the rest of the faction, but he returned without doing anie thing (as it was supposed by most men) through the subtiltie of Metellan, which would haue
 20 things long deferred, that more convenient meane might be had in that troublesome state of the kingdome, for the innouation of things. The greatest thing done in this assembling, was the argument for the choise of a new gouernor, which (as it seemeth) came to no effect. Now when all these assem-
 blies tended to little purpose, those of the quenes faction returned to some sedition by procuring Eng-
 30 lish warres, thereby to draw the common-people to assist their part. Therefore they send the capitaine (that before had done the like) afield at this time to execute the same, who left nothing undone that might tend to extreme crueltie.

During which, the heads of the faction do reproch the quene of England, and slander the nobilitie of Scotland, as though they were the clients and fol-
 lowers of the English; further threatening abroad in euerie place, that they would vse the aid of the French and Spanishe, if the lord of the congregation
 40 praied in aid of the English. Much about that time, (as it were by chance) landed (out of France) at Dunbarton, Meriacke, one of the chamber to the French king, which aduanced the mindes of the quenes faction, with manie large promises: by
 meanes whereof the Hamiltons appointed an assemble of their people at Lithquo the first ides of Aprill.

At which day, when a great assemble was made of the quenes faction, they began there openly to
 50 treat of those things which before were whispered in secret: which was, that the death of the king and regent might be either forgotten, or at least war cold in the publike turmoile of the realme, by making warre vpon the English. After which consultation, they determined to go to Edenburgh the third ides
 of Aprill, there (besides manie other commodities which might grow to them by that place) to iointe
 60 to them the citizens, by whom there was great helpe of good successe to be receiued. Which they thought they might easilie bring about, by reason that William Kirkcaldie was gouernor both of the castell and towne, against which deuille the citizens did yet con-
 tend. But in the end, with hard conditions, the quenes part was admitted into the towne. After which, not thus contented, they perswaded the citizens to deliuer by the keyes of their towne, which they
 most wiselie refused.

All this while there was a great resort to Metellan then lieng of the gout, for which cause his house was commonlie called the scholehouse, and himselfe the scholemaster. In which meane time, the earle of
 Atholl did not spare to trauell hither and thither, to draw those of the other faction to that assemble at
 Edenburgh. But they would not come thither at all,

untill the kalends of Maie (which was a day appoint-
 ed for the parliament) unless they knew some last
 necessitie which might preuent that day: and then if
 there happened anie thing of moment, which might
 not suffer anie delaye, they would communicate the
 same to the earle Morton, whose house was but foure
 mile from thence, & he should giue other knowledge
 thereof. In the end, a day was appointed by the earle
 of Atholl, in which a few of both factions should meet
 at the towne of the earle Morton, called Dalkeith,
 which place did not like the quenes faction, whose
 strength was much helpen by such prisoners as Kirk-
 caldie had set at libertie out of the castell of Eden-
 burgh.

But all the deuises and helps of the quenes faction were quailed, by the rumor of the English armie
 comming to Berwicke. Whereupon, Alexander Hume, and John Hartwell latelie deliuered out of
 20 prison, without anie publike authoritie, or leane to set them free, went home to defend their owne pos-
 sessions; and a portion of that monie, which they had gathered to hire souldiers, was giuen to the said lord Hume, to strengthen his castell of Hume. Thomas
 Haar, and Walter Scot (who were iudged to haue made some roads into England by the perswasion of
 the bishop of saint Andrews, whereby wars should
 rise in England) being forsaken of those which inha-
 bited more these places, & fearing their owne estate,
 sent vnto the chiefe of the faction, requesting helpe
 30 of them: or if they would not do so, that at least they should come to show the next towne; and from
 thence they should make warre vpon England. Which when they could not obtaine (nor anie of the public
 monie) they forthwith departed to their owne lands in great anger.

After this, whilst manie other things passed, as
 that the quenes faction sent an ambassador to the earle of Suffe, to staie his iourne into Scotland;
 that they also sent letters to the quene of England concerning their cause; and that a seruant of mon-
 40 sieur Lausac in France, had brought letters to the quenes factions (with thanks for their fidelitie) di-
 rected also vnto other that were indifferent, to iointe with the imprisoned quene; and that he promised
 them aid out of France; and that the quenes people were assured, that the kings part would come to
 Edenburgh at the kalends of Maie: after all these things (I say) they of the quenes side departed to Lith-
 50 quo, supposing that place most commodious to as-
 semble their confederats. Whither when the Hamil-
 tons and their clients were come, they beset all the way to Edenburgh: for when they vnderstood that
 John Arskine earle of Spar was comming thither, they laid ambushes vnder the next hills to intrap
 him.

But he knowing the insurie of the place, passed
 the river two miles aboue, and came to Edenburgh
 the third day of Maie about euening. Shortly after,
 the kings part remaining at Edenburgh, and the
 60 quenes at Lithquo, the three earls, Arran, Argile,
 and Huntleie appoint a parliament at Lithquo, the
 three nones of August. The other faction sent Ro-
 bert Petcarne ambassador to the quene of Eng-
 land, to intreat with hir about the suppression of the
 common enemie; and further to let hir vnderstand,
 that such were the good minds of the Scots vnto hir,
 that they would chuse a regent by hir appointment.

Besides which, the said lords of the kings part with
 generall consent wrote letters vnto the erle of Len-
 nor, then remaining in England, to repaire home
 with all convenient speed into Scotland. & He maie
 read in the historie of England, in what sort the erle
 of Suffe lord lieutenant of the north parts, entring
 into Cusdale the seuen & twentieth of Aprill, burnt
 Do. ij. the

The earle of Lennor sent forward to retorne into Scotland.

The duke of Chateleraunt gathereth a power.

The duke retireth to Glasgowe.

Captains and gentlemen that went with the earle of Lennor into Scotland.

The earle of Lennor with the Englishmen come to Edinburgh.

the Housse tower, the towne of Crawling, the castell of Fernherst, the towne of Hovewike, and the castell of Baurton, that belonged to the laird of Bucleugh, with diuerse other castels, piles, townes, villages, and hamlets belonging to the lairds of Fernherst, Bucleugh, and others in those parts: also how the lord Scrope invaded the west borders of Scotland at the same time: and likewise how the said earle of Souther was the castell of Hume, with diuerse other matters which here I passe over, referring you to the said historie.

But now about the same time, the earle of Lennor, hauing got licence of the queene of England to make his retorne into Scotland, was set forward, and came to Berwike towards the latter end of April, where being distrest with sicknesse, he remained by the space of foureteene daies or more. In the meane time the duke of Chateleraunt, the earles of Huntley, and Cassils, the lord Fleming, and sundrie others of that faction, seeing the time serued well for their purpose, now that the regent was laine and dispatched out of the waie, gathered a power, to the number of three thousand men, and came downe to Edinburgh. But after that they had knowledge that the erle of Lennor was coming out of England with a power of Englishmen, by the queens maiesties appointment; aswell for the safegard of the young king, as also for the safe conduct of the earle of Lennor home into Scotland: the duke and earles aforesaid retired themselves from Edinburgh to Glasgowe, where they besieged the castell by the space of five or six daies, untill the earle of Lennor approached thitherwards. For ye haue to vnderstand, that after the earle of Lennor was recovered of his sicknesse, there was appointed a power of horsemen and footmen, to go with him into Scotland, vnder the leading of sir William Duriel: as in the English storie ye may read more at large.

There were diuerse valiant captains and gentlemen that went with him in that iourne, aswell such as had charge, as those that went with him of their owne good wils, to see the order of things, and to helpe to aduance their princes service. With charge there were these: sir George Carie captaine of an hundred lances, Henrie Ansell captaine of fiftie lances, William Curleie captaine of fiftie lances, maister Henrie Carie captaine of two hundred light horsemen, captaine Case lieutenant of the generals band of light horsemen, being also two hundred: sir Robert Constable sergeant maior of the footbards, sir Thomas Paners, captaine of the well, captaine Caruill, captaine Came, captaine Lambard, captaine Crington, John Constable, and Humfreie Berwike leaders of the footmen. Captaine Crington was also lieutenant to sir George Caries companie of lances. Other gentlemen that went of their owne good wils, there were diuers; as maister George Deuereux, sir Jerome Bowles, maister William Knolles, maister Robert Knolles, maister Michaele Carie, maister Calodie, maister William Duriel of Suffolke cousin to the generall, maister Grenuill, brother to sir Fulke Grenuill, maister Contweie, brother to sir John Contweie, maister Edmund Terneie, and manie others, whose names I could not learne.

The footmen laie the first night at Coldingham. The next day the earle of Lennor himselfe with sir William Duriel and the horsemen overtook the footmen, and lodged that night at Dunbar. The next day they made such speed in their march, that they came through to Edinburgh, where they found the earles of Roxton, Durreie, Glencarne, the lords Ruthwen, Lindseie, Sempill, Glamis, Methuen, Ogiltre, and Cathcart, with diuerse gentlemen of

the kings side; who receiued the said earle of Lennor, and the Englishmen verie courteously. From Edinburgh they passed to Lithquho, as in the English historie it maie appeare: and from thence the footmen passed to Faulkirke, and there lodged. But the earle of Lennor, and the Scottish lords, with sir William Duriel and the horsemen rode to Sterling, where the king laie, then being in the custodie of the earle of Mar. From thence they went to Glasgowe, where the duke had besieged the castell, which was valiantlie defended by the lord of Spintoe and his brethren, with their seruants, being not past eightene persons in all; and yet they kept it five or six daies against the duke and his whole power, slaying (as hath bene reported) about fortie or fiftie of his men; but in the end they were in great danger to haue bene taken, if they had not bene the more speedilie relieved. But the duke and his adherents, vnderstanding of the coming forward of the erle of Lennor with the English forces, brake vp his siege and fled awaie, with losse and dishonor, as in the English historie we haue likewise noted.

After that the earle of Lennor and his friends were thus come vnto Glasgowe, finding the siege raised, he remained there by the space of five or six daies. During which time, there came to him of his kintred and friends, which ought him their seruice, according to the vse of the countrie, the number of foure thousand men, verie well appointed after their maner; the more part out of the countires of Lennor and Darneleie, which mustered before the said earle, and sir William Duriel, general of the English there. This done, the earle of Lennor, accompanied with the earles and lords before mentioned, & likewise with the Englishmen, marched to Hamilton, where they entred into the palace belonging to the duke, and lodged therein that night.

The next day they besieged the castell, wherof Andrew Hamilton of Perinton was captaine, hauing vnder him fiftie souldiers to defend it; and would not therefore deliuer it, till that two peeces of great ordinance being brought from Sterling, were planted in batterie. For then perceiuing themselves in danger to be taken by force, the captaine offered to yeld the house to the Englishmen; but not to the lords of Scotland, with condition, to haue the liues of all them within saued. Which was granted, vpon promise, that they should neuer after beare arms against their king, and to depart the realme within a certaine terme, and herevnto they were sworn. But they kept not long their oth, for the night next ensuing, they did beset the lord Sempill that was lodged at that present in a house not far off, and not able to keepe it till rescue came, yelded it and himselfe prisoner, so that he was kept by the Hamiltons in safe custodie by the space of twelue moneths after. The castell of Hamilton being yelded (as ye haue heard) was blotwen vp with powder. Diuers other houses there in the countrie about were burnt also, as Kiploche, the abbat of Kilwinnings house, with diuerse other of the Hamiltons houses in Cliddefdale.

After the castell of Hamilton was thus twone and ouerthrowen, the lords returned to the palace, and lodged there againe that night; and on the morning, they set fire both vpon the same palace, and also vpon the towne of Hamilton: and therewith the Englishmen taking leaue of the lords in Scotland, departed homewards; as in the English historie ye may reade more at large. The erle of Roxton went with them; but the earle of Lennor and the other earles and lords with their companies took their way towards Glasgowe, and from thence euerie of the

Faulkirke.

The earle of Lennor and sir William Duriel ride to Sterling.

The castell of Glasgowe besieged by the duke of Chateleraunt.

The brethren by his siege.

A muster of foure thousand Scots.

Shew more hereof in England.

The castell of Hamilton besieged.

It is belivered to the Englishmen.

The lord Sempill taken.

The castell of Hamilton blowne vp and razed.

The towne and palace of Hamilton burnt.

A convention
of the lords.
The earle of
Lennox made
regent.

The earle of
Huntlie.

A parliament
proclaimed by
both the fac-
tions at one
day and place.

The earle of
Huntlie com-
meth no more
than Bze-
chine.

The earle of
Huntlie esca-
peth.

Execution.

The castell of
Downe pre-
sided.

Commis-
sioners sent into
England.

the noble men departed home to their houses. Shortly after, there was a convention of the lords at Strueling, where the earle of Lennox was made lord lieutenant of Scotland: and afterwards in August following, there was an other convention at Edinburgh, where, by the consent of the thre estates of the realme, the said earle was made regent of Scotland.

And about the same time, the earle of Huntlie toke vpon him to be lieutenant of Scotland for the quene of Scots that remained still in England, and therevpon in his name summoned a parliament to be holden at Lithqub, the one and twentieth of September then next following. Unto the which parliament, aswell the earle of Lennox then regent, as all the residue of the lords of both parties were summoned. Whereof the regent being advertised, caused a parliament to be summoned in the kings name to be kept at Lithqub, at the selfe same day which was appointed by the earle Huntlie. At which day there appeared the lords of the kings partie, & also sundrie great lards, knights, and gentlemen, to the number of eight thousand, verie well furnished, looking for the earle of Huntlies comming, according to his appointed order; but he came no naxer than Bzechine.

Wherevpon it was decreed by the regent and nobilitie there, to pursue him: and to that end, James Douglas earle of Morton was sent before with a thousand horsemen to have taken him vpon the sudden in the towne of Bzechine, before he should have anie warning of their comming, the regent following after with an armie. But Huntlie having warning of their approach, escaped their hands, although verie narrowlie; in somuch that some of his followers were so put to their shifts, that they were driven for their refuge (being so beset on the sudden) to take the castell of Bzechine: the earle of Huntlie promising before he went from them, to succour them within eight daies; but they being streialie besieged, and the earle not keeping promise with them, after those eight daies were expired, they yielded themselves and the castell into the regents mercie.

They were in all about thre hundred, of which number one and thirtie of the chiefest were executed. Some of them had borne arms against the king before that time, and had bene pardoned, and therefore were now thought by the regent and his friends the more worthie to die. After this, the regent returned to Strueling, and from thence passed to the castell of Downe, and besieged it; being kept by the servants of the lord of saint Colmes Inch, who yielded it to the regent after thre daies siege. During the time of the regents being there, he sent one of his servants called John Dhone, with letters into England, directed to the quene of Englands counsell: who (for his secret practising and conference had with such as were enemies to the king and regent before his departure out of Scotland, and for receiving of their letters to be conveyed also, and hereby discovering sundrie secrets to them, the which were committed unto his credit and trust) was apprehended, and the same letters which he had secretlie received being found vpon him, and the matters aforesaid proved against him, he was by law executed.

About the same time the earle of Morton, the abbat of Dunfermeling, and James Macgill, cleark of the register, were sent into England commissioners vpon the kings partie; the bishop of Ross, the abbat of Kilwinning, & the lord Levingston, appointed for the quene then being in England. In Januarie following, the regent then being at Edinburgh, Claud Hamilton, one of the duke of Cha-

teleraunts sonnes, entred the house of Palleie, then being kept by the servants of the lord Sempill: and seizing vpon all things which they found as good with his pleasure, he fortified the house with men, munition, and vittels, such as he could get either in the towne of Palleie, or nere thereabouts. The regent advertised thereof, repaired thither with a power in all speedie wise, and laid siege to the house. They within sued for a truce, which was granted to them for the space of six daies, the better to aduise Palleie, of their owne estate: which terme being expired, proclamation was made by the regent, that if they would yield the house, so manie of them as had not borne arms before that time against the king and regent, should have their liues saved, the rest to remaine at the regents pleasure.

Herevpon contention rose among them within the house: for whereas the more part of them having not served in anie iournie or exploit against the king before that time, would needs yield; the other, being the lesse number, were not able to defend it of themselves. Wherevpon they were ready to draw their weapons one against another; but yet in the end they agreed to surrender the house, and yielded themselves, vpon such condition as the regent had prescribed: wherevpon five of them were executed, & all the rest were pardoned of their liues. The capitaine John Hamilton, lord of Coughnall, and his two brethren excepted, who were sent to the castell of Glasgow, there to remaine in prison, and shortly after the said John Hamilton was executed.

In March following, the regent returned to Glas-
cote, and for that Gilbert Kennedy with the erles of Cassilis & Eglington refused to shew themselves obedient to the king, and would not come to the regent, who had sent for them by letters at sundrie times, the regent gathered his power at Glasgow, and with the same marched towards Arwin and Air, and so forwarde to the earle of Cassilis countrie, who hearing of the regents comming, sent forth his brother to offer his submission. Wherevpon it was concluded, that the messenger should remaine with the regent as pledge for his brother, by the space of twentie daies; and then the said earle to make his appearance before the regent at Strueling, to answer such matters as should be laid to his charge.

The same time also Hugh Montgomerie earle of Eglington, and Robert Boyd leuied their bands also to appeare and answer in like sort: and as well the one as the other (according to their assurance given) appeared at the day appointed; but yet not agreeing to such articles as were required of them, they were both committed to prison, the one in the castell of Dunbarton, & the other in the castell of Downe. Afterwards there was a truce taken betwene the regent, the Hamiltons, and their adherents for twentie daies, to wit, untill the last of March. Which truce once ended, the regent determined with himselfe to give an attempt to the castell of Dunbarton, which had bene long kept by the lord Fleming against the king, and the earle of Murraie late regent, who had besieged it for the space of halfe a yere or more, but could not by anie meanes compasse to win it.

But now on the first of Aprill, the truce being then expired, the regent going forwarde with his purpose, caused all the passages round about the countrie to be stopped, as well by land as by water; and the same night sent thitherward capitaine Thomas Crawford, and capitaine Hume, with an hundred souldiers, chosen out for the purpose: who the second of Aprill, about foure of the clocke in the morning, came to the castell, where the souldiers with ladders, ropes, and other deuises, found meanes to cline by the rocks, which

Palleie taken
and kept by
Claud Ham-
ilton.

The regent
besiegeth
Palleie.

Palleie is
surrendered to
the regent.

1571.

The regent
goeth against
the earle of
Cassilis.

The earles of
Cassilis and
Eglington
committed to
ward.

A truce for
twentie daies.

The castell of
Dunbryeton
taken by a
politic.

Captaine
Crawford &
captaine
Hume.

The lord
Fleming es-
capeth.

John Hall.

The strong
situation of
the castell of
Dunbryeton.

The ladie
Fleming ho-
norable in-
treated.

which is of an exceeding great heighth, and so with great paine, and more danger, at length got vp to the wall of the castell, standing vpon the heighth of the rocke, to the which wall they reared by a ladder, by the which entered first one Alexander Ramsie, ensigne-bearer to captaine Crawford, & leaping ouer the wall, was streightwaies assailed by three of the watchmen, of the which he slue one: and a souldier named Weberborne that followed him, being the second that entered, slue another of them: the third of those watchmen was also slaine, as he was about to flee from them.

Herewith captaine Crawford & captaine Hume got ouer the wall, and entering the castell with the rest of their souldiers, stroke by the drum, & cried; A Derneleie, being their watchword; and seizing vpon the ordinance, manned the same. The lord Fleming captaine of the castell, hearing that sudden fright and tumult within the house, fled out by the posterne gate at the neither baile, and so escaping, got a fithers boat, and passed into Argile. The souldiers of the castell, perceiving their captaine fled, and the castell possessed by the enemies, yielded themselves, and were pardoned. There were taken within the castell John Hamilton, the archbishop of saint Andrews, monsieur de Cleriacke a Frenchman, sent thither by the French king, also the ladie Fleming, wife to the lord Fleming, and John Fleming lord of Boghall, Alexander the sonne of William Leuingston, and John Hall an Englishman, being partner of a new intended conspiracie, as was after proued against him, for the which he was arreigned, condemned, and executed at London; as in the English historie appeareth.

The third of Aprill, being the morrow after that Dunbryeton was thus strangelie toone, the regent came thither, and entered the same, where he calling the captaine and souldiers together, caused them with him to kneele downe vpon their knees, and to giue God humble thanks for their good successe in that enterpryse, brought to passe rather by the prouidence of God than otherwise, sith the castell seemed to all those that knew it, impossible in manner to be toone, by reason of the great heighth of the rocke, and the strange situation, being incircled almost round about with the water of Clide on the one side, and the water of Leuin on the other. The report of the winning of this castell was sofull to the townes and countries about, which before had bene a continuall scourge to them, by reason that the souldiers that kept it, would issue out at sundrie times, robbing, spoiling, and carieng awaie the commodities of the inhabitants thereabouts, as well by land as by water.

The regent dealt verie honorable with the ladie Fleming, suffering hir to depart away with all such plate and iewels, as appertained either to hir or hir husband. He granted also a safe conduct to monsieur de Cleriacke, to passe homewards through the countrie, but the archbishop of saint Andrews was sent prisoner to Striueling. The spoile of the gods found in the castell was giuen to the souldiers that ventured so dangeroullie to atchieue so high an enterpryse, bringing it to the wished effect by policie with so little bloodshed as deserueth perpetuall remembrance. The day next ensuing, being the fourth of Aprill, the regent appointed John Cunningham lord of Drumhallsell, a man of god seruice, and seruant to the regent, to be captaine of that castell, and leaving him therein, departed to Striueling, where he caused the archbishop of saint Andrews to be examined vpon certaine articles, as well touching the murder of the late king Henrie, as also for the death of the earle of Murrie the late re-

gent.

At what time there came in a priest without compulsion of anie (as hath bene said) and before the regent declared, that one John Hamilton, being in extreme sicknesse, vnder confession told him, that the bishop did send him with three others to the murder of the king. And as touching the murder of the erle of Murrie, the bishops stat answer was, he might haue letted it if he would. Therewith the people that heard him, cried, Awaie with him, hang him. And so for these and other offenses, for the which he had bene forsailed afore that time, he was now executed on a gibet, set vp in the market place of Striueling towne. After this, the regent summoned a parliament, to begin at Edinburgh the fourteenth of Maie next ensuing, and passed from Striueling to Litch-
qno.

Here the earle of Morton (with the rest of the commissioners for the kings part, being returned out of England, with other of the nobilitie) met the regent, and then they passed toward Edinburgh, where they thought to haue bene received, and so to haue kept the parliament there. But they were not suffered to enter that towne, nor yet the castell, the same being defended against them by the lord of Grange, who after the death of the earle of Murrie, was revolted from the kings part to the Hamiltons side, and had fortified both the towne and castell: so that the regent and nobilitie being kept out there, held their parliament in the Cannogate street, within the suburbs of the towne, where sundrie of the quenes part were forsailed. This being done, and sundrie skirmishes had with them that issued forth of the towne against them without, the regent returned to Striueling, there to remaine for a season.

In the meane time the earle of Morton, hauing certeine shuffe come forth of England by sea, and brought to land at Litch, sent the lord of Carmichell with his household seruants, & two hundred shot, to fetch the same from thence vnto Dalketh, being five miles distant from Litch. At their returne with the shuffe, they were set vpon by the earle of Huntlie, and the lord Hume, who issued out of Edinburgh with their powder: so that betwixt them was a verie hot skirmish. But in the end the earle of Huntlie, & the lord Hume were constrained to flee, and were pursued by Carmichell and his companie euen vnto the gates of Edinburgh, some of their men being slaine, and others taken prisoners. For reuenge of which ouerthrow, shortly after the earle of Huntlie, and Claud Hamilton, with their forces marched from Edinburgh, to Dalketh, purposing to haue spoiled the towne.

But the earle of Morton, hauing knowledge of their intention and comming, sallied forth of Dalketh with the powder which he had there with him, although not comparable in number to his aduersaries; & meeting them in the field, there was a sharpe skirmish betwixt them, and manie hurt on both parties: but in the end the earle of Morton was put to the worse, fourtie or more of his men taken prisoners. And the cause was, for that his footmen were too forward, wanting helpe of their horsemen that should haue succoured them. About the five & twentieth day of Maie following, captaine Cullen issued forth of Edinburgh with two hundred shot, meaning to intercept certeine harquebusers, which were appointed to come out of Fife ouer the riuer of the Forth, vnto the earle of Morton, who kept still at Dalketh.

Wherevpon the said earle, hauing knowledge of Cullens enterpryse, aduertised the regent thereof, who being then at Striueling, the next day came downe to Dunfermling in Fife. But before his comming thither,

The archb-
shop of saint
Andrews
executed.

A parliament
summoned.

The castell of
Edinburgh
kept by the
lord of Grange
against the
regent.

The lord of
Carmichell.

The earle of
Huntlie and
lord Hume
put to flight.

The earle of
Morton put
to the worse.

thither, Cullen had met with a bote upon the water, wherein were above five and twenty shot, whome he took prisoners, and led them awaie with him to Edinburgh. The next day the earle of Sperton came to Leith, where he met with sir William Durié, and there they lodged that night. The next morning sir William Durié passing forth of Leith towards Edinburgh, accompanied with sundrie captains, and other gentlemen for his conuoy thither, they within Edinburgh perceiuing them coming, imagined that they were come forth to offer a skirmish, whereupon they issued out of the towne and castell to encounter them.

So that being readie on either side to begin the skirmish, sir William Durié, being come to talke with the parties for some accord to be had, took in hand with great diligence to appease them: and at length procured them to agree upon a truce to indure till eight of the clocke at night. But yet when both parts staid in the fields for the space of an houre, because they could not agree whether companies should first retire from the field, they fell at length in skirmish (notwithstanding the truce) and fought verie sharplie for the time, till in the end they of the towne and castell had the ouerthwin: the abbat of Bailwinning being slaine, with diuerse other; and there were taken about an hundred prisoners: amongst the which the lord Hume, and capitaine Cullen were accounted principall. Those that escaped were chased, & constrained for their safetie to flee into the towne of Edinburgh, & capitaine Cullen was afterwards beheaded.

The regent turned atlie after this skirmish came with all speed to Leith, as well to fortifie the towne, as to make some further attempt against his aduersaries within the towne and castell of Edinburgh. Whereupon was Leith (whose capitaine was Patrick Lindseie) intrenched round about, being esteemed a place of great importance, standing both in the face of the enemies, and so readie to annoy them, and also serving well to prevent them of such succour as they looked for daile out of France. In this meane time, the lord of Grange, then capitaine of the castell, and prouost of the towne of Edinburgh, caused proclamation to be made, that all those inhabitants which were not willing to take part with him in his doings, should depart out of the towne. Whereupon, many of them departed thence, together with their wiues and children, and took with them also such goods as they could secretlie conueie: and coming to Leith, offered their seruice vnto the regent, who thankfullie accepted their offer: and so they remained at Leith, seruing against the contrarie faction upon their owne expences.

After this, the lord of Grange, vnderstanding that report had bene made by some of the kings part, that he was a traitor to the king, and an enimie to his countrie, offered the combat to anie that would intise the same. Which being advertised to them within Leith, diuerse gentlemen were desirous to undertake the challenge: but the regent granted it to the lord of Carlishe, being a Steward, & his kinsman, who had earnestlie requested it. Whereupon, after diuerse messages by heralds sent to and fro betwixt them, the time and place was appointed; but the matter went not forward, excuse being made on the behalfe of the lord Grange, that by reason of the charge which was committed to him, it was not thought convenient that he should hazard the whole cause upon his owne person.

Shortlie after, there came out of France one John Cheseholme, who was sent with monie to the lord of Grange for the payment of his souldiours: he brought with him also a certeine quantitie of powder, and

three hundred calueners. Upon his entering into the water of Forth, and coming by the same, he learned how the regent was in Leith: whereupon he landed at Bente Island, and after wards for feare hid himselfe betwixt two cliffs of a rocke, not farre from the quenes ferrie: but at length he was found out by the abbat of saint Colmes Inch, and deliuered to the regent at Leith, in which towne the said regent laie about two moneths, vntill sundrie means, as well by practise and policie, as by force to haue taken the towne of Edinburgh. In the meane time sundrie skirmishes chanced betwixt them, and diuerse prisoners were taken on either part.

At length, the regent caused a parlement to be summoned, appointing the same to be holden at Striueling the two & twentieth of August next ensuing. And when that day approached, he left the lord Lindseie at Leith in charge, as his lieutenant to gouerne the towne, and all the men of warre appointed to remaine in gard thereof; and repaired himselfe to Striueling, where at the prefixed date did assemble the earles of Sperton, Mar, Crawford, Sutherland, Montrose, Eglington, Glencarne, the lords Ruthwen, Glamis, Methuen, Sempill, Ogiltree, and Cathcart, with manye lords and gentlemen. The first day of this parlement the king was conueied thither, the crowne, scepter, and sword being borne before him.

When he had taken his place, he uttered a certeine speech as had bene taught him, touching the assembling of that parlement, which matter the regent more at large declared vnto the whole house: and this done, they proceeded further to other affaires, concerning the state of the common-wealth. Wherevnto in this parlement, the duke of Chateaufort with his two sonnes, the abbat of Arbroth, and Claud Hamilton, the earle of Huntlie, the lord of Grange and sundrie others were forsalled. This parlement continued by the space of seuen daies: at the end whereof, to wit, upon the second of September, Claud Hamilton, the lord of Bouchlogh, the lord of Drumfries, and diuerse others, to the number of three hundred horsemen, verie earlie in the morning entered the towne of Striueling, and suddenlie beset not onlie the regent, but also the rest of the nobilitie within their lodgings.

The regent hearing a great uprore raised within the towne [in which George Ruthwen was slaine] and not vnderstanding the cause, nor who were the authors thereof, after he perceiued how the house wherein he lodged was beset on each side, he defended the same against the enemies for a good space: but at length despairing of succours, and doubting least the house had bene underlaide with some barrells of powder, and that it would be blowne vp if he yelded not as some told him: and the enimie to increase that doubt, crying still, Blow vp the house, what should he stand longer about him: at length he was contented to yeld to the lord of Drumfries, but not before he saw that some of his stoutest captains had yelded themselves before his face. He yelded, with condition to haue his life saued: but promise in that behalfe was not long kept. For those that had thus taken him, when they perceiued rescue coming betwixt them from the castell, so that they should not be able to carrie him awaie, capitaine Cauder with a pistol shot him into the bodie, before he could be recovered out of their hands.

The rest of the nobilitie, to wit, the earles of Sperton, Eglington, and Glencarne, and diuerse other being taken prisoners, were presentlie rescued by those that issued out of the castell. The earle of Sperton being in the hands of the lord of Bouchlogh, took the same lord prisoner, he yelding himselfe vnto him: and

A parlement summoned.

The duke of Chateaufort forsalled.

Fr. Thin.

The earle of Lennox taken in his lodging

The earle of Lennox wounded.

3 skirmish.

The abbat of Bailwinning slaine.
The lord Hume and capitaine Cullen beheaded.

Fr. Thin.
Leith fortified.

3 proclamations.

The challenge of the lord of Grange.

The lord of Carlishe.

John Cheseholme.

and likewise the earle of Glencaigne for he his keeper prisoner, and so did sundrie others take their fathers: but Claud Hamilton, with others their companies, hauing first gotten all the hostles that were found in the towne into their hands, when they heard that the rescue was coming, shifted for themselves, and fled awaie. The regent, being most tallie wounded, but yet deliuered from his enemies, rid by to the castell, and calling there vnto him the whole nobilitie, when he perceiued his end to approach, he vsed these wordes (or the like in substance) as followeth.

The earle of Lennox his wordes before his death.

My lords, it is not unknown vnto you all, that my coming hither to take this regiment vpon me, was not of mine owne seeking, but at the request of you all. And that which chiefly moued me hereunto, was, for the defense of the kings person, being yet (as you see) an infant; of whom by nature and dutie I was bounden to haue carefull consideration, and that in his minority, the good and quiet gouernement of this common-wealth might be aduanced, and iustice executed vpon those that most cruelly did murder the late king, my sonne the kings father, and his vnckle the good earle of Murray, late regent: whose mischæuous and diuelish deuises if in time you do not preuent by your wisdoms and discretions, they will procure the small ouerthrow and destruction of you all. In this action (as you see) I haue spent my blood, and haue played the last part of my tragedie, and now I see death to draw nere at hand.

Wherefore I require you all, for the due regard that you haue of your duties, first to almighty God, and next to the king your most lawfull and naturall prince now in these his tender yeeres, wholly to imploye your seruice in his defense, with care to mainteine the state of this common-wealth, whereby you shall not onelie accomplish your duties towards God, but shall be assured to find in your king in time to come (God lending him life) all that good which you can iustlie require. And I shall further commit to your friendlie protection, my poore seruants, who

for their good seruice haue well deserued, and yet remaine vnrcompensed, desiring you all to be good to them. And lastlie, I desire you to commend me vnto the lady Margaret my deere wife, now being in England: vnto whom I beseech God to be a comforter. And now with my spirits begin to faile, and that my life draweth nere to an end, I take my leaue of you all, desiring you to praye to God for me. These wordes being ended, he called to God for mercie, and continuing in prayer vnto the end, with in a while after he departed this life, and was buried in the kings chappell in the castell of Strueling.

The earle of Lennox departed this life.

Thus haue I hitherto continued this historie of Scotland, not so largelie nor perfectlie as I could haue wished, but skambled forward with it in such sort as you maie see; hauing deliuered nothing vnto you to impair the credit of the Scottish nation, other wise than I haue found in authors, or learned by credible report (as I take it) hauing put off the parciall affection, which I beare of dutie to mine owne countrie, in this respect, that I shuld not seme to wrest the wordes of writers, either to the aduantage of the English people, or disadvantage of the Scots, speciallie in politike gouernement, warlike exploits, ciuill demeanour, and other vertuous exercises: which as I haue found them either in anie one person particularlie, or in the multitude in generall, so haue I reported the same, not sparing the truth herein, as I haue found it recorded, either for loue or hatred, dread, fauor, or enuie: but yet in no wise presuming (as else where I haue said) to vse mine owne censure, but rather leauing the iudgement of other mens reports vnto the readers discretion. To whom I wish such vnderstanding and knowledge in the truth, as maie satisfie himselfe, and redound to the publike commoditie of his countrie, and pleasure of the almighty; in whose hands are the hearts of kings & gouernours, guiding the states of realms and common wealths, as to his diuine wisdomes seemeth most expedient. To whom be glorie, honor, and praise for evermore, Amen.

Thus farre the painefull industrie of *Raphaell Hollinshead*, and others.

The sequelle, concerning the continuation of this Scottish historie, is a new addition before this time neuer in English published.

